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THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH

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THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR.

THE primary object of these Commentaries is to be exegetical, to interpret the meaning of each book of the Bible in the light of modern knowledge to English readers. The Editors will not deal, except subordinately, with questions of textual criticism or philology; but taking the English text in the Revised Version as their basis, they will aim at combining a hearty acceptance of critical principles with loyalty to the Catholic Faith.

The series will be less elementary than the Cambridge Bible for Schools, less critical than the International Critical Commentary, less didactic than the Expositor's Bible; and it is hoped that it may be of use both to theological students and to the clergy, as well as to the growing number of educated laymen and laywomen who wish to read the Bible intelligently and reverently.

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(i) An Introduction stating the bearing of modern criticism and research upon the historical character of the book, and drawing out the contribution which the book, as a whole, makes to the body of religious truth.

(ii) A careful paraphrase of the text with notes on the more difficult passages and, if need be, excursuses on any points of special importance either for doctrine, or ecclesiastical organization, or spiritual life.

But the books of the Bible are so varied in character that considerable latitude is needed, as to the proportion which the

various parts should hold to each other. The General Editor will therefore only endeavour to secure a general uniformity in scope and character: but the exact method adopted in each case and the final responsibility for the statements made will rest with the individual contributors.

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IT may be well for the General Editor of the Westminster Commentaries to add a special word of Introduction to this Commentary, for in it the modern principles of literary and historical criticism are applied to a new sphere, the sphere of prophecy, and to that book which has always seemed to come nearest to the New Testament and to contain a Gospel before the Gospels; and that with results for which the ordinary reader is scarcely prepared.

(i) Criticism has now for many years prepared ordinary readers of the Bible to find two authors combined under the name of Isaiah, the prophet of Hezekiah's reign and the prophet of the Exile who encouraged the Jews in Babylon with hopes of their return. But here the principle is extended further; not only are three distinct prophets postulated, but it is assumed that the original prophecies of each have been subsequently re-edited, with additions intended to bring the teaching home to the needs of later generations. "The Prophecies of Isaiah" will then be parallel in title to the Laws of Moses or the Psalms of David; they will mean the prophecies of Isaiah himself and of later writers writing in his spirit and adapting his teaching. If this is so, the problem of exegesis is confessedly a very difficult one, almost as difficult as if the Psalms had come down to us in one continuous whole, unbroken by any divisions, and we had to decide where each new Psalm began and ended and what was its date and who its author. So here the commentator has to separate each chapter and each part of a chapter and

decide the date and author and application. It is quite clear that there must be an element of what is precarious and subjective in such decisions, and it cannot be claimed at any moment that the last word has been said. Yet it must always be remembered that such decisions are never arbitrary or capricious, they are not attempts to explain away anything or to prove foregone conclusions: they are the attempts to face real internal difficulties in the text, to explain exactly what the author meant and at what point in history the words were spoken.

(ii) This same truth has another and a more important bearing upon the application of the language of Isaiah to Our Lord Jesus Christ. In the first days of Christianity, if any earlier language was found appropriate to the facts of the Lord's life, it was treated as though it had been a conscious prediction by the prophet of those facts. This was the way in which St Matthew applied the prophecy of Emmanuel, and Philip the Evangelist, with most of the writers of the New Testament, applied that of the Servant of the Lord. But all modern criticism has emphasized the truth that texts cannot be quoted without respect to their context and that the message of the prophet was primarily a message for his own time. This view is emphasized strongly in this Commentary: the conscious predictions of a future Messiah are minimized: the King who is entitled Immanuel is interpreted as an actual King expected in the lifetime of Isaiah: the "Servant of the Lord," even in the most personal traits, is treated only as a personification of the nation of Israel: and it is denied that there was in the writer's mind any thought of one individual. Here again no commentator would claim that he has said the last word, and on this last point modern critics are still much divided. But let us assume that this view is correct, that there was no conscious prediction of a future Messiah in either of these passages: yet it does not follow that they are not rightly applied to the Lord, nor is anything implied which derogates from His Nature and His work. Rather the reverse: such an impression did His life make on those who witnessed it that they saw realized in it all the ideals pictured in the noblest visions of the past: here

was the ideally righteous man, the ideal King, the ideal sacrifice: nay more, language at first applied to the work done for the Gentile world by the whole nation could be more truly applied to Him: on this theory, He does not "so much fulfil predictions as realize ideals."

I have quoted elsewhere and would venture to quote again, as extraordinarily applicable to the feelings of the first disciples for their Master, the sonnet in which Shakspere speaks of the object of his love,—

> When in the chronicle of wasted time
> I see descriptions of the fairest wights
> And beauty making beautiful old rhyme
> In praise of ladies dead or lovely knights,
> Then, in the blazon of sweet beauty's best,
> Of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow,
> I see their antique pen would have expressed
> Even such a beauty as you master now.
> So all their praises are but prophecies
> Of this our time, all you prefiguring,
> And, for they looked but with divining eyes,
> They had not skill enough your worth to sing:
> For we, which now behold these present days,
> Have eyes to wonder but lack tongues to praise.

So the early Christians felt that all praises in their old Scriptures, whether of individuals or of the nation itself, were but prophecies, prefiguring Him, yet falling far short of what He really was.

There is a further illuminating thought which results from the view that the Servant of the Lord was primarily the nation: as such it was an ideal not of one but of many, of a whole community; and therefore though One may have summed up its meaning in Himself, it waits for its complete fulfilment in the whole Church, in the Body as well as in the Head: it is we who have to fill up that which is lacking of the sufferings of the Servant, to complete that which is still so far from complete of the Revelation of His message to the heathen world.

WALTER LOCK.

PREFACE.

THIS book suffers from having been produced under certain disadvantages. In the first place, the plan of the series in which it appears has made it expedient to leave unnoticed many matters which, if the accompanying text were that of the Hebrew Bible and not that of the English Version, would claim attention. Secondly, the necessity of compressing the commentary into a single volume has rendered brevity essential, and has restricted me to stating as concisely as possible my own conclusions only, without, in general, any mention of divergent views, save where such are specially interesting, or where a decision has been exceptionally difficult. Thirdly, the pressure of College duties has allowed me little time to spend upon the book except my vacations (which have been almost entirely occupied with it for a number of years), so that, since it had to be published within a reasonable period, I have been unable to acquaint myself with more than a portion of the voluminous literature relating to the subject. These drawbacks imposed by circumstances are supplemented by defects arising from my own limitations, of which I have become increasingly sensible as my undertaking has progressed. Consequently, in bringing my work to a close I am acutely conscious of its imperfections, and feel that I am ending when I really ought to be beginning: *Cum consummaverit homo tunc incipiet, et cum quieverit aporiabitur.*

Of previous commentaries I have used those of Gesenius (1821), Dillmann-Kittel (1898), Duhm (2nd ed. 1902), and Marti (1900) in German, Condamin (1905) in French, and Delitzsch (trans. 1889), Cheyne (*Prophecies*, 5th ed. 1889, *Pol. Bible*, 1898), G. A. Smith (1889–90), Mitchell (1897), Skinner (1896–8),

Whitehouse (1905–8), and Box (1908) in English; and to all of these I am under great obligations. I am also indebted to Giesebrecht's *Der Knecht Jahves des Deutero-Isaia* (1902), Littmann's *Über die Abfassungszeit des Trito-Isaia* (1899), Cheyne's *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (1895), Driver's *Life and Times of Isaiah* (2nd ed. 1904), R. R. Ottley's *Isaiah according to the LXX.* (1906), Davidson's *Old Testament Prophecy* (1903), Oesterley's *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea* (1908), Peake's *The Problem of Suffering in the O.T.* (1904), Batten's *The Hebrew Prophet* (1905), and Workman's *The Servant of Jehovah* (1907). For the Hebrew text I have used Kittel's edition in *Biblia Hebraica* (1906) and Cheyne's edition in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the O.T.* (1899); and I have constantly consulted the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon (1906), Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898–1904), and the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1899–1903). Various other works which have proved of service are mentioned in the foot-notes; whilst there are many besides which have been suggestive or informing in different ways, but which it is impossible to enumerate in detail.

Finally, I have received help from several friends. The book has been read both in MS. and in proof by the Warden of Keble College, Oxford, whose advice has been of much value. The proofs have likewise been read by the Rev. Dr Burney, Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, whose criticisms have enabled me to correct many errors and inaccuracies. The readings of the Syriac version have been verified for me by the Rev. W. H. Hayman, M.A., formerly Lecturer in Theology at this College; whilst most of the Biblical references (which are uniformly to the R.V., save where the Hebrew is indicated) have been verified by another former colleague, the Rev. B. Davies, M.A. To each of these friends I desire to express my sincere gratitude for their kindness.

G. W. W.

LAMPETER.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Aq. Aquila's Version.
COT. Schrader's *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.* (translated by Whitehouse), 1885—1888.
DB. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898—1904).
DCG. Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* (1906—8).
EB. or *Encyc. Bib.* Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1899—1903).
HBA. Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (1900).
HCM. Sayce's *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments* (1894).
HPM. McCurdy's *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* (1894—1901).
JE. Prophetic Source of the Hexateuch.
JTS. *Journal of Theological Studies.*
Kings. Burney's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (1903).
Lex. *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O.T.* By Brown, Driver and Briggs (1906).
LOT. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the O.T.*, ed. 7 (1898).
LXX. Septuagint Version.
" Luc. " " Lucian's recension.
" ℵ Sinaitic MS.
" A Alexandrine MS.
" B Vatican MS.
NSI. Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions* (1903).
N.T. New Testament.
O.L. Old Latin Version.
O.T. Old Testament.
OTJC. W. R. Smith's *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, ed. 2 (1892).
P. Priestly Source of the Hexateuch.
R.V. Revised Version.
Rel. Sem. W. R. Smith's *The Religion of the Semites*, ed. 2 (1894).
Sam. Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (1890).
SBOT. Cheyne's *Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text of Isaiah* (1899).
Sym. Symmachus' Version.
Syr. Syriac Version.
Th. or Theod. Theodotion's Version.
Vulg. Vulgate.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

The Structure of the Book of Isaiah.

When the Book of Isaiah is referred to elsewhere in the Bible virtually all parts of it are represented as the work of the writer whose name it bears. In Ecclus. xlviii. 23—25 (*circ.* 180 B.C.) it is said of the prophet that *In his days the sun went backward; and he added life to the king. He saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last; and he comforted them that mourned in Sion. He shewed the things that should be to the end of time, and the hidden things or ever they came.* This statement obviously has in view cc. xxxvi.—lxvi. (see xxxviii. 5—8, xl. 1 f., lxi. 2, 3, xli. 25—27, xliv. 28), which must therefore have been united; and since cc. xxxvi.—xxxix. are only an appendix to the prophecies included in the preceding thirty-five cc., it may be inferred that in the time of the writer of Ecclus. the whole sixty-six cc. formed one book passing as Isaiah's. Similarly in the N.T., passages are cited from various parts of the book as being equally the utterances of Isaiah, e.g. i. 9 (Rom. ix. 29), ix. 1—2 (Matt. iv. 15, 16), vi. 10 (Joh. xii. 40), xxix. 13 (Mk. vii. 6—7), xl. 3 (Matt. iii. 3), liii. 4 (Matt. viii. 17), lxv. 1 (Rom. x. 20).

Certain portions of the book, however, can be shewn, by the internal evidence which they contain of their origin, to be the products of a later age than Isaiah's; and from this it follows that the book in its present form is the work of an editor. But an examination of its contents further makes it clear that it is not a collection of separate prophecies derived from various sources, which have been combined by a single editor, but that it is a combination of several earlier collections, each of which must have had its own editor. It reached its present shape by a lengthy process, its compilation being effected by various stages; and the completion of it was not accomplished until many centuries after Isaiah's lifetime.

That the existing book is not a collection of prophecies by a single hand but an amalgamation of several prior collections of less compass is indicated by the following facts. (1) Whilst the whole book has a heading, describing it as *the vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz* (i. 1), similar headings occur elsewhere within the book (see ii. 1, xiii. 1), which look like the titles of smaller works which have been incorporated in the larger. (2) Great disorder is observable in the arrangement of some of the prophecies. Thus c. vi., relating to the call of Isaiah (about 740), might be expected to be placed at the beginning of the book (cf. Jer. i., Ezek. i.) instead of in its present position; xxviii. 1—6, which is addressed to the kingdom of Ephraim and so must have been written before 722, whilst that kingdom was still in existence, should precede, instead of following, c. xx., which was composed in 711; ix. 8—21 and xvii. 1—11 ought chronologically to be grouped with cc. vii., viii., since like them, they belong to the reign of Ahaz; and xvii. 12—14 is allied by contents and date with x. 5 f. and was composed in the reign of Hezekiah. Such disorder points to the fact that the final editor was not free to place the cc. in their natural sequence, according to their chronological order or the character of their subject-matter, but found the prophecies in question already occupying particular positions. (3) The historical section (cc. xxxvi.—xxxix.), which is attached to cc. i.—xxxv., has the appearance of being the conclusion of a collection which once existed apart from the cc. (xl.—lxvi.) that follow it. From these features it may be inferred that certain small aggregates of prophecies attributed to Isaiah were first of all circulated separately, that these were subsequently united in a larger compilation, and that at a still later date other prophecies, contained in cc. xl.—lxvi., which may be assumed to have constituted originally distinct collections, were added to this, thus bringing the book to its present size.

The primary sources from which the earliest collections of Isaianic prophecies were derived were doubtless the records which on certain occasions the prophet himself ordered to be made of his utterances. Brief predictions of great importance he sometimes directed to be committed to writing at the time in order that their tenor might be accurately compared with the event (see viii. 16 and xxx. 8). Longer oracles were perhaps written down in a summarized and revised form by the prophet at a later date. Other prophecies, again, may have been preserved by the independent action of his disciples, who would naturally from time to time make collections of the oracles uttered by

their master. Records would also be composed of historical events with which the prophet was associated, and these would enshrine the memory of noteworthy predictions relating to them (such as that contained in c. xx.).

The authentic prophecies of Isaiah are comprised within cc. i.—xxxix. These cc. fall naturally into three groups, cc. xiii.—xxiii. being marked off from the preceding twelve cc. by having a separate heading, descriptive of authorship, prefixed to the initial prophecy (xiii. 1—xiv. 23), and distinguished from the succeeding twelve cc. by the title *burden* (or *oracle*), which is used to designate the large majority of the component prophecies in this group, but is absent from the group that follows (except in xxx. 6). Each of these three groups was probably at one time an independent collection.

The first group consists of cc. ii.—xii. (the separate heading in ii. 1 shewing that it was not originally preceded by c. i.), and includes oracles that date from both the earliest and the latest periods of the prophet's career. The fact that the account of his prophetic call (which occurred in the reign of Uzziah) appears as c. vi., instead of being placed at the beginning, renders it probable that it once formed part of a separate document from which the editor did not see his way to extract it in order to put it in its natural position. These cc. (ii.—xii.) seem, indeed, to contain several such documents or minor collections, which may perhaps be delimited thus: ii.—iv., v., vi. 1—ix. 7, ix. 8—xii. 6. Of these c. v. is made up of two parts, one of which, *vv.* 25—30, has lost its true connection, it being really the conclusion of ix. 8—21. Chapter vii. 1—17 looks like an extract from a biography of the prophet, recording the circumstances under which certain of his oracles were delivered. The arrangement of the individual prophecies within these smaller collections seems in general to have been guided by chronological considerations; but it is probably not without design that several of the collections close with a passage of consolatory purport (see ii. 6—iv. 6, vi. 1—ix. 7, x. 5—xii. 6).

After the first collection had been compiled, c. i. (which, like c. v., is a combination of stray oracles) was probably prefixed to it as a general introduction, a purpose for which it is excellently adapted. The superscription (i. 1) presumably has in view the contents of cc. i.—xii.

The second group consists of cc. xiii.—xxiii. This is distinguished from the foregoing not only (as has been said) by the superscription prefixed to c. xiii. ascribing it to *Isaiah the son of Amoz*, and by the

title *oracle* applied to ten of the prophecies, but also by the fact that the constituent prophecies are mainly addressed to foreign nations[1]. They are only partially Isaianic in origin, those which can with confidence be assigned to Isaiah being few: of the latter, one (c. xx.) appears (like c. vii.) to be derived from a biography. The insertion of these Isaianic oracles here seems best explained by the assumption that the editor of this collection was distinct from the editor of the earlier one, in which such oracles would be more in place, but to the collector of which they were not known. To this group the prophecy contained in cc. xxiv.—xxvii., which is of an Apocalyptic character, forms a kind of appendix, though it lacks a descriptive title.

The third group is composed of cc. xxviii.—xxxiii. It has no separate superscription, but its unity is evidenced by the fact that all the cc. (except c. xxxii.) begin with the exclamation *Woe* (or *Ho!*). This collection consists almost entirely of prophecies by Isaiah, which (with the exception of xxviii. 1—6 and xxxii. 9—20) belong to the reign of Hezekiah. At the end of it is attached a prophecy (cc. xxxiv., xxxv.), which is not Isaiah's, but later than the Exile. The resemblance to xi. 10—xii. 6 (the end of the first collection) which is shewn by xxvii. 12, 13 (the end of the second), and by c. xxxv. (the end of the third), all the passages predicting a restoration of dispersed Jews, favours the belief that the same principles have governed the internal arrangement of all the three large collections, at least to the extent of concluding each of them with a section of hopeful tenor.

When these groups were combined, there was added at the end of the compilation an historical section, taken from the books of Kings (a work not completed before 561, during the Exile, see 2 Kgs. xxv. 27)[2], and containing an account of certain occurrences in which Isaiah was concerned, the purpose of the addition being to round off the record of his prophetic work, just as the section 2 Kgs. xxiv. 18—xxv. 30 was supplied at the end of the prophecies of Jeremiah (see Jer. lii.). In regard to the arrangement of the three collections within the comprehensive work, cc. i.—xxxix., the separation of the two containing the bulk of Isaiah's prophecies by the group of oracles (mainly anonymous) concerning foreign nations may be accounted for by the desirability of bringing the Isaianic oracles treating of the deliverance from Assyria in the time of Hezekiah into close juxtaposition with the concluding

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[1] Of the oracles to which headings are prefixed, the only one that does not apply to a foreign people is c. xxii.

[2] See Driver, *LOT.* p. 198.

historical section which deals with the same period. Finally to this composite aggregate of Isaianic and other writings there were subjoined two other collections of anonymous prophecies, one (cc. xl.—lv.)[1] composed in the sixth century between 546 and 538, and the other (cc. lvi.—lxvi.) probably dating (save for the last two *vv.*) from the fifth century—not later than 445.

The attachment to the prophecies of Isaiah of a number of others of different authorship is paralleled by what has taken place in the instances of Jeremiah and Zechariah, to whose writings there have likewise been appended works of extraneous origin (see Jer. l., li. 1—58, Zech. ix.—xiv.). Such a proceeding has perhaps in some cases been occasioned by a confusion of names, two prophets of different dates but bearing the same or similar appellations being mistaken for one another. The name *Isaiah* was not an uncommon one; and instances of it in both its forms (see p. xvii) occur in 1 Ch. iii. 21, xxv. 3, 15, xxvi. 25, Ezra viii. 7, 19, Neh. xi. 7. But it is probable that more frequently such appended compositions were anonymous, and were attached to the writings of famous prophets either that they might be the better preserved, or even through the mere accident that a roll containing the work of a writer of note was only partially full. There must, however, have been a special reason why so large a number of anonymous writings have been appended to those of Isaiah, and it has been suggested that it has been due to the wish to render the works of that prophet considerable enough to be placed by the side of those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with whom it was deemed fitting that he should be associated[2]. Perhaps in the case of cc. xl.—lxvi. a more plausible explanation of their position is the fact that in c. xxxix. Isaiah is represented as predicting a captivity in Babylon, and this being identified with the deportation thither of Jewish captives by Nebuchadrezzar, it may have been thought that so eminent a prophet must have foretold their release likewise, and these cc. were considered to contain his prediction of it. The ascription of them to him would be facilitated by the occurrence of a prophecy of the destruction of Babylon in the collection cc. xiii.—xxvii. In regard to some short passages of seemingly alien origin which are combined with Isaiah's authentic utterances, another reason has probably been operative. There was always sufficient motive amongst the Hebrews for the

[1] This collection seems itself to consist of two groups, viz. xl.—xlviii. and xlix.—lv.

[2] See Cheyne, *Introd. to the Book of Isaiah*, p. xvii.

enlargement of their early writings by the inclusion of additional matter in the mere desire to make them more useful to later generations, especially by stimulating in a distressed community hopes of deliverance and restoration. In antiquity generally, a sense of the rights of authorship was comparatively little manifested; and writings were valued by the Hebrews more for their capability to edify than for their historic or literary interest. Hence Jews of the exilic or post-exilic periods would feel no hesitation in supplementing eighth century prophecies, if they were of a depressing character, by incorporating with them fresh prophecies of the consolatory tenor that contemporary conditions seemed to demand. Of the supplementary matter which may have been added from the motive described, examples are to be found in vi. 13 (last clause)[1], xxviii. 5—6, and probably ii. 2—4.

Of the dates when the successive collections were formed it is impossible to speak with confidence. Probably the process of uniting together the separate prophecies of Isaiah that were in circulation was begun by the prophet's personal followers, and some of the smaller collections are doubtless pre-exilic. Of the three larger collections that make up cc. i.—xxxix., the first and third, which consist mainly of Isaianic writings, are probably earlier than the second. But since each of them contains insertions of post-exilic origin (e.g. xi. 10—xii. 6, xxiv.—xxvii., xxxii. 6—8, xxxiii. 21—24, xxxiv., xxxv.) none can have reached its present shape until the post-exilic age. The combination of the three into the composite work, cc. i.—xxxix., probably did not take place until the third century B.C., inasmuch as the historical section (cc. xxxvi.—xxxix.) which closes it seems not to have been transferred from the books of Kings until after 300 B.C.: at any rate the writer of Chronicles (*circ.* 300 B.C.) whilst alluding to *the vision of Isaiah* as one of the authorities for the reign of Hezekiah (apparently with reference to what is related in cc. xxxviii., xxxix.) seems to imply that it was contained in *the book of the kings of Judah and Israel* (2 Ch. xxxii. 32)[2], and not in a collection of Isaiah's prophecies. In regard to cc. xl.—lv. it may be inferred, from the fact that xliv. 28 seems to be quoted in 2 Ch. xxxvi. 22, 23 (= Ezra i. 1, 2) as Jeremiah's[3], that in the time of the Chronicler (*circ.* 300) these cc. were still a

[1] This does not seem to have been inserted until after the production of the LXX. version, from which it is absent.

[2] This work is not identical with the canonical books of Kings (see Driver, *LOT.* p. 528).

[3] It is possible that the writer of Chronicles has in view Jer. xxix. 10, though this seems unlikely.

separate work, and not yet incorporated with the writings of Isaiah. The addition, however, of both these cc. and cc. lvi.—lxvi. to the earlier compilation, cc. i.—xxxix., was presumably effected before the close of the third century B.C. The whole book, cc. i.—lxvi., seems to have reached its present form by the beginning of the second century, since (as has been seen) reference is made to the last twenty-seven cc. as Isaiah's work in Ecclus. xlviii. 22—25, which probably dates from *circ.* 180 B.C.

The following is an analysis of the book. The non-Isaianic parts of cc. i.—xxxix. are placed within brackets, small insertions being ignored.

(i) PROTO-ISAIAH: cc. i.—xxxix.

(*a*) *First Collection*: i. [ii. 2—4], ii. 5—iv. 6, v. 1—7, x. 1—4 + v. 8—24, vi., vii.—viii., ix. 1—7, ix. 8—21 + v. 25—30, x. 5—xi. 9, [xi. 10—xii. 6].

(*b*) *Second Collection*: [xiii. 1—xiv. 23], xiv. 24—27, xiv. 28—32, [xv.—xvi.], xvii. 1—11, xvii. 12—14, xviii., [xix.], xx., [xxi. 1—10, xxi. 11—12, xxi. 13—17], xxii. 1—14, xxii. 15—25, [xxiii.], [xxiv.—xxvii.].

(*c*) *Third Collection*: xxviii. 1—6, xxviii. 7—29, xxix. 1—xxxii. 8, xxxii. 9—20, xxxiii., [xxxiv.—xxxv.].

(*d*) *Historical Supplement*: [xxxvi.—xxxix.].

(ii) DEUTERO-ISAIAH: cc. xl.—lv.

cc. xl.—xlviii., xlix.—lv.

(iii) TRITO-ISAIAH: cc. lvi.—lxvi.

lvi. 1—8, lvi. 9—lvii. 20, lviii.—lix., lx.—lxii., lxiii. 1—6, lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12, lxv.—lxvi.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH IN THE N.T.

The book of Isaiah is more frequently quoted in the N.T. than any other writing of the O.T. Many of its predictions and statements are described as "fulfilled" by incidents narrated in the Gospels or by conditions obtaining in the early Church; whilst others, though not actually cited, have left their mark upon the language of St Paul and St John. In the notes attention is drawn to most of the passages to which reference is made by the N.T. writers; but it will be of service to collect here the more important.

Is. vi. 9—10	Matt. xiii. 14, 15, Joh. xii. 39, 40.
vii. 14	Matt. i. 22, 23.
ix. 1, 2	Matt. iv. 15, 16.
xxix. 13	Mk. vii. 6, 7, Matt. xv. 8, 9.
xl. 3—5	Mk. i. 2, 3, Matt. iii. 3, Luke iii. 4—6.
xlii. 1—4	Matt. xii. 18—21.
xlix. 6	Acts xiii. 47.
liii. 1	Joh. xii. 38.
liii. 4	Matt. viii. 17.
liii. 7, 8	Acts viii. 32—35.
lxi. 1, 2	Luke iv. 18—21.

CHAPTER II.

PROTO-ISAIAH (cc. i.—xxxix.)

§ 1. *Hebrew Prophecy and its Credentials.*

Among the Semitic peoples, as among other races, it was believed that knowledge which was not ordinarily accessible to men, especially knowledge of the future, was sometimes imparted through special channels. It was thought that superhuman powers, which either controlled, or had cognizance of, coming events vouchsafed intimation of the same either (*a*) by means of signs in physical nature, or (*b*) through revelations made directly to the human mind. Information about future events was occasionally communicated to the individuals whom it concerned, without the agency of any medium specially qualified to convey or interpret it, the significance of physical portents or of dreams and other impressive psychical experiences being understood at once by those to whom such occurrences happened[1]. But usually the desired information was obtained through persons endowed with exceptional aptitudes for the function of revealing what the gods or other spiritual powers were willing to disclose. Those who claimed to be able to ascertain this secret knowledge through external objects were, as a class, called *diviners*, whilst those to whom revelations were made through visions, spiritual intuitions, or uncontrollable impulses were usually described as *seers* or *prophets*.

The ominous sights and sounds in the material world which constituted the province of the diviner were thought to occur everywhere; and there were few things from which it was not believed that intimations, serviceable for human guidance, could be derived. Prominent

[1] See Gen. xx. 3, xxviii. 12 f., 1 Kgs. iii. 5.

among the sources whence in antiquity omens could be deduced were those objects or creatures which seemed to be nearest to heaven, such as the stars, birds, and perhaps clouds. Others were trees with their quivering foliage, sacrificial victims, and the fall of lots. Augury through birds prevailed chiefly among the Greeks and Romans[1], and is scarcely mentioned in the Bible; but divination through the stars was widely prevalent among the Babylonians (Is. xlvii. 13)[2]; and it is possible that the Heb. word commonly rendered *soothsayer* (Is. ii. 6) means *an observer of clouds*. Trees were believed by the Hebrews, as well as by the Greeks[3], to convey Divine communications: there was an *oak of the augurs* near Shechem (Jud. ix. 37 mg.); and in David's time the rustling of the mulberry trees in the valley of Rephaim was taken as an indication that the Lord had gone out to battle (2 Sam. v. 22—24)[4]. The use of sacred stones for the purpose of drawing lots is illustrated by the *Urim and Thummim*, which seem to have been two gems or pebbles carried in some receptacle, the fall of one or other, when the receptacle was shaken, being held to determine which of two alternatives was the right one (1 Sam. xiv. 41 LXX.)[5]. An appeal to the arbitrament of the lot is also implied in Jud. xx. 9, 1 Sam. x. 19—21, Jonah i. 7, though the means used is not stated. The shaking of arrows (*belomancy*), which perhaps had various alternatives inscribed on them, is mentioned in Ezek. xxi. 21 as employed by the king of Babylon; and possibly a kindred method of augury by wands (*rhabdomancy*) is referred to in Hos. iv. 12[6]. Divination by the drawing of lots was practised before images, which were presumably regarded as the source of the decisions obtained. Images used in this connection were the *teraphim* (Zech. x. 2, Ezek. xxi. 21), which must have been models of the human body or bust (cf. 1 Sam. xix. 13—16) and perhaps symbolized deceased ancestors (even if they were not actually mummies), and the *ephod*, which seems to have been a plated figure of some kind (Jud. viii.

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[1] According to Cicero intimations of the future were thought to be obtainable from birds by the Cilicians, Pisidians, Phrygians, Pamphylians, and Arabians (*de Div.* I. §§ 2, 92, 94); and Tacitus asserts that the same belief prevailed among the Germans, though their distinctive practice was to deduce omens from the neighing and snorting of horses (*Germ.* x. §§ 3, 4).

[2] Cf. Cic. *de Div.* I. §§ 2, 91.

[3] At Dodona oracles were obtained from an oak: cf. Hom. *Od.* XIV. 327—8, *τὸν δ' ἐς Δωδώνην φάτο βήμεναι, ὄφρα θεοῖο Ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσαι.*

[4] Possibly the palm tree under which the prophetess Deborah sat when judging Israel (Jud. iv. 5) was regarded as a source of inspiration.

[5] Cf. McNeile, *Exodus*, pp. 182—184.

[6] Cf. Hdt. IV. 67, Tac. *Germ.* x. §§ 1—2.

26, 27, xvii. 3—5, 1 Sam. xxi. 9), possibly representing JEHOVAH—at least this is suggested by passages like 1 Sam. xxiii. 9, 10 and xxx. 7, 8. Other methods of augury alluded to occasionally in the O.T. are hydromancy (Gen. xliv. 5, 15) and the inspection of the entrails of victims (Ezek. xxi. 21)[1], whilst the rite of passing children through the fire (2 Kgs. xvi. 3, xxi. 6, Jer. xxxii. 35) was possibly practised with a similar end in view (see p. 363).

Revelations conveyed directly to the human mind by spiritual beings might proceed from either ghosts or gods. When it was desired to consult the ghosts of the dead (*necromancy*) it was usual to apply to a class of persons who claimed to be able to raise spirits from the Under-world or otherwise bring them into communication with the living (1 Sam. xxviii. 3 f., Is. viii. 19). But intimations from the dead could also be obtained by spending the night in the neighbourhood of their tombs (*incubation*, cf. Is. lxv. 4)[2], the dead man's spirit appearing or speaking to the sleeper in a dream. In Israel necromancy was held to be incompatible with fidelity to the Lord, and was early prohibited (Ex. xxii. 18, 1 Sam. xxviii. 3). Communications from gods were generally thought to be imparted through *prophets*[3]. Prophets are mentioned in the O.T. as existing among several Semitic peoples beside the Hebrews, as, for example, the Syrians or Arameans, the nation whence Balaam came (Num. xxiii. 7), and the Phœnicians, whose god Baal, when his worship was introduced into Israel, was served by 450 prophets (1 Kgs. xviii. 19). Amongst the Hebrews JEHOVAH was believed to disclose His will alike by dreams[4], by *Urim*, and by prophets (1 Sam. xxviii. 6); but eventually divination by *Urim* passed into abeyance, and it was the prophets who came to be regarded as the normal channel for the Lord to employ in making known His mind to His people (Am. iii. 7, cf. Deut. xviii. 18), though the drawing of lots for the ascertainment of the Divine decision between two alternatives never altogether lost its attraction (cf. Acts i. 26).

It is stated in 1 Sam. ix. 9 that one who in later times was called

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[1] Cf. Diod. Sic. II. 29 (of the Babylonians), *οὐκ ἀσοφῶς ποιοῦντες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἱεροσκοπίαν.*

[2] Cf. Cic. *de Div.* I. § 88 (of Amphiaraus), *ut ab eius solo, in quo est humatus, oracla peterentur.*

[3] A usual name for a prophet was *a man of God* (2 Kgs. iv. 22, 27, viii. 4).

[4] So in Homer, dreams come from Zeus (*Il.* I. 63). Pausanias (I. 34) relates that at Oropus Amphiaraus, who was there worshipped as a god, gave revelations by dreams. Oracles at Amphiclea were similarly given by Dionysus through dreams (*id.* x. 33).

a *prophet* was, in the age of Samuel, called a *seer*. It does not appear, however, that the word *prophet* was not in use as early as the time of Samuel (see 1 Sam. x. 5, 10), but that it was employed in a more restricted sense than was common afterwards, *seer* and *prophet* being then appropriated to two different classes. The term *seer*[1] described one who possessed, or was credited with, an exceptional faculty of foresight, or of such insight as enabled him to discern facts which were not apparent to ordinary observers (see 1 Sam. ix. 6, 9, 20); whereas the term *prophet* was applied to a man mastered by some violent excitement or frenzy, both the exceptional faculty of the one and the excited condition of the other being attributed to Divine origin[2] and regarded as means whereby God sought to influence the community at large. Seers were probably in general men of some individuality and capacity, whilst the prophets of Samuel's time were men of emotional temperament who usually gathered in bands, a circumstance which would naturally intensify the lack of self-control which characterized them. As the appearance of these bands coincided with the struggle of Israel against Philistine domination, it has been plausibly suggested that they were the spontaneous product of the insurrectionary movement, into which religious fanaticism must have largely entered (zeal for national independence and zeal for the nation's God being in that age practically indistinguishable). *Prophesying* was originally the raving of these frenzied zealots[3], whose utterances were often stimulated by music (1 Sam. x. 5, cf. 2 Kgs. iii. 15)[4]. What they said in their excited state (attributed as this was to the influence of the spirit of God, cf. 1 Sam. x. 10, 11) led them to be regarded as "forth-tellers" of things Divine, or perhaps "spokesmen" for God (see Jer. xv. 19, and cf. Ex. iv. 16), though at first much of their speech must have been only half-intelligible[5]. But such companies of wild enthusiasts, which most periods of religious conflict tended to create, were capable of being organized and turned to

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[1] Hebrew has two words for *seer*, רֹאֶה and חוֹזֶה (1 Sam. ix. 9, 1 Ch. ix. 22, xxix. 29, 2 Ch. xvi. 7, 2 Sam. xxiv. 11, Am. vii. 12, etc.).

[2] Cf. Verg. *A.* vi. 78, 79 (of the Sibyl), *Bacchatur vates magnum si pectore possit Excussisse deum.*

[3] Cf. 1 Kgs. xviii. 29 (of the prophets of Baal).

[4] The term *prophesying* came to be used in connection with the musical service of the Temple (1 Ch. xxv. 1, 3).

[5] The word נָבִיא (prophet) seems to be akin to an Arabic root which in certain conjugations means *to acquaint, inform*, cf. also the Assyrian *nabû, call, proclaim, name*. But some connect it with the root נבע *to bubble up, pour forth*. See *Lex. s.v.* and W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 390—391.

account; and at a later date bodies of men called *sons of the prophets*[1] were settled in orderly communities or guilds (perhaps at sanctuaries, 2 Kgs. ii. 3, 5) under the direction of some influential leader (1 Sam. xix. 20, 2 Kgs. iv. 38, vi. 1), who presumably trained them in his own religious faith and ideals, and used them as agents in promoting the purposes which he had at heart (2 Kgs. ix. 1 f.).

The function of the earliest seers, so far as can be judged from the narrative in 1 Sam. ix., did not necessarily involve any ethical qualities; and probably the chief ethical feature about the companies of prophets in the time of Samuel was their patriotism: but from the age of Samuel onwards[2] there emerged from among both these classes (which became indistinguishable, the names *seer* and *prophet* being used synonymously, cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 5 with 2 Sam. xxiv. 11)[3] a succession of men conspicuous for their spirituality and for the decisiveness with which they affirmed moral principles before kings and people alike. The germ of the later ethical prophetism existed, no doubt, earlier than the age of Samuel. Moses is termed, not inappropriately, a prophet in Deut. xxxiv. 10, Hos. xii. 13; and so far as he was responsible for the earliest Hebrew legislation, he must have had moral aims in view. Unfortunately, however, it is impossible to decide how much of the Pentateuchal laws date from Mosaic times, since even the most ancient, such as those contained in the two decalogues (Ex. xx. 1—17, xxxiv. 12—26), and in the book of the covenant (Ex. xxi.—xxiii.), shew traces of having assumed their present form after the conquest of Canaan, when Israel first began to practise agriculture. Probably they were all framed in a greater or less degree under the influence of prophets contemporary with the early monarchy; but it will be sufficient in this brief notice of prophetic activity prior to Isaiah (which is intended merely as a preliminary to an account of that prophet) to illustrate the spirit of early prophecy from the records comprised in the historical books, only citing a few parallels from the earliest legislative codes.

The features in the history of the prophets from Samuel to Isaiah which are of most interest for the purpose of comparison are three.

(*a*) The prophets were the champions of the religion of JEHOVAH

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[1] In this connection *sons* is equivalent to *disciples*: cf. the correlative *father* in 1 Sam. x. 12.

[2] In Acts iii. 24 the succession of prophets is represented as beginning with Samuel.

[3] Compare the powers of the prophets Elisha in 2 Kgs. v. 26, vi. 12 and Ahijah in 1 Kgs. xiv. 4—6 with those of the seer Samuel in 1 Sam. ix. 20.

whenever its claim to the exclusive allegiance of the people was threatened by the intrusion into the land of foreign cults (which generally followed the contracting of alliances with external powers[1]). In combating alien religions in Israel they did not hesitate to use or support violence. Elijah put to death the priests of the Tyrian Baal, and Elisha instigated Jehu to conspire against Jehoram, whose father Ahab had been responsible for tolerating the Baal worship to which his wife Jezebel was devoted. The wholesale massacres by which Jehu exterminated the house of Ahab and which afterwards evoked the censure of the prophet Hosea (i. 4) seem to have been approved by Elisha. It seems probable, too, that the prophet Ahijah contributed to the disruption of the kingdom in the reign of Rehoboam by encouraging the ambition of Jeroboam, his motive being indignation at the erection by Solomon of shrines for the foreign deities worshipped by his wives[2].

(*b*) The prophets were the upholders of social morality, and denounced acts of outrage and oppression committed by the powerful upon the weak[3]. Their conception of the nature and character of the Lord was ethically a high one, and it led them to condemn in His name deeds of tyranny. Nathan rebuked David for compassing the death of Uriah and committing adultery with his wife, and announced that punishment from the Lord would overtake him for his sin; whilst Elijah, when Ahab obtained the vineyard of Naboth after Jezebel had brought about the death of its owner, assured the king that the blood of the murdered man would be required of his house. From the narrative of the deaths of Jehoram and Jezebel at the hands of Jehu it would appear that antagonism to Baal worship was only one of the causes behind the successful conspiracy, and that Elijah's denunciation of Naboth's murder first prompted Jehu to his work of vengeance.

(*c*) But whilst the prophets here under consideration were not backward in denouncing religious and moral offences, there was absent from their denunciations any foreboding of overwhelming disaster in store for their country. Though defeats and other calamities were from time to time predicted for the nation by reason of the sins of

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[1] Cf. Ex. xx. 3, xxii. 20, xxiii. 24.

[2] Another prophet, Shemaiah, opposed Rehoboam's attempt to recover his lost provinces (1 Kgs. xii. 21—24).

[3] Cf. the prohibitions in Ex. xx.—xxiii. against wronging the stranger, the fatherless and the widow (xxii. 21—24) and wresting the judgment of the poor (xxiii. 6).

its rulers (1 Kgs. xxii.), there was no prevailing tone of pessimism in regard to the future. In the nation's conflicts with foreign enemies the prophets were generally sources of confidence to their countrymen. Samuel was instrumental in giving the people a king to deliver them from the Philistines[1], just as Deborah before him had inspired Barak to put an end to the domination of the Canaanites; whilst both Elijah and Elisha were thought to afford to Israel a defence as valuable as chariots and horses (2 Kgs. ii. 12, xiii. 14, cf. vi. 10).

When, however, about the middle of the eighth century there arose a succession of prophets who used literature[2] as a means for preserving and disseminating their oracles and of whom Isaiah was one of the earliest, they presented some striking contrasts to their predecessors. Like them, indeed, they strenuously opposed any divided allegiance on the part of the nation between the Lord and other gods; and like them they championed the cause of the weak and defenceless against the oppression of the powerful. But in seeking to put an end to corruption both in religion and morals they did not ally themselves with men of violence, or try to subvert by force the established authorities. The means they used to direct the national policy and to conduct it into the right channels was moral suasion only: and when it failed, they patiently awaited the judgment which they anticipated would ensue, and which they expected the Lord to execute through the agency of foreign invaders. And they differed likewise from their predecessors in taking a more sombre view of the condition of their countrymen and the fate which they merited. In proportion as their own conception of the Lord's spirituality and holiness became more elevated, the sins of the people appeared more heinous, and their impending punishment more certain and severe. They believed that the forbearance of the Lord was well-nigh exhausted, and there was in store for the majority of the guilty nation captivity in a distant land (Am. v. 4, 5, 27, Hos. ix. 17, Is. v. 13, cf. Jer. xliv. 22).

It was the conviction of the Hebrew prophets that they were directly commissioned by the Lord Himself to speak and act on His behalf. They were empowered by His spirit to declare unto His

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[1] The account in 1 Sam. ix. 1—x. 16, which represents the institution of the kingship as a token of Divine favour, is older and probably more historic than that in viii., x. 17—27, which describes the popular demand for a king as an offence against the Lord.

[2] The Chronicler, indeed, refers to prophetic writings of much earlier date (see 1 Ch. xxix. 29, 2 Ch. ix. 29, xii. 15, xiii. 22, xx. 34): on the subject of such references see Driver, *LOT.* p. 529 f.

people their sins (Mic. iii. 8); they were made acquainted with His secret purposes (Am. iii. 7); and the words which they spake they believed to be put into their mouth by Him (Ezek. ii. 8—iii. 3), and to be the forerunners of His certain chastisements (Jer. i. 9, 10, Hos. vi. 5). Several of the prophets describe the precise circumstances in which they thought themselves to have been charged with the Divine mandate (Am. vii. 14, 15, Is. vi., Jer. i. 4 f., Ezek. i. 1 f.). But the occasions which they represent to have been decisive of their vocation and to have determined their life's work were probably in many cases only the culmination of a protracted process of reflection. Being men of strong spiritual faith and acute ethical perceptions, they would be keenly sensitive to the religious and moral conditions of their age; and if their final apprehension of the truth, and of their duty in regard to it, was sometimes gained in a moment of sudden illumination, it was doubtless the result of impressions which had been long accumulating. And whether the impulse to speak to their countrymen in the Lord's name came slowly or suddenly, there was attached to it a feeling of authoritativeness which they could not disregard, and which overpowered in them all considerations for their own safety or welfare (Jer. i. 8, 17, xx. 7—18, Ezek. ii. 6).

But a Hebrew prophet's own conviction that he was authorized by the Lord to speak for Him was not one which could be conveyed to others without some proof. At all times probably there were numerous rival prophets, who equally claimed the Lord's authority for their utterances. Between such conflicting claims some criterion was necessary; and among the tests to which appeal was made when the authority of a prophet was in dispute were the working of signs and the fulfilment of predictions. It was believed that none could work signs unless God were with him (cf. Joh. iii. 2); and the performance of marvels by prophets and others claiming a Divine commission, as a means of establishing their pretensions, was common in early Hebrew history (Ex. iv. 1—9, vii. 8—12, 1 Sam. xii. 16—18). But it was not an infallible test (see Ex. vii. 22, viii. 7, cf. Deut. xiii. 2, 3); and from the eighth century onwards recorded instances of prophets resorting to such proofs of authority are extremely rare, though Isaiah is related on one occasion to have given a sign of a marvellous nature, in order to inspire confidence in his assertions (xxxviii. 4—8). Ordinarily, it was the faculty of prediction which was regarded as the distinguishing mark of a genuine prophet. Prevision was an inherent attribute of Deity, and in Is. xlii. 9, xliv. 8, xlv. 21 emphasis is expressly laid upon

the Lord's predictive power as contrasted with that of other gods, appeal being made to Israel's experience of it (xliii. 10). And since the Hebrew prophets professed to be the channels through which the Lord disclosed His purposes (Am. iii. 7), their ability to foretell the future correctly became the test by which they were willing to be judged, if their claims to speak for the Lord were challenged. Thus, when conflicting prophecies were uttered by Jeremiah and Hananiah, the former, to decide between them, appealed to the principle that *when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known whom the Lord hath truly sent* (Jer. xxviii. 9 mg.). In Deut. xviii. 21, 22 the converse rule is affirmed, and the non-occurrence of a predicted event is explicitly declared to be the decisive proof that the prophet predicting it had spoken presumptuously and not by the inspiration of the Lord (cf. 1 Kgs. xxii. 28). To such a test as this, however, the foremost Hebrew prophets were not uniformly equal, even if allowance is made for the conditional character of many prophecies, which, uttered as warnings, were calculated to avert the very evils predicted, and so to defeat their own accomplishment (cf. Jer. xxvi. 12 f., xviii. 7, 8, xxxvi. 1—3, Jonah iii. 4—10). But even the accurate fulfilment of a prediction, if it related to a distant occasion, or involved some irremediable catastrophe, might establish too late the authority of the prophet who uttered it (cf. Ezek. xii. 22). A prophecy that a course of action contemplated by the people was destined, if persisted in, to bring destruction on those responsible for it would be useless as a warning against such action unless the prophet could previously convince his countrymen that he was worthy of credence. And since prophets generally had a practical end in view, and sought to influence their own generation, a more immediate test than the one described in Jer. xxviii. 9 and Deut. xviii. 21, 22 was needed; and a surer, if less impressive, one was afforded by a comparison between a prophet's message and the principles of the religion of JEHOVAH. A prophet could be put to the proof by the agreement or disagreement of his teaching with the nation's historic faith, in which, if he were really a messenger of the Lord, he would seek to confirm his countrymen; whereas if he sought to seduce the people from the worship of the Lord to that of other gods, he would shew himself undeserving of confidence, even though he were supported by signs that came to pass, for such signs might be wrought by the Lord's permission in order to try His people (Deut. xiii. 2, 3). The issue did not turn upon a mere question of names. The essence of Israel's religion was not the worship

of a deity distinguished by a certain appellation, but a deity distinguished by certain qualities of character, the like of which He demanded in His people. Hence the test just described turned upon the ethical standard which was held up by the prophets before the nation, the true prophets being discernible from the false by the more exacting claims which, as the Lord's representatives, they made upon the people for justice, rectitude, and purity. And since during the last half century prior to the destruction of Samaria and the last century and a half preceding the fall of Jerusalem there were rife in both Israel and Judah crimes and abuses which were calculated to provoke the anger of the Lord, a simple criterion between the two classes of prophets was the tenor of their predictions. Many who professed to speak for the Lord were men of debased character (Is. xxviii. 7, Zeph. iii. 4, Jer. xxiii. 14, xxix. 23); whilst others, if not themselves vicious, were tolerant of evil in their countrymen. These, having no fear of a Divine judgment waiting upon the national corruption, prophesied not evil but good (Mic. iii. 5, Jer. vi. 14, xiv. 13, 14, xxiii. 17, cf. 1 Kgs. xxii. 6, 23), and thereby proved themselves *to speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord.* On the other hand, if a prophet predicted evil for the land because of its wickedness, he to that extent evinced insight into the Divine character (Mic. iii. 8, Is. lviii. 1). A righteous God could not permanently allow unrighteousness to go unpunished (cf. Jer. v. 9); and a prophet who foresaw and foretold the coming retribution thereby attested that he had stood in the Lord's council and revealed His mind.

§ 2. *The Life and Times of Isaiah.*

Of the personal life of the prophet Isaiah everything that is really known is either stated in the book that bears his name, or is inferred from its contents, although about the history of his times much additional information is forthcoming from the Assyrian inscriptions. His name (meaning *salvation of* JEHOVAH or JEHOVAH *is salvation*) is a synonym of *Joshua* or *Jeshua* and is spelt in two forms—יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (i. 1, ii. 1, xiii. 1, xxxvii. 2, 21), and יְשַׁעְיָה (in the title of the book): LXX. Ἡσαΐας. Neither the year of his birth nor the year of his death is recorded; and all that is related respecting the duration of his prophetic ministry is that it began in the last year of the reign of Uzziah, and continued through the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz into the reign of Hezekiah, as far, at least, as the year 701. This

leaves the precise length of it undetermined, since the date of Uzziah's death is uncertain; but inasmuch as that event probably occurred about 740 or 738, Isaiah's prophetic career must have extended over at least 40 years. He was one of the earliest of the literary prophets, and contemporary with Hosea, Amos, and Micah. His father's name was Amoz (אָמוֹץ): and he himself was married (viii. 3) and father of at least two children[1], who were called Shear-jashub (vii. 3) and Maher-shalal-hash-baz (viii. 1—4). Jerusalem, if not his home, was, at any rate, the chief scene of his activity. It was there that his call took place (vi. 1); it was there that he had interviews with Ahaz and Hezekiah (vii. 3, xxxix. 3); only there could appeals to the people, such as those described in viii. 1, xx. 2, xxx. 8, have been made with effect; and sights which he witnessed there are alluded to in his prophecies (iii. 16 f., xxii. 1, 16). There is some reason for supposing that he was a man of rank and distinction in the state; for he could summon the high-priest Uriah to act as his witness (viii. 2), the politicians of Judah deemed it important to conceal from him such of their schemes as they expected him to disapprove of (xxix. 15, xxx. 1), instead of attempting to suppress his opposition by violence; and his influence seems to have been great enough to bring about the displacement of the minister Shebna from his original office (xxii. 15—23, cf. xxxvi. 3). Besides being the author of many of the prophecies included in the book to which he gives a title, he is credited in 2 Ch. xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32 with having written a history of Uzziah, and a "vision" relating the acts of Hezekiah. To these statements and inferences of a late source, still later and doubtless altogether untrustworthy tradition adds that his father Amoz was a brother of king Uzziah's father Amaziah (thus representing Isaiah to have been of royal lineage), and that the prophet outlived king Hezekiah and was put to death in his old age by Manasseh (cf. *Asc. Is.* v. 1, 11, Just. Mart. *c. Tryph.* 120), being sawn in sunder with a wooden saw (cf. Heb. xi. 37). In *Asc. Is.* iv. 22 his father Amoz is confused with the prophet Amos (עמוס)[2].

The circumstances in which Isaiah received his prophetic call are recorded by himself in c. vi., where he relates how in the Temple at Jerusalem he had a vision of the Lord, Who empowered him to become His messenger to His people. Unlike Jeremiah, who, when he ex-

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[1] Some scholars have thought that he had three children and that *Immanuel* (vii. 14) was the first-born son of a second wife (see p. 52).

[2] The names *Amoz* and *Amos* are not distinguished in the LXX.

perienced a similar Divine call, shewed much hesitancy, Isaiah spontaneously offered himself for the Lord's service. The duty with which he was charged was the denunciation of his country's offences and the prediction of national disaster. The land was the scene of idolatry, oppression, intemperance, and the perversion of justice; and Isaiah bent himself to the task of rebuking unsparingly such evils, which could not fail to provoke retribution from the Lord. But not only was the internal condition of the state corrupt, but its external policy was governed by an irreligious confidence in its military strength or its foreign alliances, instead of by trust in its God. The Lord was dishonoured by the self-sufficiency of Judah's politicians, as well as by the venality of its judges and the greed and profligacy of its upper classes. From his position in the capital Isaiah could closely observe the tortuous diplomacy pursued, and he constantly protested against it. In his hostility both to the politics and to the social abuses of his time he was inspired by religious faith. He sought to revive in his countrymen reverence for, and trust in, the Lord, of Whose holiness and majesty he himself had so profound a sense. And to the pursuit of this purpose he devoted with singleness of heart all his energies and talents throughout a long life. He regarded his own name (see p. xvii) as significant of the truth he was commissioned to proclaim (viii. 18); and he made the names of two of his children contribute to the dissemination of two of his predictions (vii. 3, viii. 3). He did not shrink from adopting the garb of a captive in order to impress a warning upon the minds of his countrymen (xx. 2). And when he failed to influence the nation at large, he gathered round him a small circle of faithful disciples, who, he trusted, would serve as a nucleus for a regenerate community when the chastisement which he anticipated for the state as a whole had done its work (viii. 16).

Isaiah's ministry began at the close of the reign of Uzziah of Judah, whose rule roughly synchronized with that of Jeroboam II. of Israel. The reigns of both of these kings were times of great prosperity for their respective countries. Israel under Jeroboam recovered much of the strength and importance which it had lost under his predecessor Joash, and its borders were extended both in the north (at the expense of Damascus and Hamath) and in the south (presumably to the detriment of Moab); see 2 Kgs. xiv. 25[1].

[1] In 2 Kgs. xiv. 28, as rendered in the R.V., it is represented that Jeroboam *recovered* Damascus and Hamath, which is inconsistent with *v.* 25: see Burney *ad loc.*

Uzziah in Judah also developed the military resources of his kingdom; he conducted successful wars against the Philistines and Arabians; and he received tokens of homage from the more distant Ammonites (2 Ch. xxvi. 6—8). Agriculture was encouraged (2 Ch. xxvi. 10), and commerce was fostered by the facilities arising from the possession of the port of Elath (or Eloth) on the Red Sea (2 Kgs. xiv. 22). But in both countries prosperity brought vices in its train. In Israel there prevailed a tone of national pride and arrogance which took no account of the judgments with which the Lord had previously humbled the nation (ix. 9, 10); and this irreligious self-confidence was accompanied by idolatry, luxury, and sensuality (xxviii. 1—4). In Judah the resultant conditions were similar. There, too, the increase of wealth and of military strength (2 Ch. xxvi. 11—15, cf. Is. ii. 7) had produced a proud sense of security; the inclination to idolatry was fostered by foreign trade, which led to the introduction of foreign superstitions (ii. 6); drunkenness was common (v. 11, 22); and a spirit of scepticism and a confusion of moral distinctions penetrated society (v. 19, 20). The accumulation of riches enabled the wealthier classes to acquire most of the land of the country (v. 8, cf. Mic. ii. 2), and so tended to impair and to destroy the independence of the poor. Nor was the evil of the existence of a large landless and dependent class brought about only by the action of economic forces. Justice was corrupt (i. 23, v. 23); and the expropriation of the peasant proprietors was accomplished by dishonest means (iii. 14, 15). It was the prevalence of these and other abuses which first impelled Isaiah to undertake the work of religious and social reform. He foresaw that the continuance of them could only rouse the resentment of a holy and righteous God, and that a heavy judgment was impending over both branches of the Hebrew people.

But Isaiah's religious faith not only led him to foresee that the conduct of his countrymen was bound to bring chastisement upon them: his political foresight enabled him to discern the form in which it would come and the agency by which it would be inflicted. N.E. of Palestine lay the empire of Assyria. Its situation, on the western side of the mountains of Kurdistan, pointed to the W. as the direction of its natural expansion; and as early as 1120—1115 Assyrian kings began to push their arms towards the Mediterranean. The Hebrew people first came into collision with it in the reign of Ahab of Israel. In 854 an Israelite contingent was sent to support the king of Hamath against it, and the allied forces, which included auxiliaries from

Damascus, Ammon, Arvad, and other smaller nationalities, met with a severe defeat at the battle of Karkar[1]. Jehu, Ahab's successor, found it expedient to send tokens of homage to the Assyrian king Shalmaneser II., and a list of his presents is preserved on the Black obelisk in the British Museum. But in spite of this, Assyria for some time was not a serious menace to the Hebrew states[2]. It was not until the succession of Tiglath-pileser III. (the *Pul* of 2 Kgs. xv. 19), about the time when Isaiah entered upon his prophetic ministry, that Assyrian enterprise began gravely to endanger Israel and Judah; but from that time onward for more than a century the westward progress of Assyrian invasion suffered little interruption. The possession of Palestine was coveted both for its own intrinsic value and for ulterior reasons. The range of Lebanon produced quantities of excellent timber; the ports of Phœnicia were centres of maritime trade; and the plains of Jezreel (Esdraelon) and Sharon were extremely fertile. But in addition to these attractions Palestine offered access to the countries lying to the S. of it. It commanded the roads to Egypt and N.W. Arabia; and in consequence its occupation was essential for any Eastern power that contemplated an attack upon those rich lands. An ordinary political observer could not mistake the sinister significance which the advance of Assyria had for the two Hebrew peoples. But Isaiah, who believed that the destinies of nations were controlled by the Lord, and who felt that his own race deserved punishment for their want of faith and for their moral offences, traced in the movements of Assyria a Divine purpose, and saw in its menacing hosts the agency whereby the Lord designed to chastise first Israel and then Judah.

Isaiah's writings, if arranged chronologically, according to the crises which form the subject of them, may conveniently be divided into four groups. Of these, one includes prophecies dating from the last year of Uzziah, the reign of Jotham, and the early years of Ahaz; a second comprises prophecies belonging to the time of the Syro-Ephraimite war, in the reign of Ahaz, which eventually led to the fall of Samaria in 722; whilst the other two consist of utterances evoked by two distinct occasions in the reign of Hezekiah. The contents of these various groups of writings, and their relation to the particular circumstances that called them forth are explained in the course of the commentary: it will be expedient here to bring them into connec-

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[1] See Schrader, *COT.* I. pp. 185—186.

[2] Shalmaneser's campaigns against Damascus (Schrader, *COT.* I. pp. 200, 201), were indirectly of service to Israel by relieving it of Syrian pressure.

tion with the main features of Assyrian history during the period which they cover.

1. *From the end of Uzziah's reign to the beginning of the reign of Ahaz* (prior to 734):—(*a*) cc. vi., i. (part), ii.—iv., v. 1—24, x. 1—4, xxxii. 9—20 (Judah); (*b*) ix. 8—21 + v. 25—30 (Israel).

During this period (as has been explained) the condition of both Israel and Judah was very prosperous. The former country in the reign of Jehoahaz had suffered severely from Syria under Hazael and his son Ben-hadad (2 Kgs. xiii. 3); but Syria met with a serious reverse from Assyria under Ramman-nirari III., or Adad-nirari (811—783)[1], and this so crippled it that not only was Israel delivered from further Syrian attacks (cf. 2 Kgs. xiii. 5) but in the reign of Jeroboam, the grandson of Jehoahaz, its territory underwent great expansion. The development of both Israel and Judah in the time of Jeroboam and his contemporary Uzziah was assisted by a period of inactivity and weakness on the part of Assyria after its successes over Syria[2]; and the increase of wealth in both the Hebrew states brought with it the moral evils which Isaiah describes in the prophecies enumerated above.

2. *From* 734 (*the Syro-Ephraimite coalition against Judah*) *to* 722 (*the fall of Samaria*):—(*a*) cc. vii.—viii. (Judah); (*b*) cc. xvii. 1—11 (Israel and Damascus), xxviii. 1—4 (6) (Israel).

Assyrian military enterprise was revived by Tiglath-pileser III. (745—727), whose energy began to menace anew the smaller Palestinian nationalities. Among the first to suffer were Arpad and Hamath, which were captured in 740 and 738 respectively (cf. Is. x. 9)[3]. Damascus and Israel, under Rezin and Menahem, saved themselves for a time from destruction by becoming tributary (cf. 2 Kgs. xv. 19, 20)[4]; but both nations chafed under the yoke, and both eventually revolted. It seems likely that Damascus was the first to move, and that it attacked Israel which, under Menahem and his son Pekahiah, remained loyal to its suzerain (cf. Is. ix. 12 and note). But Pekahiah, after a short reign, was murdered by an anti-Assyrian faction headed by Pekah, who mounted the throne; and a coalition was then formed between Damascus and Israel (in which Gaza and some other states joined) for mutual defence against Assyria. To strengthen the confederation the allies sought to induce Judah (where Uzziah had been followed on

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[1] Rogers, *HBA.* II. p. 96.
[2] Rogers, *HBA.* II. pp. 101—103.
[3] Rogers, *HBA.* II. pp. 117, 121.
[4] Schrader, *COT.* I. p. 245.

the throne by Jotham) to enter into it; and when Jotham was succeeded by Ahaz, they invaded the country in order to compel compliance. But both Damascus and Israel were exhausted by war, and the latter probably by anarchy as well (cf. Is. ix. 19—21); and Isaiah confidently predicted that the two hostile nations would themselves within a very brief interval be devastated by invaders (vii. 16, viii. 1—4). It was clear, indeed, that before long Assyria, in the pursuit of its own projects, would crush both of them. But Ahaz, in his alarm, would not heed Isaiah's assurances and determined to seek help from the power which his foes wished to coerce him into resisting. He accordingly became tributary to Tiglath-pileser[1], thereby placing a foreign yoke upon his country and exposing it to the certainty of invasion in the event of the tribute being refused (2 Kgs. xvi. 7, 8). For the moment, however, the desired relief from the attack of Rezin and Pekah was secured. In 734 Tiglath-pileser, presumably detaching some of his forces to keep Rezin in check, invaded Ephraim and Philistia. Hanno, the king of Gaza, fled, whilst Pekah of Israel saw his eastern and northern provinces ravaged and their inhabitants deported (2 Kgs. xv. 29). Two years later (732) the Assyrian king turned his attention to Syria, took Damascus, and killed Rezin (2 Kgs. xvi. 9). Shortly after this Pekah was murdered by Hoshea (*circ.* 730), whom Tiglath-pileser appointed to succeed him as an Assyrian vassal. But Tiglath-pileser died in 727; and against his successor Shalmaneser IV. (727—722) Hoshea revolted[2]. In consequence, Samaria was besieged in 724, and endured a blockade of more than two years. In the course of the siege Shalmaneser died and was succeeded by Sargon II. (722—705), who in 722 took the city, and deported its inhabitants to different provinces of the Assyrian empire, replacing them by a population drawn from other countries (2 Kgs. xvii. 5, 6)[3].

3. *The years* 713—711 (*Sargon's siege of Ashdod*) :—c. xx.

The date of Ahaz' death and Hezekiah's accession is uncertain, but the latter must have succeeded his father not later than 714 (see p. xli). At the beginning of Hezekiah's reign Judah was a

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[1] The fact is recorded in Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions (Schrader, *COT.* I. p. 255), where Ahaz is called Jehoahaz.

[2] Hoshea relied for support upon Egypt (2 Kgs. xvii. 4), though it is disputed whether the *So* (or *Seve*) mentioned by the historian of Kings is the Pharaoh Shabaka or a petty prince of the Delta. For the fluctuations of Israel's policy cf. Hos. v. 13, vii. 11.

[3] Cf. Schrader, I. p. 264.

vassal of Assyria; but it was not long before it grew restive, and in 713 a spirit of disaffection was manifested both in it and in the neighbouring states of Philistia, Edom and Moab, which were also subject to Assyria[1]. The centre of disloyalty seems to have been the Philistine city of Ashdod; and hopes were entertained of assistance being forthcoming from Egypt or (as some authorities think) from Muzri, a country of N. Arabia. Isaiah exposed the futility of such hopes, and, probably in consequence of his warnings, Judah escaped being seriously compromised, for although Sargon sent an expedition against Ashdod, which was taken in 711[2], there is no evidence of an Assyrian invasion of Judah at this time[3]. The same year 713 is most likely the date when Hezekiah received an embassy from Merodach-baladan of Babylon, which probably conveyed proposals to Hezekiah for a mutual alliance against Assyria (see c. xxxix. and cf. Jos. *Ant.* x. ii. 2). To such proposals, if made, Isaiah offered strong opposition, and the embassy proved resultless.

4. *The years* 705—701 (*Sennacherib's invasion of Judah*):—cc. xiv. 28—32, xviii., xxii., xxix.—xxxii., i. (part), xvii. 12—14, x. 5—34, xxxiii., ix. 1—7, xi. 1—9, xxxii. 1—8.

Sargon died in 705, and was succeeded by Sennacherib (705—681). The change of sovereign renewed in many of Assyria's vassals hopes of regaining their independence. Philistia sent an embassy to Judah to exchange views, and if possible, to organize a revolt (Is. xiv. 28—32). A second embassy with promise of support came from Shabaka, the Ethiopian ruler of Egypt (Is. xviii.), to whom the prospect of the re-conquest of the revolting Palestinian states by Assyria was fraught with danger. All such overtures met with opposition from Isaiah, whose counsel to his countrymen was to refrain from embroiling themselves in the insurrectionary movement and to await events in reliance upon the Lord. But his efforts to guide his country's policy at this juncture proved vain. The people became infected with the spirit of the neighbouring states. Most of the cities of Phœnicia and Philistia, together with Moab and Edom, were refusing tribute and disavowing allegiance to Assyria. They had the support of the North Arabian countries of Muzri and Meluhhi, and no doubt received fresh promises

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[1] Rogers, *HBA.* II. p. 169. [2] Schrader, *COT.* II. pp. 90, 91.

[3] Sargon in his inscriptions once claims to have subdued Judah (Schrader, *COT.* I. p. 178); but the occasion alluded to is uncertain (*id.* II. p. 100), and there is no confirmation of the claim.

of aid from Egypt[1]. At the same time Merodach-baladan, who in 710 had been driven from the throne of Babylon by Sargon, was again in possession of it. Consequently in Judah a war party, probably led by Shebna, obtained the ascendancy. Negotiations were conducted with Egypt, from which reinforcements of cavalry were expected (xxx. 2, xxxi. 1), in spite of Isaiah's emphatic assurances that Egypt always disappointed those that trusted her (xxx. 5—7, cf. xxxvi. 6). The people of Ekron had dethroned their king Padi, who was probably a nominee of Assyria and remained loyal, and Hezekiah undertook to receive him and keep him under arrest. He also introduced into Jerusalem a body of Arabian troops in order to strengthen its garrison. Such a policy and such preparations could have only one issue; but the populace of Jerusalem faced it confidently, and contemplated with light-heartedness the invasion which was bound to follow (xxii. 1—14).

As has been seen, the counsel recommended by Isaiah at the beginning of this crisis differed from that which he tendered in 735. On the earlier occasion he sought to dissuade Ahaz from becoming the vassal of Assyria; whereas now he advised his successor to remain loyal to his suzerain. His advice in each case shewed statesmanship. He estimated aright the relative strength of the smaller Palestinian nationalities and Assyria; and saw that neither Damascus and Ephraim in the time of Ahaz, nor Judah and its allies in the time of Hezekiah could withstand the empire on the Tigris. But on both occasions he was actuated more by religious principles than by political calculations. He consistently advocated political inaction in reliance upon the Lord's protection (vii. 7, xxx. 15), and trusted that the nation, its tranquillity undisturbed by foreign entanglements, might turn its energies in the direction of social and religious reforms. On both occasions, too, his counsel was disregarded, and the rulers of the country placed more confidence in their own statecraft than in their God. At the present crisis, when the country, penetrated with a spirit of self-confidence and unbelief, was committed to a struggle with Assyria, Isaiah felt that its conduct only aggravated its previous offences, and that a heavy chastisement was in store for it (xxviii. 7—29). He anticipated that numbers of the people would be carried

[1] It is here assumed that the *Muzri* mentioned in Sennacherib's inscription (see p. xxvii), which was formerly taken to be Egypt (see Schrader, *COT.* I. p. 297), was in Arabia; but it cannot be inferred from this that the O.T. representation that Egypt (Heb. *Mizraim*) was the chief abettor of the revolt is due to a confusion in the names. It is very difficult to suppose that Egypt played no leading part in the politics of this period (see xxx. 4 and cf. Whitehouse, *Is.* I. pp. 17, 18).

into captivity, and that only a remnant would be spared to return to the ways of piety and peace; and if he continued his protests against the suicidal policy which his countrymen were pursuing, it was only in the hope that by submission at the last moment the severity of their punishment might be mitigated (xxviii. 22).

Sennacherib began the work of repression by operations against the insurgent who was nearest; and succeeded in expelling from Babylon Merodach-baladan after he had occupied its throne for only a few months. The expedition against Palestine was deferred until 701; and the narrative of it may with advantage be given in the Assyrian king's own words[1]:—

"In my third campaign I marched to the land Ḥatti (Hittite). Luli (Elulæus), king of Ṣidon, the terror (inspired by) the splendour of my rule had overwhelmed; far away amid the sea he fled and his land I subjugated, Ṣidon the great and Ṣidon the less, Bêt-zitti, Ṣarepta, Maḥalliba, Ushû, Akzibi (Ekdippa), Akko, his strong towns, the fortresses, spots of pasturage and of watering, his garrison-towns, the power of the weapons of Asshur, my lord, overwhelmed. They subjected themselves to my feet. Tuba'lu (Ethbaal) I placed on the royal throne over them, and imposed upon him payment of yearly unceasing tribute of my supremacy. Minḥimmu (Menahem) of Samsi-maruna, Tuba'lu (Ethbaal) of Ṣidon, Abdili'ti of Arvad (Aradus) Urumilk (Jerumelech ?) of Gebal (Byblus), Mitinti of Ashdod, Buduilu of Beth-Ammon, Kammusunadab (Chemoshnadab) of Moab, Malikrammu (Malchiram) of Edom, all kings of Martu (the Western country) brought large gifts, rich products as well as possessions, into my presence and kissed my feet. But as for Ṣidkâ, king of Ashḳelon, who had not submitted himself to my yoke, the gods of his ancestral house, himself, his wife, his sons, his brothers, the seed of his ancestral house I carried off[2] and brought to Assyria; Sharruludâri, son of Rukibti, their former king, I set over the inhabitants of Ashḳelon, the payment of the tribute of the subjection I appointed, imposed (?) my yoke[3]. In the onward advance[4] of my campaign I besieged, captured, and plundered of their booty Beth Dagon, Joppa, Benê-barḳa (Benêbaraḳ), Azuru, towns of Ṣidḳâ which had not speedily subjected themselves to my feet. The rulers, the chief men, and the [other] inhabitants of Amḳarruna (Eḳron), who had cast Padî (who according to law and covenant with Assyria was their king) into iron chains, and had delivered him up to Ḥezeḳiah of Judah with hostile

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[1] The translation that follows is Dr Whitehouse's rendering of the extract from the Prism Inscription (Taylor cylinder) of Sennacherib narrating his Palestinian campaign (701 B.C.), as given in his edition of *Isaiah* (I., pp. 370—371) in the "Century Bible" by permission of the publishers, Messrs T. C. & E. C. Jack. Some variant renderings, kindly communicated to me by Dr Burney, are added in the footnotes.

[2] Burney, *dragged forth.*

[3] Burney, *the tribute of subjection I imposed upon him, and he became subject (?) to me.*

[4] Burney, *the course.*

purpose. He bound him in prison. Their heart feared. The kings of the land Muṣri summoned archers, chariots, the steeds of the king of Meluḫḫi, an innumerable host, and came to their aid. Before Altaḳu (Elteḳeh) the battle array was set confronting me, they raised (?) their weapons. In reliance upon Asshur, my lord, with them I fought and brought about their defeat. The commander of chariots and the sons of the king of Muṣri as well as the commander of chariots of the king of Meluḫḫi alive in the midst of the battle my hand captured. Altaḳu and Tamnâ (Timnath) I besieged, captured, and carried off their booty.

I advanced to Amḳarruna (Eḳron), the rulers, the chief men, who had incurred sin[1] (i.e. revolted), I slew. On poles (? pillars) around the town I hung (bound)[2] their corpses. The inhabitants of the town who had practised evil deeds and outrages I reckoned as prisoners of war (spoil); as for the remainder of them who had not instigated (?) sin or misdeed, who had not committed their trespasses, their pardon I proclaimed. Padî their king I brought forth from Jerusalem (and) placed him on the throne of rule over them. The tribute of my rule I imposed on him. And as for Ḥezeḳiah the Jew[3], who had not submitted himself to my yoke, forty-six strong towns, fortresses, and smaller towns in their circuit[4] which are innumerable, by destruction through battering rams, and advancing of siege engines, assault.... I besieged, I captured; 200,150[5] men[6], young and old, male and female, horses, mules, asses, oxen, and flocks without number I brought forth from their midst, I reckoned as spoil. Himself like a bird in a cage in the midst of Jerusalem, his royal town, I shut; ramparts around him I drew; those who came forth from the gateway of his town I caused to return. His towns which I had plundered I separated from his land, and gave them to Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padî king of Amḳarruna (Eḳron) and Ṣil-bêl king of Ḥaziti (Gaza), (and so) diminished his land. To their former tribute their yearly gift the payment due to my rule I added (and) imposed it upon them. Ḥezeḳiah himself the dread of the splendour of my rule overpowered. The Urbi (Arabians) and his faithful soldiers which he had introduced to strengthen (defend) Jerusalem his royal town (?) laid down their arms. Along with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones of value, large lapis-lazuli stones, ivory couches, ivory seats made of elephant-hide, ivory...wood, urkarinnu wood, all kinds of valuable treasure, and his daughters, his palace-wives, male and female attendants (?) I caused to be brought after me into Nineveh my royal town; and he sent his (mounted) envoy to present tribute and to render homage."

This extract from the inscription of Sennacherib confirms and expands the brief account in 2 Kgs. xviii. 13—16 relating the Assyrian's

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[1] Burney, *offended.*
[2] Burney, *on stakes...I impaled.*
[3] Burney, *of Judah.*
[4] Burney, *neighbourhood.*
[5] This figure, when compared with the 27,280 captives deported by Sargon from Samaria (Schrader, *COT.* I. p. 266) and the number of Jews led into exile after the fall of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (see p. lv), appears much exaggerated.
[6] Burney, *inhabitants.*

capture of Judæan fortresses and the submission of Hezekiah. The latter's surrender of the Ekronite king Padi, though mentioned prior to his payment of the treasure demanded, must have followed upon his formal capitulation. To the cuneiform records the Biblical narrative adds a subsequent demand made by Sennacherib, when engaged in the siege of Lachish, for the surrender of Jerusalem. It is a plausible supposition that this was a breach of a stipulation (cf. Is. xxxiii. 8) that had accompanied Hezekiah's sacrifice of his treasure—viz. that the Assyrian forces were to be withdrawn and that the capital was to be left without further molestation. Reflection had presumably convinced Sennacherib that he could not, when advancing further in the direction of Egypt, allow so strong a fortress near the line of his communications to remain unoccupied. The defenders of Jerusalem were encouraged to resist his demand by Isaiah, who, now that judgment had been executed upon the nation, felt assured that the career of the overweening Assyrian would be checked (x. 5—34), and who declared that Zion in its extremity would be protected by the Lord[1]; and the Biblical narrative (xxxvii. 36) asserts that the capital was really saved in accordance with the prophet's prediction. The statement receives negative corroboration from Sennacherib's inscriptions, which are silent respecting any capture of the city, or any later expedition against it. The explanations given by the O.T. for Sennacherib's failure to effect his object are two, which appear to proceed from alternative accounts of the incident (see p. 225), but each of which probably contains elements of truth. One explanation represents him as retreating in consequence of a rumour that inspired him with alarm ; and this may be identified with the report of renewed trouble created at Babylon by his vassal Bel-ibni (see p. 231)[2]. The second makes the cause of Sennacherib's non-success to be the destruction of his forces by pestilence. This account is obviously exaggerated in respect of details; but the liability of armies to be decimated by disease, which in this instance was increased by the situation of the Assyrian forces on the low-lying Mediterranean seaboard, renders the substance of the statement sufficiently probable (see also p. 237).

At several of the crises here reviewed Isaiah, as has been seen, committed himself to various predictions, some of which were wonderfully verified, whilst others turned out erroneous. The most remarkable example of his prevision was his prediction that the Assyrians, though

[1] See xxix. 5—8, xxx. 27—33, xxxi. 5, 8—9, xxxiii. 1—12, xxxvii. 6, 7, 21—35.
[2] Rogers, *HBA.* II. p. 205.

destined to overrun the country of Judah, would not capture the capital, so confident a declaration being all the more singular inasmuch as he expressly discouraged care for the city's material defences (xxii. 9 f.). The explanation of his prophetic power, so far as it admits of being analysed, must be looked for in the nature of his religious faith, and in his acute discernment of the signs of the times. In the conviction that the control of events was in the hands of a Power whose action was determined by moral considerations, he held that when national offences had been committed, material retribution would follow, and that the Lord would enforce His moral laws even though it meant the humiliation and all but total extermination of His people (cf. v. 13, 14, 24). But he believed also (and believed with reason, see p. xxxvii) that the survival of the religion of JEHOVAH was at that time dependent upon the survival of a remnant of Israel in its own land; and he was therefore confident that, though the Lord designed to bring punishment upon the nation, He would in the end preserve it from complete destruction, and naturally in the city associated with the memory of His servant David and consecrated by the presence of the Temple (x. 24—27, xiv. 32, xxviii. 16, xxxvii. 33—35). In judging of the means and stages whereby the Divine purposes would be achieved, he was guided by his observation of the political forces in movement around him; and in general his measure of those forces was remarkably accurate. The most ominous feature in the political world (as has been said) was the extension of the empire of Assyria; Isaiah, like Amos, could not fail to recognize in that power the rod of the Lord's anger (x. 5), before which the smaller states of Palestine, like Damascus, Ephraim, and the Philistine cities, were bound to go down. Nor would Egypt avail to defend them: the power on the Nile was rightly judged by Isaiah to be alike pretentious and ineffective. But whilst, in the main, his anticipations were realized, his forecast of events was not always correct in respect of time and place. Whilst his prediction of the overthrow of Damascus was fulfilled almost within the exact period which he named, the capture of Samaria, which he expected to occur about the same time, did not take place till more than a decade had elapsed. He ante-dated the invasion of Judah by some 30 years (iii. 16—24, v. 24, vii. 17—25, viii. 7, 8), and that of Egypt (if Egypt is meant in xx. 3) by more than 50; and when the former took place, the Assyrian forces did not advance against Jerusalem from the north (as predicted in x. 28—33), but from the direction of Lachish in the south-west. Hence it is

apparent that whilst Isaiah's faith in the deliverance which Divine Providence had in reserve for Zion was signally vindicated, there entered into his expectations of the future more of human miscalculation than is often supposed.

Isaiah's prophecies were originally oral discourses, being addressed either to the people at large, or to various classes in it (like the rulers (iii. 14) or the fashionable ladies (xxxii. 9)), or even to individuals (xxii. 16 f.); and they uniformly have the liveliness and vigour natural in speeches, and sometimes reflect the emotions stirred by the particular circumstances in which they were delivered (see xxii. 1, xxviii. 14). They were, no doubt, carefully prepared (see v. 1—7), and subsequently written down to preserve them (cf. Jer. xxxvi.): but their present compressed and highly-finished form[1] is probably the result of revision, in the course of which much may have been omitted which, if retained, would have rendered intelligible many things that are now obscure[2]. In his writings Isaiah combines rare literary excellences—delicate discrimination in giving to every thought or feeling its appropriate expression, extreme conciseness and condensation in composition, and a vivid and resourceful imagination. Of his judgment and taste in the handling of his subject-matter illustrations are afforded by the reticence which marks the account of his vision of God (c. vi.), by the brevity of the description of the instantaneous and universal collapse ensuing on the Lord's judgment (ii. 12—17), and by the effectiveness of the refrain in ix. 8—21, suggesting, as it does, the succession of blows enumerated in the passage. Of the terseness of his style, in which a redundant word can scarcely be found, examples are furnished by the epigrammatic phrases (some of them rendered more striking in the original by assonance) which occur in iii. 12, v. 7, vii. 9, xxx. 7, 15. Many passages are given impressiveness by antithesis (see i. 18—20, iii. 12, 24, ix. 16, xxii. 12, 13), others by verbal plays (x. 30) or by such artifices as alliteration and the like (xxii. 5, xxix. 9, xxxii. 19)[3]. Conspicuous instances of his vigour in description occur in v. 26—30, xvii. 12—14, xxx. 30, of his scorn in x. 15, of his irony in xxxi. 2, and of his invective in xxii. 16 f. Of the rich resources of his fancy, and the facility with which he illustrated his ideas by imagery drawn from the most varied fields evidence is abundant everywhere. On one occasion he had recourse to a symbolic act to add vividness to the

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A very noteworthy feature in Isaiah's prophecies, is the abruptness with which a passage of minatory tenor is followed by another of consolatory meaning. Examples occur in the sequence of iii. 16—iv. 1 and iv. 2—4, x. 28—32 and x. 33, 34, xxix. 1—4 and xxix. 5—8, xxxi. 4 and xxxi. 5. In some cases there is no contradiction, since it is rendered apparent that the promise of consolation will only be realized by that section of the people who may survive the threatened judgment (see iv. 2—4). But in other instances this is not made clear; and it is possible that when the passages were originally spoken, they were addressed to different audiences, those of a menacing nature being directed to the people at large, and those of an opposite character being intended for the small body of faithful disciples which the prophet gathered round him (viii. 16). When the prophecies were put into writing the dissimilar passages were probably placed in juxtaposition for the sake of the effect produced by the contrast which they offer to one another. In certain cases, however, it may be suspected that insertions have been made by later writers, who have sought to modify some predictions of sinister tone by attaching to them others of a comforting import (cf. p. vi).

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§ 3. *Theology of Isaiah.*

Isaiah's theological beliefs, as presented in his writings, are not abstracted from the controversies in which they took shape, and systematized into a body of doctrine, but appear in connection with the emergencies which called for their expression. He emphasized from time to time different aspects of the Divine character, as he conceived it, in opposition to the prevalent misconceptions of his countrymen; and his theology remains in the form it assumed under the pressure of practical needs. His convictions respecting the Lord's nature, supremacy, and purposes are not in general peculiar to himself, but are shared by his contemporaries Hosea, Amos, and Micah. The religious beliefs of all of the eighth century prophets were influenced by the momentous changes occurring or impending in the political world around them. The extinction by Assyria of the smaller nationalities involved either the conclusion that Israel's God was inferior to Asshur, the god of Assyria, or the conclusion that He was a Being of altogether different nature and authority, whose dealings with His own nation had to be accounted for on other principles than those which were popularly thought to explain them; and it was in the second that these prophets believed the truth to lie. Their convictions that the Lord was a holy and righteous God enabled them to interpret the movements of history which portended disaster to their own country as due not to any defect of power on the part of the Lord but to the execution of a moral purpose of which Assyria was His instrument. But whilst the views which they held respecting the Lord and the service that He required from His people embraced much that was common to all of them, each accentuated those sides of the truth which the circumstances of his own time seemed to demand or to which his own genius and temperament inclined him[1].

The ruling conception of the Lord amongst Isaiah's countrymen was that He was one of a large number of co-ordinate Divine powers. The early idea about Him, that He was purely a national God, still survived; and though it was recognized that as the tutelary God of Israel He had rightful claims to His people's worship, a belief in Him as the sole God, universally supreme, had not yet been attained. This imperfect conception of the Lord, which equated Him with a number

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[1] Thus Amos lays most stress upon the Lord's justice, Hosea upon His love. Isaiah in the spirit of his teaching resembles the former rather than the latter: cf. especially i. 13—17 with Amos v. 21—24.

of other divinities, produced its natural effects upon the kind of worship rendered to Him and the strength of the trust reposed in Him. On the one hand, He was thought to be satisfied by the same formal rites and material offerings as other gods; and it was believed that, if His favour at any time was averted from His people, it could be regained by more frequent petitions and more ample sacrifices. Hence there was a tendency to divorce morality from religion; and the assiduous worship of the Lord by rite and ceremony co-existed with the prevalence, within the state, of much moral and social corruption. On the other hand, the protection of the powers that were His rivals was held to be worth obtaining, either in addition to, or else as a substitute for, that of the Lord. Among the powers whom it was thus deemed desirable to propitiate were the ancient Canaanite divinities who were supposed to dwell in forest trees (cf. i. 29, 30), and of whom the *Asherim* or sacred poles (xvii. 8) were perhaps symbols (see on p. 117). Intercourse with foreign nations led to acquaintance with their deities likewise, whose claims to respect were enhanced by the success of the peoples who worshipped them. Among these was probably Tammuz, the spirit of vegetation venerated by the Babylonians, with whom the people of the northern kingdom doubtless became familiar through the Syrians, and to whom reference seems to be made in xvii. 10, 11. Into Judah superstitions were introduced from Philistia (ii. 6), where divination was widely practised (1 Sam. vi. 2), and where there was a famous oracle of Baal-zebub (2 Kgs. i. 3). Offerings were also made to the spirits of the dead, who were credited with knowledge and powers exceeding those of the living; and their help was sought through the arts of necromancy (viii. 19, xxviii. 15). Thus, though the Lord did not cease to receive the offerings due to the national God (i. 11), the country was given to idolatry (ii. 8, cf. xxx. 22, xxxi. 7). The people in their religion were both unspiritual and disloyal. Their worship of the Lord followed traditional usage; but their real confidence was reposed elsewhere (cf. xxix. 13). The sources of their trust were not only other gods, but their own material possessions, or when these seemed inadequate, the arts of diplomacy and the military support of foreign allies. And so the ceremonial reverence rendered to the Lord only aggravated the pervading sins of greed and pride and self-indulgence, and the nominal allegiance to Him was accompanied by a scepticism which openly questioned His power (v. 19, xxix. 15) and by a self-will that would not be guided by the counsel of His prophets (xxx. 9—11).

It was these erroneous and unworthy ideas concerning the Lord which Isaiah set himself to combat. His own conception of the Lord emerges from his account of his inaugural vision (c. vi.); and the rest of his writings are in the main an expansion of this, and of his convictions about the doom awaiting the nation in consequence of its offences. It will be convenient to describe his theology in detail under two heads, viz. (i) the Lord's character and attributes, (ii) His purpose towards Israel His people.

(i) The attributes of the Lord which impressed themselves most deeply upon Isaiah's mind were His *holiness* and His *glory*. These were the subjects of the hymn of the Seraphim in his vision; and it was these which he felt to be more especially outraged by his sinful countrymen.

(*a*) The particular term *holiness* which Isaiah uses to describe the essential quality of the Lord was one commonly employed by the Semitic peoples to connote the quality which distinguished gods in general from men (see on i. 4), and did not necessarily convey any moral significance. Hence to describe the Lord as holy did not verbally mean more than calling Him divine[1]. But by Isaiah the word was employed in an ethical sense, and as applied to the Lord, it connoted especially the quality of righteousness. It implied that the Lord was separated from mankind not merely by perfection of power, but by perfection of moral purity. And what the Lord was in Himself, that He required (but vainly required) His people to be. Hence, when the prophet found himself in the Lord's presence, it was his sense of sin that made him afraid; and only after his sin was removed could he volunteer to be the Lord's messenger. And the aim of the mission which he undertook was to rouse his countrymen to a sense of the true character of the God whom they thought to satisfy by ritual instead of righteousness. To the Lord sacrifice, accompanied by the perpetration of social wrongs, could only be an offence. It was principally breaches of social morality that Isaiah represented as provoking the Divine resentment. Into his conception of the Lord's requirements just dealing chiefly entered (i. 17, v. 7); and although he assailed both drunkenness (v. 11, 22, xxviii. 7, 8) and feminine luxury (iii. 16 f.), his invectives were directed, in the main, against the

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[1] Cf. the expression *the holy gods* in Dan. iv. 8, 9, 18, v. 11, and Eshmunazar's inscription, *l.* 22 (Cooke, *NSI.* p. 31). Holiness was so far equivalent to deity that when the Lord swears by His holiness (Am. iv. 2) it is tantamount to swearing by Himself (Am. vi. 8).

perversion of justice (i. 23, v. 23, x. 1, xxix. 21), the monopolizing of the land (v. 8), the robbery of the poor (iii. 14, 15, x. 2), and the prevalence of open violence (i. 15, 21).

(*b*) The Lord's *glory*, in the sense which it has in the Seraphs' song, is equivalent to the majesty pertaining to Him in virtue of His sovereign power. Isaiah regarded the Lord as paramount over both nature and human history: the prophet's religious belief was a practical monotheism. But in Judah at large the Lord's supremacy was impugned alike by the nation's idolatry (ii. 8), by its self-sufficient pride (ii. 7, xxii. 9—11, xxx. 16, xxxi. 1), and by the schemes of its statecraft (xx., xxx. 1). In the face of hostile coalitions threatening attack, or of overtures from friends for combined defence, Israel's duty was faith in the might of its God, and an attitude of tranquillity (vii. 4, 9, xxviii. 16). Reliance upon military resources or diplomatic successes was a virtual denial of the adequacy of the Lord's strength or wisdom to save His people: and political compacts with external powers could only hinder the internal reforms so urgently needed, even if they did not introduce additional corruption (cf. 2 Kgs. xvi. 10—15). But Judah, instead of putting its trust in the Lord, placed its confidence in superstitious usages, in its military forces, or in the purchased protection of foreign potentates. The futility of such supports was exposed by Isaiah briefly and trenchantly. The impotence of idols to save those who trusted in them was expressively indicated by the contemptuous term he employed to describe them—*not-gods* or *non-entities* (see on ii. 8). Towards the practice of consulting the *manes* of ancestors and other deceased persons he was equally scornful: on behalf of the living was resort to be had to the dead (viii. 19)? To the politicians who plumed themselves on negotiating for help from Egypt his tone was ironical: if they were sagacious, so too was the Lord. And the helplessness of Judah's vaunted military resources, native or foreign, if opposed to the Lord, he made evident by reminding them of the difference between their nature and His. They were flesh, essentially weak and dependent, whereas He was spirit, Himself the perfection of life and energy, and the source of those qualities in all other animate beings (xxxi. 2, 3). And inasmuch as the Lord exercised sovereign control over the earth and its peoples, He, too, had warlike hosts at His disposal. He was the arbiter of success and defeat (xxxvii. 27), and against His offending nation Israel He purposed to use as the agent of its chastisement the irresistible power of Assyria (v. 26, 30, viii. 7, x. 5).

The principal elements of permanent value in this part of Isaiah's teaching are not peculiar to him, though they receive from him distinctive expression. Among them are the stress laid upon the qualities essential to the maintenance of civil order (such as impartiality and incorruptibility), the assertion that formal acts of worship are worthless apart from integrity of word and deed, and the emphasis placed upon faith (vii. 4, xxx. 15, cf. viii. 17). His conception of the essence of religious duty is the same as Micah's (vi. 8)—to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God. The prominence which he gives to the subject of civil government and its requirements supplements in a very important respect the teaching of the N.T., where, in consequence of the humble position then occupied by the Christian communities and the expectation of Christ's imminent return, such matters fall into the background. His views, it is true, have their limitations. The morality upon which he principally insists is that which concerns men's social relations; and he takes more account of the outward conduct, which can be enforced by authority, than of the inward motives. His doctrine of faith, too, seems to need some qualification. He lived in an age which had a very imperfect conception of the regularity marking God's mode of action in the physical world, and which believed Him to intervene continually in human affairs by direct interposition. This belief has been corrected by experience, which has shewn that the Almighty, whilst influencing human minds immediately, normally works in nature through secondary causes and in accordance with general laws. Though He is not bound by the physical laws of which He is the Author, yet His processes and methods are ordinarily uniform, so that neither nations nor individuals, though engaged in a just cause, can confidently look to God to defend them if they dispense with such means of self-defence as reason (which is His gift equally with conscience) may suggest. But although Isaiah's teaching thus requires to be qualified in certain directions, it will ever remain an invaluable protest against religious formalism and materialistic unbelief.

(ii) From the Lord's attributes of righteousness and sovereignty Isaiah concluded that He would punish Israel, the nation which was peculiarly His own, for its unrighteousness and mistrust; but he did not regard punishment as exhausting the Divine intentions towards it. The infliction of a severe chastisement was a necessary part of the Lord's purpose in respect of His people, for since in their conduct they did not honour Him as holy, He was bound to vindicate His holiness by

a purifying judgment (v. 16). Hence, the efforts which they made, by compacts with infernal powers (xxviii. 15) and by negotiations with foreign nations (xxx. 1, 2, xxxi. 1), to avert that judgment would avail them nothing (xxviii. 17—21, xxx. 12—17); for the Lord's purpose was immutable (xxviii. 22). But Israel was not to be exterminated: when the judgment had removed out of it all the evil elements, a remnant of it would be delivered. Assyria, the implement of its punishment (x. 5), would be arrested, in the moment of its triumph, not by human but by Divine agency (x. 16—19, 33, 34, xiv. 32, xxxi. 8); and there would then follow for the chastened and repentant survivors an era of innocence, security, and happiness (i. 26, 27, iv. 2—6, ix. 2—7, xi. 1—9, xxx. 19—26 (?), xxxii. 15—20, xxxiii. 13—24).

This belief in the eventual survival of a remnant of his countrymen found expression in the name which Isaiah gave to his eldest son—*Shear-jashub*, "A remnant shall return." The "return" meant was not restoration from captivity but conversion to holiness[1], for the prophet looked for a minority of the nation to escape the deportation into a foreign land which was the destined fate of the rest (i. 27, iv. 2). At first he seems to have anticipated that a section of the northern, no less than of the southern, kingdom would be spared (see xvii. 6, xxviii. 5, 6 ?); but eventually his hopes centred round Zion, which he expected to be preserved from capture when the other Judæan fortresses were taken by the Assyrians (x. 24—27, xiv. 32, xxix. 7, cf. xxxvii. 31—35). The preservation of the Jewish capital became to him an article of faith for two reasons. In the first place, the religious unit was still the collective nation, not the individual, so that the maintenance of the religion of JEHOVAH seemed at the time bound up with the maintenance of Jewish independence: if Jerusalem fell as Samaria had fallen, Judah as a nation would perish as utterly as Ephraim, and its distinctive faith would be lost amid the heathendom in which the deported people would be merged. That this consequence did not ensue when, a hundred years later, Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadrezzar was due in large measure to the existence of a law-book like Deuteronomy, which kept the religion of JEHOVAH alive when the practice of its rites had to be intermitted[2]. And secondly, the deliverance of Zion would demonstrate to the world at large the supremacy of Judah's God. In Isaiah's conception of the Divine plan

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[1] Cf. Hos. xiv. 1, Jer. iii. 12, 14, Zech. i. 3, Mal. iii. 7.

[2] See further, p. lv.

of action, the extension of a knowledge of the Lord throughout the world was not so conspicuously the end to which passing events were tending as it seemed to be to some other prophets (see p. lxii). But the overthrow of the Assyrians when their schemes were on the verge of success is represented in xviii. 3 as having an interest and significance for the nations in general (cf. xiv. 26); and in view of this it is difficult not to see in Isaiah the germ (though only the germ) of an idea which is more fully developed by the writer of the prophecies contained in cc. xl.—lv.

The conditions of the felicity which Isaiah anticipated to be in store for the surviving minority of his countrymen are represented as both spiritual and material. Injustice and violence are to be at an end (i. 26, iv. 3, 4, xxix. 21, xxxii. 16), moral insensibility is to disappear (xxix. 18, xxx. 21), idolatry will cease (xxx. 22), and faith and confidence in the Lord will be permanently established (xxxii. 17). The land will be endowed with exceptional fertility (iv. 2, xxxii. 15), the people will be undisturbed in the enjoyment of it (xxx. 23, xxxii. 17), and security against all perils will be ensured (xxxiii. 6, 21). The reason for the prominence given in these pictures to the transformation of the face of the ground is to be found not only in the fact that an enhanced productiveness of the soil would contribute to the material well-being of the people and compensate them for the losses sustained through war and other calamities, but in the fact that the Hebrew prophets attributed to nature a sense of sympathy with the varying fortunes of humanity. They were poets as well as prophets, and like the poets of every age and race they projected their own emotions outside them, and felt that human joys and sorrows were shared by the physical universe about them.

The time when Isaiah expected the era of happiness to begin was the near future. His message of comfort as well as of menace was addressed to his own generation, and he looked for the age of peace and prosperity to be the immediate sequel of Assyria's overthrow. His anticipations outran the tardy movement of events, so that taken *au pied de la lettre* they appear signally falsified by the issue. But whilst to his short-sighted vision the fulfilment of the Divine purposes assumed a shape which was not realized, his faith in a high destiny for his country was not left without justification by later history, though it has to be sought in the sphere of spiritual influence and not of worldly greatness and success.

In certain passages of Isaiah's prophecies the expected bliss is

associated with the personal rule of the Lord in Zion (iv. 5, xxxiii. 22 (?), cf. xxviii. 16)[1]; but in others it is connected with the reign of a human king as the Lord's representative and deputy. In the earlier history of the nation the Lord had achieved His beneficent purposes towards His people through the instrumentality of gifted leaders (cf. 1 Sam. xii. 8, 11, Jud. ii. 18, iii. 9, etc.); and it was natural that the experience of the past should mould the prophet's conception of the future. Hence he looked for the advent of a virtuous and able sovereign to fill the place of the rulers who had been responsible for the evils hitherto rife in the state (i. 10, iii. 14), and to secure for his subjects the good government and sure protection which they had so sorely lacked. Of the four passages where such a sovereign is alluded to or described, viz. vii. 14—16, ix. 2—7, xi. 1—9, xxxii. 1—8, the first and second are the most remarkable, since in them names are applied to him (vii. 14, ix. 6) which to modern minds seem appropriate only to a superhuman personality. But by the contemporaries of Isaiah the sharp distinction between the human and the superhuman which has been drawn in later times was not felt; and men of extraordinary endowments were held to partake of the character of Him with Whom such endowments originated and of Whose spirit they were manifestations. The time when Isaiah expected such a king to arise was (as has been already implied) at the close of the Assyrian crisis, the magnitude of which (it was presumably felt) could only be preliminary to an era of happiness proportionally momentous. He does not appear to have regarded the king as destined to be an agent in delivering the country from Assyria. That deliverance is conceived to be the work of the Lord alone (cf. xxx. 27—33); the ideal sovereign is thought of as designed to safeguard the people against a renewal of the disorders that had hitherto distressed them.

The troubles of the Assyrian period were followed by the appearance of no such sovereign as Isaiah anticipated. But confidence in the ultimate fulfilment of his predictions was not abandoned by later generations of his countrymen; and of the four cited the first two in particular shaped Jewish expectations respecting the advent of a great national Prince (cf. Acts i. 6), to whom the title *Messiah* ("Anointed") was applied (cf. Ps. ii. 2, Dan. ix. 25, Joh. iv. 25). By the Christian Church they have traditionally been held to be prophecies of our Lord and to have been verified by His birth some 700 years afterwards.

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[1] Cf. the conception in xxiv. 23.

They seem, however, to be precluded from being predictions of Him in any strict sense not only by the interval of time separating them from our Lord's advent, but also by the difference between their tenor and the circumstances of our Lord's life. Christ, though a king, was not an earthly sovereign (cf. Joh. xviii. 36), and His regal authority was spiritual, exercised only through the impression wrought by His teaching and example. Nevertheless the passages in question can reasonably be regarded as expressions of faith in a Divine purpose of grace which time justified much more slowly, indeed, and far otherwise than the prophet expected, and yet more fully and effectively. Isaiah's conviction that God would not permanently allow evil to go unmitigated, but would bring into operation means to ameliorate it, through the agency of a wonderful Personality, has been verified by the moral and spiritual forces introduced into human society by our Lord. His prophecies, as predictions of the precise way in which Divine Providence would work, were indeed widely removed from the truth; but as assertions of belief in a Divine order emerging out of disorder they have been, and are still being, substantiated. And even in the titles which, in the prophecies vii. 14—16, ix. 2—7, are given to the promised king, there is a strange appropriateness to our Lord, for the name *God* (*Immanuel*, vii. 14, *El Gibbor*, ix. 6) was of fuller significance in connection with Him than in connection with other men (see Joh. x. 34—36), and *Prince of Peace* (ix. 6) most aptly defined His office and function (cf. Luke ii. 14, Eph. ii. 14).

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

The Chronology of Isaiah's Times.

The accession-years of the four Judæan kings within whose reigns Isaiah's ministry (so far as is known) was included cannot be fixed with certainty, inasmuch as the figures given by the O.T. writers in connection with the reigns of the Judæan kings from Uzziah to the fall of Jerusalem are irreconcilable with one another. This will appear from the conflicting results obtained when calculations are made on the basis of the statements (*a*) that 722 (the date of the fall of Samaria) was the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign (2 Kgs. xviii. 10), (*b*) that 701 (the date of Sennacherib's invasion) was the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign (2 Kgs. xviii. 13), (*c*) that 587 (the date of the fall of Jerusalem) was the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign (2 Kgs. xxv. 2). The Hebrew historians generally seem to have reckoned inclusively, the year in which a change of reign occurred being counted both as the last year of the deceased

king and the first year of his successor. Consequently in the compilation of the following tables the years of the reigns of the several kings named, as given in the O.T., have been reduced by one.

(a)		(b)		(c)	
Uzziah	808[1]	Uzziah	795[1]	Uzziah	801[1]
Jotham	757	Jotham	744	Jotham	750
Ahaz	742	Ahaz	729	Ahaz	735
Hezekiah	727				
Fall of Samaria	722	*Fall of Samaria*	722	*Fall of Samaria*	722
		Hezekiah	714	Hezekiah	720
Sennacherib's Invasion	701	*Sennacherib's Invasion*	701	*Sennacherib's Invasion*	701
				Manasseh	692
				Amon	638
				Josiah	637
				Jehoahaz	607
				Jehoiakim	607
				Jehoiachin	597
				Zedekiah	597
				Fall of Jerusalem	587

It is an objection to the first and third of the above schemes that, since Isaiah's call took place in the last year of Uzziah (757 or 750) (when he may be assumed to have been at least 20), he would have been an old man at the time of Sennacherib's invasion in 701 (which is improbable); and it is an objection to the second (which places Isaiah's call later) that it implies that the devastation of the northern provinces of Israel in 734 and the capture of Damascus in 732 occurred in the reign of Jotham, not of Ahaz (as represented in Is. vii.). Moreover, all the schemes conflict with the evidence of the Assyrian inscriptions, which assert that Menahem of Israel, whom Uzziah outlived (according to 2 Kgs. xv. 23), paid tribute to Pul (Tiglath-pileser) in 738[2]. One source of the inconsistency is the assumption that Jotham reigned 15 years as sole sovereign; but it is probable that the 15 years assigned to him really include a period of regency for his father, who towards the close of his life was a leper (see 2 Kgs. xv. 5), and that the duration of his sole rule was short. Where many of the *data* are so precarious, any chronological table of the period must be largely conjectural, but the following seems the most plausible that can be furnished:

Uzziah	(approximate)	789
Jotham	"	738
Ahaz	"	735
Hezekiah	"	727—692

This scheme involves the shortening of the reign of Ahaz from 15 to 8 years, and the lengthening of the reign of Hezekiah from 28 to 35 years. But it is possible to reconcile it with some of the Biblical statements by assuming (as

[1] The calculations are made backwards from the dates 722, 701 and 587 respectively.

[2] Schrader, *COT.* I. pp. 244, 245.

suggested by Whitehouse) that Ahaz associated his son with him on the throne during the latter part of his life. If so, 727 was perhaps the date of Hezekiah's joint reign with his father, and 720 the date of his accession as sole king[1].

CHAPTER III.

Deutero-Isaiah (cc. xl.—lv.).

§ 1. *Origin and Date.*

Chapters xl.—lv. constitute a group of cc. which are marked by great uniformity both of subject-matter and style, and which collectively present a striking contrast to the preceding thirty-nine cc. They have no heading attributing them to Isaiah, and from the oracles of that prophet comprised in the foregoing cc. they are separated by the historical narrative occupying cc. xxxvi.—xxxix., which seems to form the conclusion of what was at one time regarded as a complete collection of Isaiah's prophecies. As they thus make no claim to proceed from Isaiah, the only ground for their ascription to him (as by Ecclus. xlviii. 22—25, see p. i) is their attachment to a book containing his writings, though this may be accounted for by other reasons than a conviction, on the part of the editor who appended them, that they were really the work of the prophet. It has been already pointed out that 2 Ch. xxxvi. 22 (= Ezra i. 1) which appears to refer to Is. xliv. 28, assigns it to Jeremiah (cf. p. vi); and possibly some tradition that part of the book of Isaiah is later in origin than Jeremiah and Ezekiel is preserved in the old Jewish arrangement (mentioned in the Talmud) of these three prophets in the order Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah. And when the trustworthiness of the belief in the Isaianic authorship of these cc. is tested by their contents and character, it finds no support in the internal evidence which they themselves furnish of their origin. This, when examined, points to their having been composed at a much later date than the eighth century, and under very different conditions from those which subsisted in Isaiah's lifetime. The evidence in question comprises (1) the historical situation implied, (2) the prevailing tone and predominant ideas, (3) the characteristic style and phraseology.

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[1] Whitehouse thinks that the joint reign of Ahaz and Hezekiah lasted from 727 to 715. This gives the former a reign of 20 years instead of the 15 (16) of 2 Kgs. xvi. 2, but renders less improbable the statement that Hezekiah was 25 when he succeeded his father (2 Kgs. xviii. 2).

(1) The general purport of these cc. is to comfort a body of Jews, whose native city has been destroyed and who for their sins have long been in exile at Babylon (xlii. 22, xlix. 9), with an assurance that their period of punishment has expired (xl. 2) and that their release from captivity and their return to their own country is at hand. Their deliverance is to be accomplished for them by a foreign prince whose name (Cyrus) is given and who is regarded as marked out, by the successes he has already achieved, to be the destined destroyer of their oppressor and the rebuilder of Jerusalem (xliv. 28). The fall of Jerusalem and the deportation of its inhabitants to Babylonia took place in 587, and the restoration of the Jews to Palestine occurred in 537 after the overthrow of Babylon by the Persian prince Cyrus in 538. Thus the ostensible standpoint, consistently maintained, of the writer is that of one living between these two dates. But a discourse, or a series of discourses, such as these cc. contain, is only intelligible if the ostensible standpoint is also the real one. For the writer does not predict (as Isaiah might be expected to do if he were their author) that Assyria, which was the dominant nation of Western Asia in the eighth century and is continually alluded to in the Isaianic oracles comprised in cc. i.—xxxix., is to be replaced by Babylon, and that the latter is to enslave his countrymen until forced to relinquish them; but he views the Assyrian oppression of Judah as an event of the distant past, and Babylon as the tyrant power of the present (lii. 4, 5) whose pride is about to be humbled (c. xlvii.). He does not successively foretell for the people of Jerusalem *both* exile *and* release, as did Jeremiah (v. 10—19, xxi. 3—10, xxv. 8—11, xxxi. 7—9, 23—30, xxxii. 28—44), Ezekiel (v., vi., xi. 16—20), and Micah (iv. 10[1]); but the conditions of the exile are pre-supposed, and the writer's predictions relate only to his countrymen's deliverance from it (xlv. 13). The prophet writes as a contemporary of the captives in Babylon, and even includes himself among them (xlii. 24); and that such was really his position, and that what he describes was by himself witnessed and heard is shewn by his knowledge of the situation and feelings of the exiles, knowledge which is too comprehensive and detailed to be credible in a writer merely prophesying of conditions not yet existing, and the minuteness of which is thrown into relief by the visionary character of his expectations about the undoubted future, which were

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[1] The mention of *Babylon* here is thought by many to be due to an interpolator (see Cheyne, *ad loc.*).

largely falsified by the event (see p. lxxvi). Among the circumstances with which he shews acquaintance are the following:

(*a*) The local features of the city of Babylon, including its shipping (xliii. 14), its wealth (xlv. 3), its great gates (xlv. 1), its gods Bel and Nebo (xlvi. 1), its manufactories of images (xli. 6, 7, xliv. 12—17), its idolatry, its sorcerers, and its astrologers (xlvii. 12, 13).

(*b*) The desolate state of Jerusalem, with its soil laid waste (xlix. 19, li. 3, lii. 9), its walls and temple destroyed (xliv. 26, 28), and its population in large part deported into exile.

(*c*) The sentiments prevailing among the Jewish exiles, the depression of some by reason of their protracted captivity (xl. 27, xlvi. 12, xlix. 14, li. 12, 13), the discontent of others at the Divine scheme for their rescue (xlv. 9—13), and the lack of response to the Lord's advances (l. 2).

(*d*) The name and origin of Cyrus, the destined conqueror of Babylon (xliv. 28, xlv. 1—4), who is alluded to as though already known by reputation to the prophet's auditors or readers, and who is represented as already launched upon his successful career (xli. 2, 25, xlviii. 15).

(*e*) The imminence of Babylon's overthrow (xliii. 14, xlvi. 1), of the deliverance of the captives whom it holds in bondage (xlvi. 13, xlviii. 20, xlix. 13, lii. 9), and of the rebuilding of Jerusalem (xliv. 26)—achievements of which Cyrus is the destined agent (xlv. 13, xlviii. 14, xliv. 28).

(*f*) The nature of the country to be traversed between Babylon and Palestine, with its treeless and waterless wastes and its burning heat (xli. 17 f., xliii. 19).

(*g*) Certain prophecies known to have been recently fulfilled, to which appeal is made as justifying confidence in the Lord's fresh predictions (xli. 26, xlii. 9, xliii. 8—10, xliv. 8, xlv. 21, xlvi. 10, xlviii. 3, 6, 14, 16) and which, if relating to the overthrow of Jerusalem and the captivity of its people, must be those of Jeremiah (see Jer. xxx. 3, xxxi. 4 f.).

Acquaintance with such matters as these is sufficient to render it in the highest degree improbable that the author of the cc. in which they are mentioned was Isaiah. The only world-power in Asia of which Isaiah shews any knowledge is Assyria, and he nowhere anticipates its displacement by Babylon. The latter country in his time was only occasionally independent of Assyria, and the Medo-Persian power had not yet risen above the political horizon. Elam, whence

Cyrus came, is represented by Isaiah as furnishing contingents to the Assyrian armies (xxii. 6), and Media was a subject Assyrian province (2 Kgs. xvii. 6). Of predictions foretelling a captivity of Judah in Babylon there is only one which is expressly connected with Isaiah, viz. xxxix. 6; and that, if in its present form authentic (see note *ad loc.*), is most reasonably understood of a deportation thither of Judæan captives by an *Assyrian* king; whilst no mention of a release from such a captivity is made anywhere in writings which bear the stamp of Isaiah's own age[1]. The prophecies contained in these cc. could only have been written by that prophet if he, in his old age, had completely detached himself from his own time, and, projecting himself into the future, had placed himself in the situation of a distant generation and devoted himself to meeting their needs exclusively. Whether it was psychologically possible for a prophet to do this may be arguable; that the result for his own generation would have been in a high degree perplexing cannot be doubted. Nor indeed would any purpose have been served by a prediction delivered 150 years before the event. The function of a Hebrew prophet was ordinarily to explain to his own contemporaries the trend of their own conduct and to foretell the consequences it would have for themselves; and an eighth century prophecy of the termination of the Babylonian exile would have been a useless forestalling of the predictions afterwards delivered about it by Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the seventh and sixth centuries. The only conclusion which is consistent both with the antecedent probabilities and with the actual allusions is that these cc. are the work of a prophet who lived during the Exile, that they were occasioned by events that occurred shortly before the close of it, and that they were addressed to those who were really resident in Babylon.

(2) These cc. differ conspicuously from the prophecies of Isaiah, as preserved in cc. i.—xxxix., in respect both of their writer's spirit and temper, and of many of the thoughts and ideas presented.

(*a*) The pervading spirit is consolatory, in marked contrast to that of Isaiah, whose utterances are mainly denunciations of his countrymen's sins, and exhortations to amendment. This distinction cannot be adequately explained by a difference of conditions and by the fact that the chastisement for the national offences is assumed to have already fallen, for it is plain from various passages that the community addressed is by no means regarded as free from fault.

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[1] On Mic. iv. 10 see p. xliii.

Nevertheless, though the prophet shews himself conscious of their mistrust of the Lord and their unresponsiveness to His advances, he does not dwell on their shortcomings, but seeks by every device to animate and encourage them.

(*b*) In the conception of the Lord's character here presented the dominant attributes are His love for Israel (xliii. 4, cf. xliv. 21, xlix. 15), His tenderness and compassion towards it (xl. 11), and His faithfulness to His original purpose in regard to it (xlii. 6, 21 and perhaps xli. 2, 10); whereas the quality in God's nature which Isaiah chiefly accentuates is His sense of right and equity, which resents in His people the commission of social injustice and wrong. Hence the terms *righteous* and *righteousness*, when predicated of the Lord, are not significant, as in Isaiah, of retributive justice (i. 27, v. 16, x. 22) but of salvation or deliverance (xlv. 8, xlvi. 13, li. 5, 6, 8), the redress of Israel's wrongs being required by the Lord's trustworthiness and moral consistency (cf. xlv. 21)[1].

(*c*) The theme of the Lord's supremacy, though a subject common to both Isaiah (vi. 3) and the writer of these cc., is handled by the latter in a distinctive manner. Both prophets look to the events of history for the proof of the Lord's superiority over the powers upon which the worshippers of other gods, whether within Israel or among foreign peoples, rely; but whereas Isaiah assumes that the occurrences which he has in mind will carry conviction to the hearts of all who witness them, without his explicitly defining how the conviction is to be produced that the Lord is the sole Author of them, the writer of cc. xl.—lv. appeals specifically to the coincidence of the events with the Lord's prior predictions of them (xli. 21—29, xliii. 9—13).

(*d*) Their writer contemplates, like Isaiah (iv. 2—4), the re-establishment in Jerusalem of happy and glorious conditions (lii. 1, liv. 1 f.), but it is not represented (as in Isaiah) as reserved for a mere "remnant" of the nation, or associated with the rule of an ideal king. There is but a single passage that is remotely suggestive of the advent of the Messianic King, viz. lv. 3, 4, but the real tenor of it seems to be that the Divine promises made to the historic David are to be realized by the nation as a whole. The actual deliverance of the exiled people from their calamitous circumstances is depicted as achieved by a foreign prince, to whom alone the title of the Lord's "Anointed"

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[1] Sometimes *righteousness* only means *truthfulness*, *correctness* (xlv. 19, xli. 26).

(*Messiah*) is applied (xlv. 1). The only king in the restored community is the Lord (xli. 21, xliii. 15, xliv. 6).

(*e*) In these cc. there emerges a conception of Israel's relation to the world which transcends anything that appears in Isaiah[1]. The last-named prophet, indeed, implies in xviii. 3 that the Lord's overthrow of Assyria has an interest for all nations (cf. p. xxxviii), and in xviii. 7 (if the *v.* be authentic) declares that a single foreign people, who have sought alliance with Judah, will send a token of homage to the Lord in consequence of that signal manifestation of His power. But the writer of these cc. looks forward to the rescue of his countrymen from Babylon as being instrumental in extending amongst mankind at large a knowledge of Judah's God and attracting their adhesion (cf. xlv. 4—6, li. 4, 5, lii. 10). The collective nation is personified, and, under the name of the Lord's Servant, is regarded as designed to witness, both by the predictive powers with which (through its prophets) it is endowed, and by the extraordinary course of its fortunes, to the wisdom and might of the Lord, and thereby to win for Him the allegiance of the Gentiles and promote their salvation (xlv. 22, cf. xliv. 5). This theme is further developed in a series of passages which are probably insertions in the original prophecy; and the Jewish people is depicted as having atoned, by its sufferings and national extinction, for the sins of the heathen and as being destined to labour for their conversion.

(*f*) To certain of the characteristic thoughts of the writer parallels are found only in the post-Isaianic prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Of those already enumerated the conception of Israel as the Lord's Servant is found in Jer. xxx. 10, xlvi. 27; whilst another, not previously mentioned, namely, the view that the people's release from exile is required not by their deserts but by consideration for the Lord's honour (xliii. 25, xlviii. 9—11), occurs also in Ezek. xxxvi. 22.

Such distinctive differences between the modes of thought pervading these sixteen cc. and the writings of Isaiah can scarcely admit of the conclusion that they are the production of one and the same mind working under dissimilar conditions. They seem intelligible only if the two groups of prophecies are regarded as proceeding from two separate writers, who were not only placed in different situations, but were also endowed with diverse temperaments and intellectual qualities.

(3) The style and phraseology of these cc. are as individual as the ideas, and are in keeping with the position in which the historical

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[1] On ii. 2—4, see note.

allusions imply that the writer was situated. Whereas Isaiah was a statesman, who addressed his utterances to the nation's rulers or to gatherings of the people, and whose writings exhibit the energy, the pregnant phrasing, and the rapid transitions of an orator, the author of these cc. writes as one who, if he sought to influence his countrymen, had to do so not by public addresses but through literary channels. His style is impassioned, imaginative, and stately, and marked by the structural symmetry of poetry. In striking contrast to the brevity of Isaiah, it is remarkably diffuse and expansive. The writer circles round his favourite thoughts, often without appreciably advancing them, and sometimes with a reiteration, almost tedious, of particular phrases (such as *lift up thine* (*your*) *eyes* (xl. 26, xlix. 18, li. 6), *fear not* (xli. 10, 13, 14, xliii. 1, 5, xliv. 2, liv. 4), *the first and the last* (xli. 4, xliv. 6, xlviii. 12), *I am the Lord* (*God*) *and there is none else* (xlv. 5, 6, 18, 22, xlvi. 9)). Again, unlike Isaiah, whose utterances are more calculated to impress and awe than to persuade, his tone is tender and pleading, and he makes his appeals by reasoning and argument. But in spite of the argumentative strain in his writing, the poetic quality of his genius is evidenced by the short lyrics which occur here and there, and by his frequent resort to Personification (xl. 10, xliii. 6, xlvii. 1, xlix. 13, li. 9, 17, lii. 1, liv. 1, lv. 12), Metaphor (xli. 14, xliii. 2, xlv. 9, xlvi. 11, l. 1, liv. 9) and Simile (xl. 11, xliv. 4, xlix. 18). Other distinctive features of his diction are the duplication of emphatic phrases (xl. 1, xliii. 11, 25, xlviii. 11, 15, li. 9, 12, 17, lii. 1, 11), the number of rhetorical questions (xl. *passim*, xli. 2, 4, 26, xlii. 23, 24, xliii. 19, xliv. 7, 8, 10, xlv. 9, 21, xlvi. 5, xlix. 15, 24, etc.) and the accumulation of epithets and descriptive clauses in connection with the names of the Lord (xl. 28, xlii. 5, xliii. 14, 16, 17, xliv. 6, 24—28, xlv. 11, 18, xlviii. 17, li. 13), of Israel (xli. 8, xlvi. 3, xlviii. 1, xlix. 7), and of Cyrus (xlv. 1).

His phraseology, as compared with Isaiah's, offers almost as many points of contrast as his style, for it is marked both by (*a*) the absence of many of Isaiah's favourite words and figures, and (*b*) the inclusion of many expressions which are foreign to that prophet. (*a*) Of phrases that recur with some frequency (three times or more) in Isaiah the following are wholly or almost wholly absent from these cc.:— *JEHOVAH of hosts, Lord, idols* (אֱלִילִים), *a treading-down* (מִרְמָס), *to smear* (i.e. to blind) *the eyes, mighty* (כַּבִּיר), *a remnant, to be wasted* (שְׁאָה), *a burden* (סֹבֶל), *a fruitful field* (or *plantation*, כַּרְמֶל), *tempest* (or *rain storm*, זֶרֶם), *briers and thorns, to fight* (or *war*), *to flee* (נוּס), *and it*

shall come to pass, in that day. Of metaphors and similes to which Isaiah is partial (each being used at least twice) the following do not occur:—*to arise* (of the Lord's activity), *to exalt Himself* (נִשְׂגַּב), *to stretch out the hand* (of the Lord's infliction of chastisement upon a nation or country), *the thickets of the forest* (a figure for large forces), *head and tail, palm branch and rush* (terms applied to the highest and lowest ranks in the state), *fatness* and *leanness* (figures for prosperity and adversity), *briers and thorns* (figures for hostile armies), *a scourge* (a metaphor for a severe infliction), *an overflowing stream* (applied to an overwhelming calamity), *to be broken, snared, and taken* (of the victims of a disaster). (*b*) On the other hand the following words and expressions which are comparatively rare or wholly absent in Isaiah are frequent in these cc.: *all flesh, anger* (חֵמָה), *bring good tidings, break forth* into singing (פָּצַח), *comfort, choose* (of the Lord's choice of Israel), *create, coastlands* (or *isles*), *declare* (הִגִּיד), *gather* (קָבַץ), *nothing* (אָפֶס), *offspring* (צֶאֱצָאִים), *pleasure* (חֵפֶץ), *praise, right hand, redeem* (גָּאַל), *shew* (הִשְׁמִיעַ), *spring forth* (צָמַח), *from the beginning* (מֵרֹאשׁ), *the former things* (רִאשֹׁנוֹת), *salvation* (יֶשַׁע, יְשׁוּעָה), *the Lord's* (*my, his*) *servant.* Two words which, though occurring in Isaiah, are much commoner in these cc. are *righteousness* (צֶדֶק) and *for ever* (לְעוֹלָם). Among favourite figures in cc. xl.—lv. are *widowhood* (for the desolation of a city), *darkness* (for imprisonment), and the Lord's *arm* (for His power). But most significant of all are certain particles or adverbs which are used (each more than half a dozen times) in these cc. but which occur rarely or not at all in Isaiah's undoubted writings. The most noteworthy are:—אַחַר, אַף, אָכֵן, בַּל, הֵן, לְמַעַן, יַחַד, תָּמִיד. Other peculiarities which are only manifest in the Heb. are the omission of the relative (אֲשֶׁר) and the use of fem. adjectives and participles (in the plural) to express the neuter.

These literary features constitute by themselves a strong argument in favour of cc. xl.—lv. having been produced by another writer than Isaiah, for they extend beyond the choice of particular words (which might in some instances be determined by the subject-matter) to the structure and articulation of sentences. If Isaiah was their author, it must be supposed that he not only put himself into the situation, and became imbued with the ideas and sentiments, of a later generation, but that in writing for such he departed widely from his ordinary phraseology and manner of composition. Thus, three separate lines of proof converge to establish the conclusion that this part of the book does not proceed from that prophet. This conclusion the traditional

ascription of the whole book to him is not sufficient to neutralize. Inasmuch as independent investigation shews that the Pentateuch, which is traditionally attributed to Moses, the Psalter, which is generally associated with the name of David, the book of Proverbs, which is similarly connected with Solomon, and the book of Zechariah, which has for its title the name of a single prophet, are all compilations from several sources, it is far from surprising that the book of Isaiah should likewise be composite. Nor can the accuracy of the tradition which treats the book as the work of one author be decided by the citation in the N.T. of all parts of it (cc. xl.—lv. no less than cc. i.—xxxix.) as Isaiah's (see p. i). Both by our Lord and by the N.T. writers the name of the prophet was used to denote the book from which they quoted because it was popularly known as his; and by such use the question of the integrity of the book is left untouched[1]. The external testimony, therefore, to the unity of authorship cannot counterbalance the internal evidence that it is the work of more than one writer, and that cc. xl.—lv. are the composition of a prophet who lived a century and a half after Isaiah. That the memory of one who has written so noble a book should have passed so completely into oblivion is, no doubt, strange, but may perhaps be accounted for by the character of the prophecy, which, if the writer lived in Babylon, might make it expedient that the authorship should not be widely known. In any case, it is not unexampled, for the author of the book of Job, a work equally remarkable, is also forgotten. In the absence of all knowledge of the real name of the writer of these cc., he is usually designated as *Deutero-Isaiah.*

The limits of time within which the prophecy was written can be deduced with some confidence from the statements made in regard to Cyrus, who is represented not as about to start upon his course of conquest, but as having already entered upon it (xli. 2), and as having been summoned by the Almighty from the north and the east (xli. 25). This description is only applicable to him if he had by this time become master of Media, of which he was made king in 549. But it is possible that the date is a little later than this; for the declaration that the isles (i.e. the coasts of the Mediterranean) trembled before him (xli. 5) seems to imply that he had also subdued Crœsus of Lydia, the ally of

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[1] It is not implied that our Lord and His Apostles used the title by way of "accommodation" to the popular beliefs of the time; the latter inevitably shared such, whilst the former participated in them through His self-limitation which was inherent in the Incarnation.

the Babylonian king Nabunaid (the Labynetus of Hdt. I. 77), who was defeated in 546. The work, however, cannot be subsequent to 538, when Babylon, whose fall is regarded as still in the future (xliii. 14, xlvii. 1, xlviii. 14), was captured; and accordingly its composition may be plausibly assigned to some period between 546 and 538. The place of its origin has been variously identified. Marti (following Ewald) favours Egypt on the inadequate grounds of the reference to that country in xliii. 3, xlv. 14, of a supposed allusion to the oracle of Ammon in xlv. 19, and of the use of Syene (if this is meant by *Sinim* in xlix. 12) to designate the extreme south. Duhm suggests Phœnicia since the writer has so much in mind the isles of the west, and alludes to Lebanon (xl. 16), where he could see snow (lv. 10) and become acquainted with cedars (xli. 19) and other trees mentioned in xli. 19, xliv. 14, lv. 13. But the bulk of the available evidence points to Babylonia. Only if the writer lived in Babylon is the word *here* natural in lii. 5[1]. In that country information respecting the early successes of Cyrus would be disseminated sooner than in Palestine or Egypt: there, more than in any other locality, would the prophet become familiar with the idolatry, the processes of image manufacture, the names of Babylon's chief deities, the sorcery and the astrology, which he describes; there the Semitic mythology (alluded to in li. 9) would be still current; and there the circumstances and feelings of the exiled people would be most readily learnt. About the mountains and trees of Palestine he could obtain information through hearsay or literature, or he might have seen trees of Palestinian origin introduced into Babylonia; whilst two that are named by him appear to be really Babylonian—the willow (or poplar), which is referred to in Ps. cxxxvii. 2, and the myrtle, which is mentioned as growing in Palestine only by post-exilic writers (Zech. i. 8, 10, 11, Neh. viii. 15) and seems to have become known to the Jews in the course of the Exile. In a few passages which appear to be written from the standpoint of a resident in Palestine (xli. 9, lii. 7, 11), the prophet obviously places himself in fancy in the land of his fathers.

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[1] This *v.* occurs in a passage deemed by some critics to be an interpolation (see note).

§ 2. *Jewish History in the interval between Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah.*

The kingdom of Judah survived the crisis of 701 for more than a hundred years, and outlasted the empire of Assyria itself. Sennacherib, who made one or more expeditions westward after 701, but did not again threaten Jerusalem[1], was assassinated in 681 (Is. xxxvii. 38) and was succeeded by his son Esarhaddon (681—668). The most notable events of his successor's reign were the destruction of Zidon (cf. p. 150), and the invasion of Egypt, the latter being the first successful attempt on the part of an Assyrian monarch to penetrate into the land of the Pharaohs. On Esarhaddon's death the Assyrian dominions passed to Asshurbanipal (668—626), the Osnappar of Ezra iv. 10, and the Sardanapalus of Greek historians. Like his father, the new king made campaigns in Egypt; but the country was not permanently occupied, and Psammetichus, the son of Necho, one of the Egyptian vassal kings, declared himself independent before 660. Asshurbanipal reduced Tyre, which had successfully defied his father, and ravaged Elam; but the power of the Assyrian empire was already beginning to be impaired; and when he died in 626 it quickly crumbled. After the death of Asshurbanipal the annals of Assyria are fragmentary; his successors are mere names[2]. Babylonia, which had occasioned so much trouble to Sargon and Sennacherib through the activity of Merodach-baladan of Bit-yakin, now passed into the hands of Nabopolassar, who like Merodach-baladan, was a Chaldean by race. Nabopolassar, however, was attacked by Sin-shar-ishkun, the contemporary king of Assyria; and to defend himself he appealed for help to the Manda, a group of nomadic tribes of Kurdistan, speaking an Indo-European tongue, who seem to have incorporated the Medes. The Manda drove the Assyrians out of Babylonia, and pursued them to Nineveh, their capital. The city failed to withstand the assault of the invaders; it was stormed, sacked, and burnt; and Sin-shar-ishkun perished in the flames that consumed his palace. The date of Nineveh's capture was 607.

In Judah Hezekiah died about 692, and was succeeded by Manasseh (692—638), in whose reign there was a violent reaction against the religious reforms advocated by Isaiah and perhaps carried out in some degree by Hezekiah (p. 227), in the course of which the prophet himself is said to have been put to death (p. xviii). According to 2 Ch.

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[1] See on cc. xxxvi., xxxvii., Rogers, *HBA.* II. 203 (note), 213.
[2] Asshur-etil-ili, Sin-shum-lishir, Sin-shar-ishkun.

xxxiii. 11, retribution fell upon Manasseh at the hands of Assyria, the Assyrian king (Esarhaddon?) invading Judah and carrying its ruler into captivity (cf. Is. xxxix. 6, note), whence he is said to have been subsequently released[1]. Manasseh was succeeded by Amon (638—637), and Amon by Josiah (637—607); and it was in the reign of the latter that Assyria began to totter to its fall. The signs of the coming collapse were apparent to its neighbours, and a claimant for the prospective spoils of the falling empire appeared in Egypt. As has been mentioned, Psammetichus had there asserted his independence in the reign of Asshurbanipal, and his son Necho II. aspired to extend Egyptian power eastward. Palestine was the country which lay nearest, and the Philistine city of Gaza was the first which Necho assailed[2]. After the capture of this, he was opposed by Josiah, whose independence the Egyptian invasion of Asia threatened. The encounter took place at Megiddo[3], and Josiah was defeated and mortally wounded. The control of Judah then passed for a while into Egyptian hands, and Necho dethroned Josiah's son Jehoahaz, or Shallum (Jer. xxii. 11), who had been made king by popular choice, and replaced him by his brother Eliakim or Jehoiakim. But the Egyptian king did not long enjoy the fruits of his success. About the same time that the battle of Megiddo was fought, Nineveh was taken by the Manda; and the Chaldean Nabopolassar set about securing for himself the region of Mesopotamia. Hence when Necho, seeking to extend his conquests, marched to the Euphrates, he was opposed by Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabopolassar, at Carchemish (cf. Jer. xlvi. 2), and completely defeated (605). This victory placed Judah in the power of the Chaldeans. For three years Jehoiakim paid tribute to Nebuchadrezzar[4], who succeeded (605) to the throne of Babylon on the death of his father (2 Kgs. xxiv. 1); but then revolted. Judah was thereupon harassed by detachments of the Chaldean hosts, aided by the Syrians, Moabites and Ammonites; but after the death of Jehoiakim, who was succeeded by Jehoiachin, the Chaldean king advanced in force against Jerusalem and compelled its surrender. Jehoiachin, with his court and the flower of the population (cf. Jer. xxiv.), was carried into captivity (597), and his uncle Mattaniah under the title of Zedekiah was made king in his room.

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[1] Manasseh is mentioned as an Assyrian vassal in the inscriptions of both Esarhaddon and Asshurbanipal (Schrader, *COT.* II. 40). Much doubt attaches to the story of his captivity at Babylon and his subsequent release, in consequence of the silence of the writer of Kings about it.

[2] Herodotus (II. 157) mentions an attack of Psammetichus on Ashdod.

[3] The *Magdolus* of Hdt. II. 159.

[4] Strictly Nebuchadrezzar II.

Meanwhile in Egypt Necho had been succeeded by Hophra (the Apries of the Greek historians), and it was probably through Egyptian encouragement that the states of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon sought to induce Judah to unite with them in rebelling against their suzerain. The policy was opposed by the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. xxvii.); but eventually Zedekiah, in spite of his oath of fealty (Ezek. xvii. 13), decided on revolt. Nebuchadrezzar sent an army to blockade Jerusalem; but for a time the siege was raised through the approach of an Egyptian relieving force. The Egyptians, however, soon retreated, perhaps in consequence of a defeat (Jos. *Ant.* x. vii. 3), and Jerusalem was again invested. Zedekiah himself attempted to escape across the Jordan, but was overtaken near Jericho, carried to Riblah, where Nebuchadrezzar himself was, and there, after witnessing his sons' deaths, had his eyes put out, and was carried captive to Babylon. His capital, meanwhile, had been entered, its treasures seized, its walls breached, and its buildings burnt. Of its remaining inhabitants a large number were deported, only the poorest being left to cultivate the soil (587 B.C.). As governor of these there was appointed a Jew of royal descent named Gedaliah; but he, together with a number of those about him, both Jews and Chaldeans, was murdered by another descendant of the royal house called Ishmael; and in fear of the possible vengeance that the Chaldean king might wreak on the country, the bulk of the survivors fled to Egypt, whither some Jews had withdrawn after 597 (see Jer. xxiv. 8), and where there was eventually gathered a large Jewish population.

The principal facts of importance in the religious history of Judah during this period were the promulgation of the Deuteronomic Law in the reign of Josiah, and the prophetic ministry of Jeremiah during the reigns of his successors. The importance of Deuteronomy lay in its injunction that the national worship of the Lord should be restricted to a single sanctuary, an injunction which was enforced by king Josiah. Such a departure from the previous usage allowing worship to be conducted at numerous local shrines was calculated to preserve the religion of the Lord from being contaminated with the idolatrous and immoral rites which found shelter in obscure sanctuaries, and it thus helped to safeguard both the purity and the spirituality of the Hebrew faith. In the long run, however, the centralizing of all worship at the Temple could scarcely fail to have a narrowing effect upon Jewish conceptions of the Deity, and of the conditions under which He desired to be approached (cf. Joh. iv. 20). On the genera-

tion that was confronted with the armies of Nebuchadrezzar it had a further calamitous influence by encouraging them to defy the enemy in reliance upon the belief that Jerusalem was secure against capture in virtue of the existence of the Lord's Temple within it (cf. Is. xiv. 32, xxix. 7, 8, xxxi. 9). It was among the services rendered by Jeremiah to his countrymen that he sought to disabuse them of this superstitious confidence in the Temple as a *palladium*. He maintained that Jerusalem was doomed to fall into the hands of the Chaldean enemy, in consequence of its sins, and that its people would be carried into captivity, whence they would be restored only after a long period of exile. Jeremiah's view of the destiny awaiting his countrymen contrasts so strikingly with Isaiah's that an explanation of it must be sought in the different conceptions of religion entertained by the two prophets. For Isaiah the religious unit was the state; and so the survival of the religion of JEHOVAH seemed to require the survival of the nation which professed it. On the other hand, for Jeremiah the religious unit had become the individual: the existence of a law-book had made the preservation of the religion of JEHOVAH possible, apart from the preservation of the state; and so the prophet could contemplate without fear the extinction of his country's independence by exile, whence it was to emerge and enter upon a better future when the Lord would create in each member of the community a new spirit (Jer. xxxi. 31—34). It is this recognition of the individual heart as the real sphere of religious life that is the most distinctive feature in Jeremiah's teaching, and constitutes his most valuable contribution to religious thought.

The number of the Jews carried into exile at the various deportations can only be approximately estimated. Those taken in 597 are put in 2 Kgs. xxiv. 14 at 10,000: whilst those taken in 587 and afterwards are reckoned in Jer. lii. 28—30 at 4600[1]. This makes a total of about 15,000; so that if these figures relate to men only, and if many were accompanied by their families (though see Ezek. xxiv. 21), the full number of captives may have amounted to 50,000[2]. They were drawn from the most valuable sections of the community, only the poorest classes being left in occupation of the country. The localities where they were settled cannot with certainty be ascertained. One of them was Tel-abib on the stream Chebar (Ezek. iii. 15), which has been

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[1] In Jer. lii. 28 *seventh* should be emended to *seventeenth*.
[2] Meyer (cited by Whitehouse) places the probable total at over 100,000.

thought to be a large canal near the city of Nippur. Other places where Jews in 458 assembled to return with Ezra were Tel-melah, Tel-harsha, Cherub, Addan, and Immer (Ezra ii. 59); but their situation has not been identified. Another settlement was at Casiphia (Ezra viii. 17), which is equally unknown. It may be inferred, however, that the exiles were widely distributed in order to preclude treasonable combinations. Many of the first generation of exiles, though enslaved, were probably enabled to practise the occupations to which they had been accustomed in their own land, for the Babylonians were an industrial people, and skilled labour would be valued. By Jeremiah they were exhorted to enter into the life of the country and to be loyal to their Babylonian rulers (c. xxix.); and it would seem that many acted on his counsel and thereby acquired considerable wealth. Consequently, although complaints occur in the Hebrew writers of harsh treatment undergone by their countrymen (Is. xiv. 3, xlii. 22, xlvii. 6), it is not likely that in general the conditions of their servitude were rigorous. They appear to have had among them some kind of civil organization, the patriarchal system of *elders* naturally replacing the *princes* to whose authority the Exile put an end (Ezek. viii. 1). In their new home the exiles came in contact with a very elaborate system of idolatrous worship. Upon some of them it would doubtless exercise attraction. But in others it would induce feelings of revulsion; and upon those who eventually returned to their own land their experiences in Babylon seem to have exerted a purifying influence, for such idolatry as existed in the post-exilic community seems to have had its seat among the dregs of the population that were left on their native soil (p. lxix). A cause which helped to detach the captive Jews from idolatrous tendencies was the study of the writings of their prophets. During the Exile sacrifice was suspended, and religious activity took a literary direction. A body of prophetic literature had by this time accumulated, and was now collected and edited; historical records were put into shape and their lessons enforced by comments; and the legal and ritual regulations which had been transmitted by tradition began to be codified. But beside the influences of the past which it was thus sought to preserve, there was operative among the exiles the influence of contemporary prophets. Of these the chief were Ezekiel and the unknown writer designated as Deutero-Isaiah. These not only pointed the moral of their past experiences but cheered them with hopes for the future. Ezekiel, whose writings were produced between 592 and 570, was a priest, and his interest was chiefly centred

in the reorganization of the national religion, with its Temple, priesthood, and sacrificial system, against the time when the national life should be renewed on the soil of Judah. Deutero-Isaiah, who (as has been shewn) lived nearer the close of the Exile and wrote between 549 and 538, was principally concerned to induce his countrymen to welcome the prospects of redemption afforded by the successes of the Persian Cyrus, whom he described as the Lord's Anointed. Many of the exiles were depressed by the protracted duration of their captivity (cf. Lam. iii. 18, v. 20): others probably looked for rescue to the rise among them of a deliverer of their own race, and not to a foreign conqueror. To the dissipation of such despondency and discontent the prophet devoted all his efforts, embodying his appeals and consolations in writings which in some ways constitute the crown of Hebrew prophecy.

The external history of the Babylonian empire from its destruction of Jerusalem in 587 to its own overthrow by Cyrus can be summarized briefly. Nebuchadrezzar, upon the conclusion of the war against Judah, attacked Tyre (585), which had been one of the states that encouraged Zedekiah in his rebellion. The siege lasted 13 years, and ended without the city being captured. He next invaded Egypt (567), and penetrated into it, but does not appear to have effectively subjugated the country. He was succeeded in 561 by Amil-marduk (the Evil-merodach of the O.T.). This king displayed clemency to the captive Jehoiachin by releasing him from prison (2 Kgs. xxv. 27—30, Jer. lii. 31—34); but little else is recorded of him, and he died by violence after a reign of only two years. The author of his death was Nergal-shar-usar[1] (Neriglissar), who succeeded him, and whose reign was also short. He was followed by Labashi-marduk (Labassarachos), a youth who was murdered after occupying the throne for less than a year. His successor was Nabu-naid (Nabonidus) (556—538), who was more interested in the building of temples than in the cares of empire, and who left the administration of the state largely in the hands of his son Bel-shar-usar (the Belshazzar of the O.T.). Early in his reign the Manda, who had been instrumental in the overthrow of Assyria, and who had subjugated, and become amalgamated with, the Medes, had been conquered by Cyrus, the ruler of Anshan (a little state in N.W. Elam)[2], their king Astyages being betrayed by his own troops (549). After this success Cyrus, who now called himself king of the

[1] Perhaps the Nergal-sharezer of Jer. xxxix. 3.
[2] On Elam see Driver, *Gen.* p. 128.

Parsu (or Persians), conquered Crœsus of Lydia and captured Sardis (546); and he then menaced Babylon. He advanced upon it in 538 and entered it without resistance, Nabunaid being taken within his capital. Thus Babylon fell, some 50 years after it had brought about the fall of Jerusalem, so fulfilling the prophecy of Jeremiah delivered 66 years previously (Jer. xxv. 12)[1].

§ 3. *Theology of Deutero-Isaiah.*

The prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah, like other prophecies, was composed in view of a particular crisis, and its theological affirmations are not made as abstract propositions, but designed to interpret certain passing and impending events to a particular body of people. The events in question were the movements of the Persian Cyrus against Babylon and its allies; and of the peoples whom they affected none were more deeply interested in them than the Jewish exiles in that country. But whatever hopes were inspired in these by the report of Cyrus' successes, they could not overcome the influences conducive to depression and despair. The reasons for their despondency were partly the vast material resources of their oppressors (li. 13), and partly the imposing system of the Babylonian religion, with its ritual, its enchantments, and its vaticinations, which induced doubts whether the gods of Babylon might not be more potent than their own God. Accordingly the prophet's efforts were directed to encouraging and stimulating the disheartened exiles by dwelling upon (*a*) the sovereignty of the Lord over the forces of nature and the events of human history, (*b*) His love for, and fidelity to, His people, (*c*) the powerlessness of Babylon's idol-gods, as evinced both by the processes of their manufacture and by their inability to foresee and predict the future. The writer in developing his thesis that the Lord had both the power and the will to deliver His people out of all their tribulation pursues in some measure the ordinary method of the Hebrew prophetic writers. In regard to the Lord's creation of, and rule over, the physical world he starts from the current beliefs, deeply rooted but vague, of his countrymen, and proceeds to enlarge their conception of the extent of the Lord's resources by a series of affirmations respecting His relations to various parts of the universe. But in respect of His influence over human fortunes, and

[1] The *seventy years* which Jeremiah declared that the Exile was to last is probably a conventional number (cf. Is. xxiii. 15, Zech. vii. 5).

His superiority in regard to this over the idols of Babylon he essays demonstration, and appeals to the evidence of prophecy. To the Lord's foreknowledge of the future the Jews could furnish testimony. They were His witnesses, their own experience supplying instances of predictions verified by the event, which argued in the God Who inspired them control over the occurrences foretold. To the idols a challenge is flung to produce similar proofs of prescience; and as it is assumed that none is forthcoming, an adverse conclusion concerning their power and reality is inevitable.

(*a*) That heaven and earth were the creation of the Lord was a belief much older than Deutero-Isaiah, being found in the Pentateuchal narrative JE (Gen. ii. 4 *b*) and implied by Amos (v. 8, ix. 6). But in this prophecy it is re-affirmed with the utmost emphasis (xl. 12, 28, xlii. 5, xliv. 24, xlv. 12, 18, xlviii. 13). The Lord is declared to be the Creator and Marshaller of the stars (xl. 26), to be the Ruler of the sea (xliii. 16, li. 10, 15), and to be the Source of all that lives on the earth (xli. 4, xlii. 5). The warrior who uses, and the smith who forges, deadly weapons, alike owe their existence to His creative power (liv. 16). He is able to effect the most marvellous transformations of nature (xl. 4, xli. 18, 19, xlii. 15, xliii. 19, xliv. 27, l. 2, 3), and in the whole of His operations He is independent of all counsel and help (xl. 12—14). In comparison with Him nations are negligible quantities (xl. 15, 17), and the inhabitants of the world shrink into insignificance (xl. 22, 23). He is the Author of light and darkness, the Originator of good and evil (xlv. 7). His existence extends through all time (xli. 4, xliv. 6, xlviii. 12), He is an everlasting God (xl. 28), and He foresees and correctly announces events before they come to pass (xli. 26, 27, xlii. 9). In fine, He alone is God, before or after Him there is none other, and beside Him there is no Saviour (xliii. 10, 11, xliv. 6, 8, xlv. 6, 14, 20, 21, xlvi. 9). In consequence of His thus being the only existing God, the epithet *Holy One*, a term connoting Divinity, becomes appropriate to Him as a proper name (without the article, xl. 25): He concentrates in Himself all that constitutes godhead. Hence, in opposition to the Lord all hostile combinations of human forces are vain (xl. 6, 7, 23, xliii. 13, li. 12). Tireless and inexhaustible Himself, He is able to recruit the strength of the faint and weak, if they trust Him (xl. 29, 31). His promise is unfailing (xl. 8, lv. 11); Cyrus is His agent for rescuing His people (as the Assyrians had once been His instrument for their chastisement, x. 5, 12); and their return to their own land is therefore assured (xliv. 28, xlv. 13, lv. 12).

(*b*) The conviction that a special bond subsisted between the Lord and Israel may be described as part of the racial heritage of the people, for every Semitic nation and community believed itself to be an object of care and interest to a particular god, whom it repaid by exclusive worship. Originally a Semitic divinity seems to have been regarded as attached primarily to the land in which his worship was maintained, and which was thought of as united to him by conjugal ties, its inhabitants being the offspring of the union (see on i. 2). Among the Jews any sensuous associations suggested by this view of the relations between the Lord and themselves were early replaced by ethical conceptions; and whilst terms derived from marriage were retained to describe the bond between the Lord and Jerusalem, they were expressive of nothing but the tenderest and purest emotion. And it is especially to these that Deutero-Isaiah has recourse when seeking to renew in the despondent exiles trust in the love and faithfulness of the Lord. The Lord had chosen them in the person of their ancestor Abraham (li. 2), and to that choice He was consistently loyal (cf. xli. 8—14). They were His sons and daughters (xliii. 6); and any interruption in the current of His affection for Jerusalem, their mother, was only temporary (l. 1), and its flow would soon be renewed for ever (liv. 1 f.). There was no divorce between her Husband and her; the period of her widowhood was on the point of terminating; and the Lord was about to recall her to Him (liv. 5, 6). But the writer does not confine himself to figures like these: he uses most of the metaphors and comparisons which best convey thoughts of compassion and solicitude. The Lord is Israel's next of kin (*Goel*), Whose right it is to redeem it from slavery (xli. 14, xliii. 14, xliv. 6, 24, xlviii. 17, xlix. 7, liv. 8). His unfailing care for Israel exceeds even the unforgetting love of a mother (xlix. 14, 15). His tendance of its people is like that of a shepherd who leads his sheep, and carries his lambs in his bosom (xl. 11). It is His purpose to facilitate their homeward journey across the desert (xl. 3, 4, xlii. 16), to relieve all their wants (xli. 18, 19, xliii. 19, xlix. 10, 11), and to restore Jerusalem to honour and happiness (xl. 9, xlix. 14—21, lii. 1, 2, liv. 1—17). The Lord is represented as magnifying in His pity the sufferings of the exiles as compared with their sins (xl. 2), and as assuring them ample compensation for the wrongs they have sustained (xlix. 22 f.). It is in consequence of this view of Israel as more innocent than the agents of its punishment that the term *righteousness* undergoes the transition of meaning to which allusion has been made (p. xlvi). The Divine righteousness

which in Proto-Isaiah causes the Lord to inflict chastisement upon His people on account of their misdeeds is, in Deutero-Isaiah, the motive—faithfulness to His original beneficent purposes—which inspires Him to achieve through Cyrus their redemption (xlv. 13, 23, cf. xli. 2, 10, xlii. 21), or else the proof of His justice as thereby manifested (xlv. 8, xlvi. 13, li. 5, 6, 8), and so equivalent to victory or triumph (synonymous with *strength* (xlv. 24) or *salvation* (xlvi. 13, li. 5, 6)). And similarly, as the effect of the earlier purifying judgments upon Israel is regarded by Isaiah as the renewal in it of righteousness in the sense of social uprightness and integrity, so the effect of Israel's rescue from its oppressors is thought of by the writer of these cc. as re-establishing its righteousness by publicly vindicating its character, upon which its calamities had cast reproach.

(*c*) In the contrast drawn between the Lord as the Helper of Israel, and the idols in which Babylon's confidence was placed, use is made of two lines of argument. In the first place, the Lord's claim to be the prime mover in the events that were transpiring (the successes of Cyrus and his advance upon Babylon) is supported by the evidence of His wisdom and foreknowledge afforded by the fulfilment of His earlier predictions (xliii. 12, xlv. 21, xlviii. 14), which Israel could attest (xliii. 10, xliv. 8, xlviii. 6); whereas no proof of prophetic power could be produced on behalf of the idols (xli. 21—24, xliii. 9, xlv. 21). Secondly, the materials out of which the idols had been constructed and the process of their manufacture are derisively set forth as a crowning demonstration of the impotence and unreality of deities so made (xl. 19, 20, xli. 6, 7, xliv. 9—20, xlvi. 6, 7)[1]. In the description of the fabrication of a god out of the same block of wood from which the artificer obtains fuel to give him warmth and to cook his food, the writer's sarcasm is mordant and scathing.

But if the prophet, in contending for the superiority of the God of Israel over the gods of Babylon, had done no more than point to the success of Babylon's enemy, the evidence of prophecy, and the helplessness of images made by human hands, he would not have advanced much beyond the ideas of many of his predecessors. Although to Israel Cyrus' success might be evidence of the potency of the Lord Who had set him in motion (cf. Josh. iii. 10), yet Babylon might have accounted for its disasters by the plea that its god Bel was angry with his land (just as Mesha of Moab, in his inscription, explains the disasters of the

[1] The authenticity of xliv. 9—20 and xlvi. 6, 7 is denied by many critics.

Moabites as caused by the resentment of Chemosh)[1]. The Babylonian soothsayers, if allowed to speak for themselves, would probably have been at no loss for instances of true vaticination on the part of Nebo the god of prophecy, the tutelary divinity of Borsippa. And even the prophet's exposure of the folly of idol-worship is effective only against the vulgar view that identifies the god with his image. Deutero-Isaiah, however, did not stop here; and his first great distinction in the sphere of theology is the explicitness with which he affirms the Lord to be the only God. It is possible that his mind may at times have fluctuated a little in regard to the gods of the heathen, and that he did not uniformly consider them as altogether non-existent powers (see xlvi. 2). But even if he does not quite consistently maintain the monotheistic position, he seems to gain it. He repeatedly represents the Lord as declaring that He is God and none else (xliv. 6, 8, xlv. 5, 6, 18). It is to this conclusion that the exhaustive description of the Lord as the Creator and Ruler of the world naturally leads; it is this belief in the existence of only one God that is destructive of the claims of any rival deities; and it is upon this faith that he builds his hopes for his countrymen.

But a conviction that the God hitherto worshipped by one single nation is really the only God that exists to receive worship at all is, if thought out, fatal to the belief that He can be the God of that nation in any exclusive sense; and it is the second great distinction of Deutero-Isaiah that he became sensible of this. He recognized that if Israel was the favoured people of the God of the whole universe, Who was controlling a great contemporary movement for its advantage, the favour bestowed upon it must be a means to a further end and contribute to the good of all mankind. Hitherto the Lord's choice of[2], and love for, Israel had been asserted, but not accounted for (Am. iii. 2, Hos. xi. 1, Deut. vii. 6 f.); and it could only be saved from appearing arbitrary by being regarded as subsidiary to a purpose embracing the whole human race. The prophet's conclusion took expression in the designation of Israel as *the Lord's Servant*. The title, which implied that those who were thus described were devoted to the worship and service of the Lord (cf. Neh. i. 10, Dan. vi. 20, and the proper name *Obadiah*, 1 Kgs. xviii. 12), had been previously for the most part

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[1] See the inscription on the Moabite stone in Driver, *Sam.* p. lxxxv f. or Hastings, *DB.* III. p. 403 f.

[2] The event which originally manifested the Lord's choice of Israel is variously represented as the Exodus or the Call of Abraham (Hos. xi. 1, Is. xli. 8, li. 2).

applied to individuals (see on xli. 8); but by Deutero-Isaiah (following the precedent of Jeremiah, see xxx. 10, xlvi. 27) it was applied to the collective people of Israel. The function which Israel, as the Lord's Servant, was commissioned to discharge was that of manifesting and attesting before the world the Lord's power and wisdom and goodness (xliii. 21). It was qualified to do this by its experiences, which illustrated the nature and character of its God, His faculty of prediction, and the justice of His claim to direct and control events (xliii. 10, xliv. 8). In the immediate future it was destined to have an unprecedented opportunity for fulfilling this function. Its approaching release from captivity and its restoration to its own land were events which by their unexpectedness were calculated to attract the attention of the world at large (xl. 5). So extraordinary a rescue could not fail to excite among those who witnessed it emotions of reverence and awe towards the Deity who brought it about (xlv. 6, 14). A desire would be kindled in them to secure for themselves the protection of so mighty a Deity; and the heathen peoples would be led to renounce their idolatries and to attach themselves to Israel in order to share the blessings derivable from a knowledge of the one true God (xliv. 5, xlv. 22, 23).

In thus setting before his countrymen the Divine scheme which they were intended to be instrumental in promoting, the prophet doubtless aimed at stimulating them, depressed as they were by half a century's slavery, with the thought of their being called to a high and ennobling destiny. But truth would not allow him to ignore altogether the many defects of his nation. In spite of the privileges which had been conferred upon it, Israel had hitherto not responded adequately to its obligations. It had shewn itself spiritually blind and deaf (xlii. 18, 19, xliii. 8), had transgressed against its God, and had been in consequence punished by exile in a foreign land (xlii. 24, 25). Even there it had been refractory, querulous, and unresponsive to the Lord's advances (xl. 27, xlv. 9, xlvi. 12, l. 2). It could not, however, be allowed to defeat the Lord's purposes. His name would be dishonoured, and His power disparaged, if His people were left in the hands of their enemies indefinitely (xlii. 8), for the heathen could not be expected to understand the disciplinary purpose which Israel's humiliation subserved, and would only infer from it the powerlessness of its God. Consequently, since, notwithstanding their ill-treatment by Babylon, they could not be deemed to deserve redemption by any merits of their own, the Lord was constrained to forgive and deliver them for His own sake (xliii. 25, xlviii. 11), and Israel was still to become, despite its

failings, an agency whereby a saving knowledge of the Lord might reach mankind (xliv. 5, xlv. 14, 22, 23, li. 4, lii. 10).

Deutero-Isaiah thus harmonized the truth of the Lord's interest in the nations of the earth generally with his ancestral belief in the Lord's peculiar relation to Israel in particular by the thought that Israel, in being chosen for special privileges, was intended to be an agent in the extension of the same to others. The idea, however, was not peculiar to him, for the passages within his writings in which it is most fully developed seem to have been incorporated by him from another source. These passages[1], generally known as the "Servant Songs," are marked by a much higher estimate of Israel's character and conduct than that entertained by Deutero-Isaiah, and by a very singular view of the significance of its history and experiences. In them Israel, as the Lord's Servant, is represented, with even more explicitness than in Deutero-Isaiah, as expressly designed to acquaint the Gentiles, whose spiritual condition is sympathetically described (xlii. 3, 4), with a knowledge of the true religion (xlii. 1). It is affirmed of him that he will use the methods of a gentle and unobtrusive, but at the same time, an unflagging, teacher (xlii. 3, 4). For the discharge of his duty he is portrayed as equipped with the faculty of incisive speech (xlix. 2), and as submissive and responsive to the Lord's instruction (l. 5). In the course of his career he has overcome by his faith feelings of disappointment and failure (xlix. 4); he has patiently endured humiliation and outrage (l. 6, liii. 7); and, though innocent of evil, he has been destroyed as a criminal (liii. 8, 9). But it is predicted that his career is not finally closed: his life will be renewed because his sufferings and death have been vicarious (liii. 4—6), procuring the Divine forgiveness for those who occasioned or witnessed them (liii. 10—12). This fact will be brought home to men by the marvel of his triumphant restoration, which will excite the greatest astonishment amongst kings and peoples, and will evoke from them marks of the utmost veneration (lii. 15).

In this delineation of the Lord's Servant, his calamities and death are obviously regarded as past: it is only his restoration to life, his exaltation to honour, and the success of his mission, that are still future. By the writer the former must be intended to denote the oppressive treatment which Israel underwent at the hands of its heathen neighbours, which was consummated by its extinction as a

[1] Viz. xlii. 1—4, xlix. 1—6, l. 4—9, lii. 13—liii. 12.

nation; whilst the latter represent the expected renewal of its national life and independence. In the vivid personification exhibited in these passages there is nothing that goes beyond Deutero-Isaiah's portrayal of Israel as an individual (see xliv. 1, 2, xlvi. 3, 4, and cf. c. xlvii. of Babylon): the features in them which are really remarkable and distinctive are the qualities of innocence and patience attributed to the collective nation, and the vicarious character of its sufferings, which are represented as availing to intercede for the offences of the heathen. There is nothing, however, to suggest that the innocence is to be construed as sinlessness; and for the claim that Israel was relatively righteous in comparison with the heathen, parallels are not wanting (see on liii. 9). On the other hand, the substitutionary value here assigned to the adversities and national extinction of Israel does not occur anywhere else in the O.T. But it is not unnatural that such an estimate of the significance of Israel's calamities should have come to be entertained when once the problem pressed for solution as to why a race, which, with all its faults, was in faith and morals superior to nations like Assyria, Babylon, or Persia, should have been allowed to be oppressed and destroyed. The writer of these passages seeks therein to furnish an answer to a question which perplexed his predecessor Habakkuk—the question why the Lord permitted the wicked to swallow up the man that was more righteous than he (Hab. i. 13); and he finds it in a theory of vicarious atonement, to which he was possibly led by the increasing thought bestowed, during the Exile, upon sacrifices of expiation[1]. The substitutionary idea admitted of extension from the sphere of animal, to that of human, life; and the author of the Songs applied it to remove the feeling of injustice which the thought of their past adversities might have created in his countrymen. Israel's sufferings were not to be regarded as an altogether inexplicable calamity, but accounted for as a factor in the accomplishment of a Divine plan. They had been designed to expiate the sins of the Gentiles, and to exert upon them, when knowledge of the truth should be brought home to them, a redemptive influence. Israel's sense of injustice might thus be lost in the consciousness of service done for God and man; and the nation, when made acquainted with the purpose of its experiences, might not only

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[1] Cf. Lev. xvii. 11, where, however, the manner in which the sacrifice of an animal made atonement is left unexplained. The LXX., departing from the Heb., renders the final clause by *τὸ γὰρ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ ψυχῆς ἐξιλάσεται.*

be reconciled to the past but stimulated to become an active agent for the conversion of the heathen for whose transgressions it had atoned.

The view of Israel's history and destiny set forth in the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah and in the "Servant Songs" began to be justified in the century immediately following the Return; for when cc. lvi.—lxvi. were written, foreigners were already seeking to attach themselves to the Jewish community as proselytes (lvi. 3, 6, 7); and in later times such proselytes were numerous. But a still more signal verification of it has been furnished by Christianity, through which the Hebrew doctrine of God has become the religious faith of the foremost nations of the world (cf. Luke ii. 32). Of the description of the Servant's sufferings contained in the last of the Songs (c. liii.) a fulfilment has also been traced by the N.T. writers in the Passion and Death of our Lord (see Mk. ix. 12, Luke xxiv. 46, Acts iii. 18). That the description cannot be strictly a prediction of Christ's sufferings will be clear from what has been said (cf. also p. 347). But so far as Israel's afflictions, which c. liii. is really meant to depict, contributed in their degree to promote the same end as that which our Lord had in view, namely, the bringing of all mankind to a knowledge of God, they may be justifiably regarded as prefiguring His Passion. The destruction of Israel's national existence by the Exile was symbolic of our Lord's death in the same sense as its restoration, as foretold by Hosea, was symbolic of His resurrection (see Luke xviii. 31, 33, xxiv. 46, and cf. Hos. vi. 1, 2). In Christ, a Jew after the flesh, the noblest attributes of His race reached their culmination. By His character and life He fulfilled the vocation to which His countrymen so imperfectly responded. He reproduced on a higher plane His nation's experiences, and He consummated the Divine purpose which it was designed to subserve. On His withdrawal from the earth, the perpetuation of His teaching was committed to the Christian Church. There thus devolved upon the Church the religious responsibilities toward mankind which formerly rested upon the people of Israel; and in consequence the figure of the Servant has received a fresh realization. The denotation of the term has again become collective; the Servant is, in a transferred sense, a personification of the whole Christian community; and the account of his office and mission describes the duty and work of the Church throughout the world.

CHAPTER IV.

Trito-Isaiah (cc. lvi.—lxvi.).

§ 1. *Origin and Date.*

The last eleven cc. of the Book of Isaiah are not distinguished from the preceding sixteen by the same conspicuous contrasts that differentiate the latter from cc. i.—xxxix. Indeed, both in subject-matter and in diction, cc. lvi.—lxvi. present many features of resemblance to Deutero-Isaiah. Like the latter they anticipate in their contents the release of Jewish exiles and their return to their own country (lx. 4, 9, lxi. 1, cf. xlix. 12), the rebuilding of Jerusalem's ruined walls and dwellings (lxi. 4, cf. xliv. 28), the rendering of homage to her by the heathen nations (lx. 14, cf. xlix. 23), the enrichment of her by their wealth and labour (lx. 6 f., 16, lxi. 5, cf. xlix. 23), and the bestowal upon her of security and glory (lx. 18 f., cf. liv. 11 f., lxi. 8, cf. lv. 3, 4). With the latter, too, they have certain common elements of style (e.g. the duplication of an emphatic sentence or word[1]); and a number of the words and phrases which are distinctive of cc. xl.—lv., as compared with cc. i.—xxxix., recur in them[2]. Nevertheless, by the side of these similarities there exist differences of so grave a character that it is difficult to suppose that these cc. proceed from the same writer or from the same period as cc. xl.—lv.; and it consequently seems necessary to postulate for them another author or other authors, who lived after Deutero-Isaiah and wrote under different circumstances, but became acquainted with, and influenced by, his prophecies.

The contrast presented to cc. xl.—lv. by cc. lvi.—lxvi. is most apparent in connection with (1) the external situation and the social and other conditions which are implied in them, (2) the convictions and sentiments pervading them, (3) the distinctive features of their style and the peculiarities of their diction.

(1) The contemporary situation which the contents of most of the cc. in question reflect is one which is only compatible with a date after the Exile.

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[1] The duplication of a word occurs in lvii. 6, 14, 19, lxii. 10, lxv. 1.

[2] Of the words and phrases enumerated on p. xlix. as characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah the following occur in cc. lvi.—lxvi.:—*all flesh*, *anger* (or *fury*), *comfort*, *create*, *isles*, *gather*, *offspring*, *pleasure*, *praise*, *right-hand*, *redeem*, *spring forth*.

(*a*) No mention is anywhere made of Babylon. When the author wrote, a large proportion of the Israelite people were still dispersed, but a body of exiles had already returned to their own land (lvi. 8), where they were in much distress (lxi. 3), their numbers being few; and one of the purposes of the writer was to encourage hopes of an early and large increase in the population from abroad (lx. 4, 8, 22, lxvi. 6—9, 20), where many Jews were resident long after the Return under Zerubbabel in 537. Among the places from which arrivals were expected were over-sea countries (lx. 9), a circumstance pointing to a wide dispersion of Jews at the time, which is more natural in the post-exilic than in the exilic period.

(*b*) The Temple was no longer in ruins[1], but had been rebuilt (lvi. 5, 7, lxii. 9, lxv. 11, lxvi. 6), though it was still mean in appearance and lacked adornment (lx. 7, 13). The reconstruction of it was completed as early as 516 B.C. (Ezra vi. 15); but when these cc. were composed, the religious reorganization must have been fully accomplished, and the Temple worship restored and regularly maintained, for participation in its privileges was an object of desire to foreigners (lvi. 3, 6), and a refusal of it was apprehended, whilst the Jews themselves are regarded by the author as designed to be the priestly nation of the world (lxi. 6). These features seem to involve a date considerably later than 516.

(*c*) The walls of Jerusalem were still unrestored[1] (lviii. 12, lx. 10), much of the land was waste (lxii. 4), and many of the cities of Judah were desolate (lxi. 4); but the country was in part occupied by Jewish husbandmen, who were exposed to the raids of ill-disposed neighbours and lost the produce of their exertions (lxii. 8, lxv. 21—23). The animosity displayed by the writer against the Edomites (lxiii. 1—6) is easily accounted for, if the resentment originally excited by their attitude on the occasion of the capture of Jerusalem (Ps. cxxxvii. 7) had been aggravated by their complicity in such raids.

(*d*) Much assiduity was manifested by the people in the formal observance of the ordinances of religion, and in the practice of austerities (lviii. 2), which made the delay in the relief of their distress seem the more inexplicable (lviii. 3); and whereas the exiles in Babylon were charged by Deutero-Isaiah with indifference to the worship of the Lord (xliii. 22—24), the community addressed in these

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[1] The only passage representing Jerusalem as desolate and the Temple in ruins is lxiv. 10, 11; but this belongs to a section probably distinct in origin from the rest of cc. lvi.—lxvi., and dating from a period shortly after 537 (see p. 397).

cc. shewed no lack of interest in the external rites of devotion. This difference in the popular attitude points to the lapse of some interval since the Exile, during which the influence of an organized religious system had again made itself felt.

(*e*) The moral state of the people is depicted as extremely grave, and complaint is made, less of their mistrust and unresponsiveness in face of the Lord's promise of a deliverance close at hand (as in xl. 27, xlv. 9, 10) than of the prevalence among them of the sins of violence (lvii. 1), bloodshed (lix. 3), and falsehood (lix. 3—8), which retarded the return of felicity (lix. 9, 11). The community was torn by social disunion and strife; the observance of fasts put no check upon rapacity and contentiousness; and the tribunals of justice were depraved and corrupt (lvii. 1, 2, lviii. 3, 4, 6, 7, lix. 14, 15). For the existence of such disorders, the leaders of the community, by reason of their selfishness and supineness, are represented as accountable (lvi. 10—12); and this seems to imply that the government of the Jewish people was at the time to some extent exercised by their own responsible heads. Such a position of comparative independence is more probable in the post-exilic period at Jerusalem under Persian rule, when Jews were placed in authority over their countrymen (e.g. Zerubbabel (Hag. i. 1) and Nehemiah (Neh. v. 14)), than during the Exile in Babylonia.

(*f*) A section of the people were guilty of idolatry (lvii. 3—10, lxv. 1—7, lxvi. 3, 17); and some of the localities where it was practised shew the scene of it to be Palestine, not Babylon (lvii. 5—7); whilst of the deities to whom sacrifice was offered, one is known to be Canaanite, whilst the other was probably Arabian (lxv. 11). The section of the population which was addicted to heathen practices appears to have been in the majority, and to have persecuted those who were faithful to the Lord (lxvi. 5); and it is a plausible inference that of the two factions into which the community at this time was divided, that which indulged in idolatrous rites consisted of the residue of the population left in the country by Nebuchadrezzar in 587, which, mingling with the inhabitants of adjoining countries like Moab, Arabia, and the province of Samaria, had adopted a syncretistic variety of religion, in which both JEHOVAH and heathen gods were worshipped in combination (lvii. 12, 13, lxv. 11, lxvi. 3; cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 33).

(2) In these cc., which, in general, present less unity of sentiment and feeling than prevails in Deutero-Isaiah, the tone of the writer in

certain passages is in conspicuous contrast to the spirit pervading the preceding sixteen cc.

(*a*) In several places the writer, in response to the people's surprise at the Lord's delay in redressing their wrongs, gives as an explanation the existence amongst them of heinous sins (lix. 1, 2), and implies that the desired realization of the Lord's promise is conditional upon a moral reformation (lviii. 9); whereas in Deutero-Isaiah the deliverance announced is unconditional, the nation's sins are forgiven (xl. 2, xliv. 22), and the only obstacle to its redemption is its own backwardness in welcoming it (l. 2).

(*b*) A difference in the motive impelling the Lord to intervene in His people's cause distinguishes these cc. from the work of Deutero-Isaiah. Here it is the reflection that human nature is too frail to support protracted chastisement, whereas there it is consideration for His own name which the continued oppression of His people by their enemies would bring into contempt (contrast lvii. 16 with xliii. 25).

(*c*) In these cc. the Lord is represented as having no human aid in the achievement of His people's deliverance (lix. 16, lxiii. 5), but in Deutero-Isaiah He uses Cyrus as His agent.

(*d*) Whilst in these cc. the term *righteousness* is sometimes synonymous with *salvation*, which is its predominant signification in Deutero-Isaiah (see lviii. 8, lix. 9, lxi. 10, lxii. 1), it is also frequently employed to describe the *conduct* required by the Lord from His people, embracing both moral and ceremonial duties (lvi. 1[a], lviii. 2, lix. 4, 14, lxi. 3, lxiv. 5).

(*e*) Though in these cc. there is no tendency to regard the performance of religious exercises as a substitute for moral duties, and though there is displayed in general a spirit of religious tolerance and comprehensiveness, yet there appears to be more interest in the sacrificial system and in consecrated days and localities than is the case with Deutero-Isaiah. The thoughts of the writer (or writers) of these cc. often circle around the practice of sacrifice and sacrificial feasts (lvi. 7, lx. 7, lxii. 9, lxvi. 20); and there is attached much importance to the observance of the Sabbath (lvi. 2, 6, lviii. 13) and to attendance at the Temple, which is described as *a house of prayer for all nations* (lvi. 7). By Deutero-Isaiah little prominence is given to the institution of sacrifice (though see xliii. 23, 24); the Sabbath (the observance of which was emphasized by the exilic prophet Ezekiel) is not mentioned at all; and though it is predicted that to the Lord *every knee shall bow*, it is not declared, explicitly at least, that the worship of the

Gentiles is to be rendered at Jerusalem. Thus in contrast to the preceding sixteen cc. these are pervaded by a decidedly legalist atmosphere, pointing to a difference in the authorship, if not in the date of production.

(3) The structure and phraseology of this group of cc. manifest certain distinctive features.

(*a*) These cc. are not marked by the same uniformity of subject-matter as cc. xl.—lv. They fall into certain smaller groups which, indeed, seem (with one exception) to belong to the same period, but which are otherwise detached from one another, and appear to have been evoked by varying circumstances.

(*b*) The strain of argument is less prominent; the prevailing tone is that of promise or of menace; and the tone of menace is more conspicuous than in Deutero-Isaiah.

(*c*) Whilst the language in many respects offers great similarity to that of Deutero-Isaiah, it produces in certain passages the impression of being borrowed, but used in a different connection from that in which it was originally employed, or else varied with imperfect success. Thus in lvii. 14, a command adopted from xl. 3, where it is intended in a literal sense, is applied metaphorically; in lx. 13 the same three trees which in xli. 19[b] are to serve for one purpose are designed for another; in lx. 16 the thought of xlix. 23[a] is couched in a different and rather unpleasing form.

(*d*) The vocabulary in some measure is different from that of Deutero-Isaiah. Among the phrases used within cc. xl.—lxvi. which are almost, if not quite, limited to the last eleven cc. are *keep* (in connection with religious ordinances, see lvi. 1, 2, 4, 6), *many generations* (דּוֹר וָדוֹר), *do righteousness*, *separate*, *recompence* (גְּמוּל), *rejoice* (שׂוּשׂ), *minister unto* (שָׁרַת), *choose that wherein* (the Lord) *delights not*, *do that which is evil in the eyes* (of the Lord). Several of these expressions are characteristic of Deuteronomy[1]; and there are a few others, such as *afflict the soul* and *abominable things*, which are found only in Ezekiel, the Priestly Code of the Hexateuch and certain Psalms. A very significant form is כאחד, used in lxv. 25 (instead of יחד, as in xi. 6, 7), which is elsewhere found only in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Ecclesiastes. One or two quite late words occur in lxvi. 23, 24, verses,

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[1] Other parallels with Deuteronomy are *joy of heart* (lxv. 14, cf. Deut. xxviii. 47 Heb.), *provoke to anger* (lxv. 3, cf. Deut. iv. 25, ix. 18, xxxi. 29).

however, which are, perhaps, subsequent to the rest of the composition (see note, p. 421).

The conclusion to which the facts just reviewed point is that these cc. are not exilic in origin, but were written after the Exile and do not proceed from Deutero-Isaiah. It is more difficult to decide whether they all belong to one period and are the work of a single hand, or whether their composition covers a considerable time and was shared by several writers. If the former view, maintained by Duhm, is correct, the date probably synchronizes approximately with that of Malachi, who is thought by some to have written shortly before 445 and by others shortly before 458[1]. Social and religious corruption, such as that described in lvii. 1—10, lviii., lix., lxv. 3 f., lxvi. 17, prevailed in the time of that prophet (see Mal. ii. 11, iii. 5, 13—18), who also, like the writer of lxiii. 1—6, regards Edom as the object of Divine wrath (i. 2—5); and many of the circumstances implied in other cc. present a close correspondence to the situation and conditions existing at Jerusalem shortly before the arrival there of Nehemiah in 445. It was the defenceless state of the city and the afflictions of its inhabitants that led Nehemiah to proceed thither from Babylon (Neh. i. 3, ii. 3). He found the population of the place scanty, and its buildings unrepaired (Neh. vii. 4, xi. 1). Early in his governorship (which lasted from 445 to 433) he received complaints of the oppressive treatment of the poorer by the richer classes (Neh. v.), which recall what is asserted in cc. lviii., lix. He took measures to enforce respect for the sanctity of the Sabbath (Neh. xiii. 15 f.), in accordance with the spirit of lvi. 2, lviii. 13. During his rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem he encountered great opposition from Sanballat of Samaria, who was aided by Arabians, Ammonites, and Ashdodites (Neh. iv.); and the activity of semi-paganised elements in the population such as these, with whom some of the Jews intermarried (Ezra ix. 1, 2, Neh. xiii. 23—28, cf. Mal. ii. 10, 11), accounts best for the idolatry with which a section of the people are charged in lvii. 3—13, lxv. 1—5, lxvi. 1—4, 17. The cc., however, must have been written before Nehemiah's reconstruction of the city's walls in 445 (for these are represented as still to be built), and perhaps before the arrival of Ezra in 458, who forced those of his countrymen who had married foreign wives to repudiate them (Ezra ix.), for here a separation between the Jews and their heathen or semi-

[1] Some scholars would place Malachi *after* 458 but before 432 (see Driver, *Minor Prophets*, II. (Century Bible) p. 292).

heathen neighbours is still in the future (lvii. 13, lxv. 8 f.). Accordingly, on the assumption that these cc. are the work of a single author, they may be dated some time in the first half (perhaps in the second quarter) of the fifth century B.C., some 80 or 90 years after the composition of Deutero-Isaiah. Littmann thinks that the date of their production may be more closely defined, and that they were written between the arrival of Ezra in 458 and that of Nehemiah in 445; but the allusions do not seem precise enough for this. But the theory of single authorship is not undisputed. Cheyne rejects it, and considers the various compositions, ten in number, to be devoid of unity, though he assigns them all, except lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12, to one period, namely, the time of Nehemiah, and allows that most of them proceed from the same school, and that several may possibly come from the same writer. Dillmann (ed. Kittel) does not think that they are the products either of a single writer or of a single period, but holds that whilst some are as late as the time of Ezra-Nehemiah (458—445), or even later, others may date from the early beginnings of the new community. Certainly parallels to the passages concerning the return of exiles (cc. lx.—lxii.), the practice of fasting (c. lviii.), and the prevalence of social oppression (cc. lvii.—lix.) are found in the writings of Zechariah (see Zech. i. 17, ii. 4, 7, v. 3 f., 6 f., viii. 16–19; cf. also Is. lxv. 20 with Zech. viii. 4). And in the case of one section, at any rate, an early post-exilic date is probable, viz. the section lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12, which for reasons given in the commentary (p. 397) may be plausibly assigned to the first fifteen years immediately succeeding the Return in 537. Accordingly, whilst for purposes of distinction the group of cc. lvi.—lxvi. is here comprehensively designated by the name *Trito-Isaiah* (proposed by Duhm), the expression is not intended to imply that all the cc. can be confidently regarded as the production of a single prophet.

§ 2. *Jewish History in the interval between Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah.*

Cyrus entered Babylon in the autumn of 538, and in the first year of his reign over the subjugated empire (537) he allowed the Jewish exiles to return to their own country, and restored to them the vessels that had been pillaged from the Temple at Jerusalem in order that they might renew after their traditional manner the worship of their God. The permission seems to have been part of a general policy of conciliation adopted by the Persian king towards his new subjects, for in one of his inscriptions he states in regard to certain Babylonian towns,

"whose abode from old time lay in ruin, the gods who dwelt in them I brought back to their places, caused them to inhabit a permanent abode"; and further declares that the gods of Sumer and Accad whom Nabunaid had brought into Babylon he caused to dwell in their abode in security[1]. A certain number of the exiles availed themselves of the leave thus granted, and left Babylon for Palestine under the leadership of Zerubbabel, a grandson of king Jehoiachin[2], who was accompanied by Jeshua or Joshua as high priest, the latter being a grandson of Seraiah, who filled that position at the time of Jerusalem's destruction (2 Kgs. xxv. 18). In certain passages of the records giving an account of the Return (Ezra i. 8, 11, v. 14—16) another personage is mentioned as being in authority, viz. Sheshbazzar (1 Esd. ii. 12, Sanabassar). In Ezra i. 8 he is termed *the prince of Judah*, and by Josephus (*Ant.* XI. i. 3) he is identified with Zerubbabel, the name being thought to be a Babylonian appellation given to the Hebrew Zerubbabel, just as the names Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego were bestowed on Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (Dan. i. 7). The two, however, are distinguished in 1 Esd. vi. 18; and since, if they were identical, the fact might be expected to be stated in Ezra v. 14—16 (compared with v. 2, iii. 8), it is probable that they are really distinct. Some scholars have deemed Sheshbazzar to be the same as Shenazzar, one of the sons of Jehoiachin (1 Ch. iii. 18), and so uncle of Zerubbabel[3]. But it is more likely that he was a Persian official, who was governor of Judæa (Ezra v. 14)[4] and responsible for the re-establishment of the Jews on their native soil, the delivery to them of the Temple vessels, and the formal foundation of the Temple, and who was afterwards succeeded in his office by Zerubbabel, to whom the title of governor at a later date is applied (Hag. i. 1, 14). The route taken by the returning exiles probably followed the course of the Euphrates to Carchemish, and then turned S.W., the more direct route across the desert being avoided on account of its arduousness. The distance has been calculated to be about 900 miles, and since a second body of Jews some 79 years afterwards occupied 108 days on the journey (Ezra viii. 31, vii. 9), the time spent on the march must have been about four months.

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[1] See the inscription on the Clay Cylinder of Cyrus, translated in Whitehouse's *Isaiah*, II. pp. 342—3.

[2] Zerubbabel is represented as a son of Shealtiel, son of Jeconiah (or Jehoiachin) in Hag. i. 1, but as the son of Pedaiah in 1 Ch. iii. 19. Probably he was the real son of the one and the legal son of the other.

[3] This would account for his being entitled *the prince of Judah* (Ezra i. 8).

[4] The LXX. here styles him ὁ θησαυροφύλαξ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ θησαυροῦ.

The number of those who returned is given in Ezra ii. 64 (= 1 Esd. v. 41, Neh. vii. 66) as 42,360, besides servants and attendants amounting to some 7500 more; and according to 1 Esd. v. 41 the total only included those of 12 years old and upwards. The sum of the items, however, which make up the total, only reaches in Ezra ii. to 29,818, in 1 Esd. v. to 30,143, and in Neh. vii. to 31,089; and there is reason to question whether those who accompanied Zerubbabel in 537 were really as numerous as is represented by even the lowest of these figures. For (*a*) Deutero-Isaiah describes his countrymen as being backward in responding to the promise of redemption which the Lord through him made to them (l. 2); (*b*) there were serious deterrents in the ties contracted in Babylon, and in the length of the journey to Palestine; (*c*) many Jews were still in exile 17 years after this date (Zech. ii. 7); (*d*) Judah, even 92 years later, was still but thinly populated (Neh. vii. 4), and the Jewish community was so weak as to excite the scorn of its adversaries (Neh. iv. 2); (*e*) a certain proportion of those who are enumerated in Ezra ii. are classified not by families or clans but by localities (Ezra ii. 20—35), and these are more likely to be the places which the people referred to occupied after the Return than their original homes, so that if this is so it suggests that the list represents conditions prevailing at a date subsequent to the time of Zerubbabel. But though on these grounds the numbers recorded appear exaggerated, there would be many who had ample motives, both religious and patriotic, for taking advantage of Cyrus' clemency. The memory of their past glories, the degrading associations of exile in a foreign land, the prospect of resuming their ancestral mode of worship, and the bright future which Deutero-Isaiah had displayed before them cannot have failed to have their effect, and to induce the more pious and hopeful among them to encounter the difficulties and perils attending the re-occupation of a land which had, in some measure at least, fallen out of cultivation.

On reaching Palestine the new comers at once restored the worship of the Lord by erecting an altar on the spot where the earlier altar had stood; and in the second year after their arrival (536) they began the reconstruction of the Temple, the foundation being laid by the Persian official Sheshbazzar (Ezra v. 16). Progress in it, however, was checked in consequence of the hostility of the neighbouring Samaritans. These were the hybrid population (cf. lvii. 3) which at this time inhabited what had once been the kingdom of Ephraim, and which traced its descent to unions between those Israelites who had been left in the land

when a number of their countrymen were deported in 722, and the foreigners who from time to time had been introduced to fill the places of those who had been taken away. These people claimed to be worshippers of the Lord, and appealed to the Jews to be allowed to share in the rebuilding of the Temple. Their appeal, however, was rejected, chiefly perhaps because of the admixture of heathen elements in their worship (see 2 Kgs. xvii. 24—41), but partly from prudential motives, since such an alliance might excite the suspicions of the Persian authorities; and on being thus repelled, they succeeded, by misrepresentation at the Persian court, in having the work suspended. The Jews themselves seem, in consequence, to have lost heart; and the depression caused by the opposition of their neighbours was aggravated by a succession of bad harvests (Hag. i. 5—11) which plunged them in poverty that contrasted ill with the felicity which they had been led to expect. Accordingly they made no further effort to accomplish their design, and the Temple remained unfinished for 16 years.

In the meantime Cyrus had been succeeded by Cambyses (527—525), of whose reign the chief event was an invasion of Egypt (525); and he by Pseudo-Smerdis (the Magian Gaumata), who occupied the throne for only a few months. He was murdered by a number of conspirators; and to the vacant throne one of these was elevated, Darius I. (Hystaspis) (521—486), the beginning of whose reign was disturbed by revolts in all parts of the empire. One of the most serious occurred in Babylon, where a certain Nidintu-bel claimed to be son of Nabunaid, and took the title of Nebuchadrezzar III.; but Babylon was captured in 520 and the pretender put to death. These disturbances, which seemed to herald a general collapse of the Persian domination, were perhaps among the causes that led the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (see Hag. ii. 6, 7) to come forward in 520 to encourage their countrymen to re-commence the building of the Temple as a necessary preliminary to a happy turn in the nation's fortunes and the advent of its predicted glories. The rebukes and promises of the two prophets had their influence, the work of reconstruction was renewed, and confirmation being obtained from Darius of the original authorization granted by Cyrus (Ezra v., vi.), the Temple was finally completed in 516 in the governorship of Zerubbabel, who appears to have succeeded to the office previously held by Sheshbazzar.

By some critics it has been inferred from the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, which are contemporary with the events just described, that the erection of the Second Temple was not begun until 520, and

that the writer of the book of Ezra, who was separated from the time of Zerubbabel by some 220 years, has ante-dated it; whilst others have maintained that those who undertook the work in 520 were not Jews who had returned from Babylon, but Jews who had never been in Babylon, that the account of the re-establishment of a body of Jews in Jerusalem under Zerubbabel (Ezra i.—iv., vi. 1—5) is unhistorical, and that there was really no return from Babylon until the time of Ezra, who first brought back a body of exiles in 458. The evidence for the first contention consists in the statements in Haggai (*a*) that the house of the Lord in 520 was lying waste (i. 4, 9), and (*b*) that the *foundation* was laid on the 24th day of the ninth month of Darius' second year (ii. 18, cf. i. 14, 15)[1]; whilst in support of the second it is urged (*a*) that in neither prophet are those who are addressed described as *the children of the captivity* or *they of the captivity* (as in Ezra iv. 1, vi. 16, ix. 4, x. 6), but as *the remnant of the people* (Hag. i. 12, 14, ii. 2, Zech. viii. 6, 11, cf. Jer. xlii. 2, 15, xliv. 12) or *the people of the land* (Hag. ii. 4, Zech. vii. 5, cf. 2 Kgs. xxiv. 14), (*b*) that the desolation of Judah is represented as having lasted for 70 years without interruption (Zech. i. 12), (*c*) that the only return of Jews to which allusion is made is considered as still future (Zech. ii. 6, 7, cf. vi. 15, viii. 7, 8)[2]. But in regard to the second view, that the builders of the Temple in 520 were the relics of the population left in the land by Nebuchadrezzar, the arguments noticed above are far from cogent. The evidence cited from Haggai and Zechariah amounts to little, for (*a*) the phrases quoted are applicable to a body of returned exiles as the most representative survivors of the Jewish nation[3], (*b*) the arrival of such a body, doubtless small in numbers, would not necessarily bring about much improvement in the condition of the land, (*c*) the return of some is compatible with the continuance of others in captivity. The account in Ezra i.—iv. of the re-settlement of a party of Jews in Palestine with permission to rebuild the Temple is at least consistent with what is known of Cyrus' sympathy with the religious feelings of the peoples of whom he became master (see p. lxxiii). Moreover, it is more probable that the response evoked by the appeals of Haggai and Zechariah should come from persons who had recently migrated from Babylon to Palestine through

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[1] According to 1 Esd. iv. 42—57, it was Darius, not Cyrus, who allowed Zerubbabel (see *v.* 17) to proceed to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple.

[2] Cf. *EB.* col. 1482.

[3] Zech. vi. 10, *them of the captivity* refers to a deputation from Babylon to the people of Jerusalem.

pious motives than from a people who for more than two generations had done nothing to restore the sanctuary of the Lord, which lay desolate before them. And if the builders of the Temple were really exiles who returned with Zerubbabel in 537, it is antecedently more likely, in view of the hopes that inspired them, that they should have begun the reconstruction of it on their arrival and desisted from it afterwards in consequence of opposition than that they should have deferred the beginning of it for 16 years; whilst the language of Haggai (i. 4, 9, ii. 18) is not seriously inconsistent with the supposition that though the foundation was laid originally in 536, it did not become the basis of a superstructure till 520, and so might be said to be laid effectively then for the first time.

It was probably to the children or grandchildren of the builders of the Second Temple that the prophecies of Trito-Isaiah were addressed. Darius I. died in 486 and was succeeded by Xerxes I. (486—465) and Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus) (465—424); and for the period between 520 and 458, an interval of 62 years, the historical books of the O.T. are silent respecting the condition and fortunes of the Jews in Palestine.

In 458 Ezra, a priest, arrived at Jerusalem from Babylon with a company of exiles numbering 1496 (in 1 Esd. 1690) men, who were presumably accompanied by their wives and children, so that the whole party might amount to 5000 or more. He brought with him a legal code (Ezra vii. 14)[1] which he was empowered by the Persian king to enforce (Ezra vii. 25, 26); and when on his arrival he found that the Jews settled at Jerusalem had contracted marriage alliances with the various nations around them, in violation of the laws comprised in Ex. xxxiv. 16, Deut. vii. 3, xxiii. 3, he insisted upon their repudiating their foreign wives. Some time after this, an attempt was made to surround Jerusalem with a wall (Ezra iv. 7—23); and it is a plausible conjecture that the proposal originated with Ezra, who desired to secure the city against the hostility of the neighbouring peoples to whom, by his recent action, he must have given great offence. But a letter despatched to the Persian court informing Artaxerxes of what the Jews were doing brought a rescript forbidding the undertaking; and such portions of the wall as had already been constructed were destroyed. The ruins remained unrepaired until 445, when Nehemiah came from the Persian court with authority from the king to carry out their restoration[2]: and consequently,

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[1] On the character of this code see T. W. Davies, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (Century Bible), pp. 8—11.

[2] Cheyne (*Jewish Rel. Life after the Exile*, pp. 38, 39) suggests that Artaxerxes'

in spite of the opposition of the enemies of the Jews, Jerusalem was fortified by a wall in less than two months. It was within the interval between the erection of the Second Temple and the rebuilding of the city walls that most of the writings included in Is. lvi.—lxvi. seem to have been produced. As has been shewn, they were composed at a time when the Temple was in existence and its rites practised, but when Jerusalem was still unwalled and the Jews were exposed to the depredations of their foes. The pagan superstitions represented as prevalent among a certain section of the people agree with this date, being explicable by the influence of the surrounding peoples, especially the Samaritans, upon those Jews who had remained in the land when the upper classes were carried into exile. It was to a condition of disorder and distress similar to that depicted in these cc. that relief was brought by Nehemiah in 445; and to a date later than 520, but before Nehemiah's arrival at Jerusalem in 445, or even before the arrival of Ezra in 458[1], the bulk of Trito-Isaiah may with some reason be assigned.

§ 3. *Theology of Trito-Isaiah.*

The post-exilic writer (or writers) of Trito-Isaiah had to confront a situation of no little difficulty. There was the depression caused by the hardships which the small and unprotected body of Jews who were re-established on their native soil had to endure from jealous rulers and unfriendly neighbours—hardships which must have created all the greater disappointment by contrast with the bright hopes held out to them before the Return. There was the corrupting influence exerted by the semi-paganism of the population that had remained in the land since the Fall of Jerusalem in 587. Finally, there were moral evils within the Jewish community itself:—negligence on the part of those responsible for the maintenance of civil order, oppression of the poorer by the wealthier classes, falsehood and partiality in the administration of justice. And the prevalence of these social offences was accompanied by much zeal for the outward ordinances of religion, so

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change of attitude was due to the Jews' abstention from any share in the revolt of Megabyzus in 448.

[1] Some critics hold that Ezra's visit to Jerusalem, related in Ezra vii.—x., was later than that of Nehemiah and took place either in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II., i.e. 398, or in the twenty-seventh year of Artaxerxes I., i.e. 438 (Ezra vii. 7, 8, *seventh* being emended to *twenty-seventh*, see *EB.* 3385). But see the writer's *O.T. Hist.* p. 479.

that there was added to the crimes of violence and injustice the sin of religious formalism. All these elements of difficulty form the subjects of oracles variously designed to console, to rebuke, to instruct, or to warn the distressed and disunited people.

(*a*) In those cc. of Trito-Isaiah which are devoted exclusively to renewing in the depressed community hope for the future of Zion there is little originality; and the felicity and glory which are promised afresh to Jerusalem are depicted in colours resembling, and probably imitated from, those used by Deutero-Isaiah. But a feature of difference between the two compositions is the absence in the later one of any figure corresponding to Cyrus. In more than one passage within cc. lvi.—lxvi. it is definitely affirmed that the Lord could find no human helper to co-operate with Him in the deliverance of His people (lix. 16, lxiii. 5), and that He in Person would have to intervene alone. In cc. lx.—lxii., which are mainly occupied with a description of the security, wealth, and dignity that are to be the lot of Zion's inhabitants, spiritual feeling is by no means lacking, for it is predicted that her people will be all righteous (lx. 21, cf. lxi. 3). Similarly in lix. 21 (if the *v.* be authentic) it is asserted that the people will be permanently endowed with the spirit of the Lord. The Jewish society is regarded as destined to be the priestly nation of the world (lxi. 6); and though most stress is laid upon its privileged position as entitling it to be supported by the Gentile peoples (lx. 6, 10, 11, 16, lxi. 5, lxvi. 12), the thought that the whole world is to be, through it, brought into right relations with the Lord is likewise present (lx. 3). It is also plainly contemplated in c. lvi. that foreigners will desire to attach themselves to the Lord, and to worship Him, and that the Temple is designed to become a house of prayer for all mankind (lvi. 7, cf. lxvi. 23). But whilst there thus breathes throughout this series of prophecies a spirit of universalism, it is yet hampered by the Jewish particularism fostered by the legislation of Deuteronomy which made Jerusalem the only lawful centre for the public worship of the Lord (contrast Joh. iv. 21). Moreover, in these prophecies there is no reproduction of the idea conveyed by the "Servant Songs" that Israel was invested with a commission to carry the knowledge of the Lord to the Gentiles. The attitude assumed towards the Gentiles in some degree varies; for in c. lxvi. a feeling of antagonism is displayed to them, and an avenging judgment is predicted for them. Only the more distant peoples are exempt (seemingly because less responsible for the oppression of the Jews), and these are represented as being

made acquainted with the Lord's glory (as manifested by the judgment) through the agency of such of the others as should survive it (lxvi. 19).

(*b*) The idolatry to which reference is made in Trito-Isaiah (lvii. 3—13, lxv. 1—7, lxvi. 1—4, 17) probably had its centre among that section of the population that had not undergone the discipline of the Exile. The rites denounced are Canaanite in character; and it is a plausible conclusion that what the prophetic denunciations had in view was a syncretism of the worship of JEHOVAH with the ancient Canaanite nature-worship and ancestor-worship. It was the prevalence of these superstitions in the land that caused the predictions of judgment in these cc. not to be confined, like those in Deutero-Isaiah, to the external foes of Israel. There was a body of Jews attached to the practices condemned which was numerous enough to cause great annoyance to their more pious brethren, and sought to exclude them from social intercourse (lxvi. 5); and hence it is declared that the Lord will interpose to destroy the disloyal in Israel as well as the foreign tyrants outside it (lxv. 7 f., lxvi. 17, cf. lvii. 13).

(*c*) In order to account, in answer to complaints, for the postponement of the nation's final deliverance from its troubles, the explanation furnished is the prevalence within it of falsehood, rapacity, and bloodshed that excites the Lord's anger (c. lix.). And occasion is at the same time taken to correct the current belief that outward acts of worship avail, of themselves, to propitiate the Lord. It is insisted that all external appeals to Him through fast or prayer are valueless when they are divorced from the practice of moral and social duties. No performance of ceremonies, no abstinence from meat or drink, can secure the Lord's favour, if the cardinal virtues of justice and mercy are disregarded. The fast which the Lord approves involves abstention from cruelty and the cultivation of charity: only such will dispose Him to listen to entreaties, and to remove the cloud of calamity which has so long hung over the nation.

The protest here made against the belief that ceremonial prostrations and bodily mortification on the part of worshippers have for the Lord some intrinsic worth recalls the teaching of Isaiah. But it is all the more remarkable in Trito-Isaiah because it was delivered at a time when circumstances seemed to require the accentuation of the formal side of religion, and when some of the best spirits of the age were in sympathy with it. In the absence of political independence, religious rules and ritual might well appear to be the only means of discriminating between the Lord's people and the surrounding heathen.

The protracted suspension of the sacrificial system during the Exile was calculated to cause a high value to be put upon it when it was once more resumed. Moreover, in Trito-Isaiah itself there is a sense of the importance of the external accessories and regulations of religion. The rebuilding of the Temple had once more provided a sanctuary where prayer could confidently be offered: and accordingly it is the Temple that is thought of as becoming a house of prayer for all peoples. The absence of sacrifice during the Exile had rendered the observance of the Sabbath more solemn and austere; and Sabbath-keeping and adhesion to the covenant (i.e. the Deuteronomic law) are insisted upon as the conditions of the admission of foreigners to the privileges of the Temple worship (lvi. 6, 7). Consequently, in this legalist atmosphere (as it may be denominated) the warnings just described gain in impressiveness, and illustrate how deeply at every period morality entered into the prophetic conception of true religion. And inasmuch as rules of abstinence are often desirable in the religious life as an aid to self-discipline, whilst they are peculiarly liable to be regarded as possessing a virtue of their own instead of being merely means to the development of character, it is with much appropriateness that the use of c. lviii. in the Church is directed at the beginning of Lent.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

PART I. PROTO-ISAIAH AND APPENDED PROPHECIES. CHAPTERS I.—XXXIX.

Chapter I. Introductory Prophecy.

This initial c. is an arraignment of Judah by the Lord for its disloyalty, for its false conceptions of the service He values, and for the prevalence of crime and injustice, and is marked by a uniform tone of denunciation. It cannot, however, as a whole date from a single occasion, since it consists of sections which imply diverse conditions, and so must have been composed at different periods. On the one hand, the opening section (*vv.* 2—9), of which the next (*vv.* 10—17) is probably a continuation, contains an indictment of the nation for sins that have already brought upon it retribution, from which it is at the moment suffering (in *v.* 7 the Heb. has a pres. part.—*are devouring*). On the other hand *vv.* 18—20 imply that chastisement has not yet fallen, and can be averted by repentance; whilst *vv.* 21—28 (31) contain a prediction of a penal judgment in the near future. But if the constituent elements really thus proceed from different occasions, they have probably been designedly united to form an introduction to the succeeding prophecies.

The actual dates of the component parts have been differently estimated. The situation depicted in the first half of the c., which describes the country as devastated and the capital as isolated, might apply to a date in the reign of Ahaz, after the land had been invaded by the Syrians and Ephraimites (vii. 1), if reliance could be placed on the account of the serious injuries inflicted by them, which is given in 2 Ch. xxviii. (where an inroad of the Philistines is also recorded). But the Chronicler is not a good authority for this period, and his account does not harmonize with the contempt for the power of Syria and Ephraim expressed by Isaiah in vii. 4. Hence *vv.* 2—17 may with greater probability be assigned to Hezekiah's reign (*circ.* 701), when Judah was ravaged and Jerusalem blockaded by the Assyrians (xxxvi. 1, 2), to whom the term *strangers* (in *v.* 7) is more appropriate (cf. xxix. 5, Heb.) than to a hostile combination which included the sister-kingdom. The main constituents of the section *vv.* 18—28 must be earlier than this; and just as the contrast of the evil present with a better past (*v.* 21) points to the reign of Ahaz (rather than to that of Hezekiah), so the vagueness of the threats of chastisement favours an early period in the prophet's career. The concluding portion (*vv.* 29—31) is of doubtful origin and date, and if Isaianic, is also probably early (see note).

I. 1 THE vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw
concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham,
Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.

2 Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the LORD
hath spoken: I have [1]nourished and brought up children, and

[1] Or, *made great and exalted* See Ezek. xxxi. 4.

I. 1. The superscription serves now as a heading for the whole collection of prophecies contained in cc. i.—xxxix.; but in view of the fact that these cc. include oracles directed against a number of foreign countries, it cannot have been originally intended for this. It may have been at first prefixed to the smaller compilation cc. i.—xii., though it is not strictly true even of this, since ix. 8—21, v. 25—30 relate to Ephraim[1]. It must have been written not by Isaiah but by an editor, for (*a*) the order of the words *Judah...Jerusalem* (cf. xxxvi. 7) differs from that which obtains in the body of the prophecies (iii. 1, 8, v. 3, cf. xxii. 21), and (*b*) the form of the name *Hezekiah* (יחזקיהו) is late (occurring in 2 Kgs. xx. 10, Jer. xv. 4, and in Chron.).

The vision. The term was originally descriptive of such visual sensations as those sometimes experienced in dreams and trances (Dan. viii. 2 f.); but later it lost its etymological meaning and became a current word for revelations received through the intellectual and spiritual faculties (not through the senses) and expressed either with or without symbolic imagery: see Ob. *v.* 1, Nah. i. 1, Hab. ii. 2, 1 Ch. xvii. 15. In the present context it must have a collective signification, as in Hos. xii. 10.

in the days of, etc. For the date implied see p. xl f.

2—3. The Lord's complaint that Israel has shewn more than the insensibility of brutes to the claims of His love. Verse 3 is quoted in Pseudo-Matt. xiv. in connection with the birth of our Lord in a stable (cf. Luke ii. 7, 12) where the ox and the ass adored Him.

2. *Hear, O heavens.* The invocation proceeds from the prophet: cf. Deut. xxxii. 1. When the Lord arraigns His people, the whole of nature is the appropriate audience (cf. Mic. vi. 2, Jer. ii. 12, Ps. l. 3, 4), and is expected to share the indignation which the conduct denounced excites.

nourished and brought up. The rendering is supported by xxiii. 4, though the second word in this context perhaps conveys the sense of *promoted* or *exalted* (see mg.): LXX. ὕψωσα, Vulg. *exaltavi.*

children. Among the Semites a land (or city) was considered to be the wife of its god, and the mother of its inhabitants (see Num. xxi. 29, Mal. ii. 11, Jer. ii. 27 and cf. 2 Sam. xx. 19); and as Jerusalem was regarded as the wife of the Lord (liv. 1, 5, Ezek. xxiii. 4), its people were accounted His sons.

they have rebelled. The pronoun is emphatic: the recipients of the greatest benefits are they who have shewn the most signal ingratitude.

[1] The heading cannot apply to c. i. exclusively, since this can scarcely have been composed in the reigns of four kings.

they have rebelled against me. 3 The ox knoweth his owner,
and the ass his master's crib: *but* Israel doth not know, my
people doth not consider. 4 Ah sinful nation, a people laden
with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that deal corruptly:
they have forsaken the LORD, they have despised the Holy One
of Israel, they are estranged *and gone* backward. 5 [1]Why will
ye be still stricken, that ye revolt more and more? [2]the whole

[1] Or, *Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt &c.* [2] Or, *every*

For similar complaints over Israel's base return for the Lord's goodness see Deut. xxxii. 10—18, Ezek. xvi.

3. *doth not know.* The LXX. has *doth not know me...doth not consider me.* Israel practically disavowed the Lord by ignoring His requirements: cf. Jer. viii. 7.

4—9. The prophet's remonstrance with his countrymen on the gravity of their offence and the serious condition to which their sin has brought the country.

4. *a seed of evil-doers.* i.e. a brood consisting of (not, descended from) evil doers (for their forefathers are regarded in the opposite light, *v.* 21): LXX. *σπέρμα πονηρόν.* Cf. xiv. 20, lxv. 23, and the similar expressions in xxxi. 2, lvii. 4, Matt. iii. 7.

they have forsaken. The LXX. has *ye have forsaken* (in harmony with *vv.* 5—7). Sin is regarded by the prophets less as the infraction of a law than as defection from a Person. It may be inferred from *vv.* 10—14 that what is meant here is not an open transfer of allegiance from the Lord to other gods (as in Deut. xxxi. 16, Jud. ii. 12, 13, Jer. i. 16), but an alienation from Him in moral character (*vv.* 15—17).

the Holy One of Israel. The expression is characteristic of Isaiah among the eighth century prophets, though reproduced by some of later date (xli. 14, 16, 20, xliii. 3, 14, etc., Jer. l. 29, li. 5, Ps. lxxi. 22, lxxviii. 41, etc.). Since the epithet *holy* connoted what was Divine (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 2, Hos. xi. 9), to designate the Lord as *the Holy One of Israel* was popularly synonymous with calling Him the God of Israel (see xxix. 23). But the expression, as Isaiah used it, especially emphasized His separateness from human sin and infirmity (see vi. 5, 7, cf. Josh. xxiv. 19, 1 Sam. vi. 20), and with it the corresponding claim that He made upon the people that stood peculiarly near to Him and were in a sense consecrated to Him (cf. Ex. xix. 6); see p. xxxiv.

they are...backward. Cf. Ezek. xiv. 5. The words here are absent from the LXX. and the O.L., and as the balance of the clauses in the *v.* is disturbed by them, they are best regarded as an interpolation.

5. *Why*, etc. This rendering (supported by the LXX. and Syr.) is preferable to the alternative translation (supported by the Vulg.) *Upon what part* (of the body) *will ye be still stricken?* (as though no sound part were left for fresh blows to light upon[1]), for the people are

[1] Cf. Ovid, *Ep.* II. vii. 41, *Vix habet in vobis iam nova plaga locum*, Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1245, *γέμω κακῶν δή, κοὐκέτ' ἔσθ' ὅπου τεθῇ.*

head is sick, and [1]the whole heart faint. 6 From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; *but* wounds, and bruises, and [2]festering sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with oil. 7 Your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, [3]as overthrown by strangers. 8 And the daughter of Zion is

[1] Or, *every* [2] Or, *fresh stripes* [3] Or, *as the overthrow of strangers*

still addressed in the plural, and the corporate body is not spoken of as an individual sufferer until the next clause. Kittel proposes *How long will ye be further stricken?* (עַד מָה for עַל מָה): cf. Ps. lxxix. 5.

the whole head. There is a transition here (cf. *v.* 6) from the separate members of the state to the state as a whole, personified as a single individual, suffering under a succession of blows: cf. Hos. v. 13.

6. *there is no...in it.* This clause is omitted by the LXX.

festering sores. Better, *raw stripes* (cf. mg.).

closed. Better, *pressed out* (Jud. vi. 38), for the removal of impurities or matter.

mollified with oil. The use of oil to ease the pain of wounds occurs in Luke x. 34; cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXI. 47, *In vulnerum curatione et sucidae lanae vicem implent, nunc ex vino et oleo, nunc,* etc. King Herod, in his last illness, was bathed in a vessel full of oil (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5, *Wars,* I. xxxiii. 5). For figures borrowed from medical practice to describe the amelioration of political or moral conditions cf. iii. 7.

7. *devour it in your presence.* The expression suggests that those whom the prophet addressed were cooped up in the capital, and watched from its walls the ravage of the country—a situation realized in Sennacherib's invasion in 701 (see p. xxvii).

as overthrown by strangers. So Vulg. *sicut in vastitate hostili,* LXX. κατεστραμμένη ὑπὸ λαῶν ἀλλοτρίων. But such a comparison, when the country was actually overrun by a foreign army, seems otiose; and the text, which is literally *as the overthrow of strangers* (see mg.), probably means "like an overthrow which only foreigners (who were not the Lord's people) might be expected to suffer" (an obj. gen.); cf. lxiii. 19. But it is suspicious that the word for *overthrow* is elsewhere only used of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (xiii. 19, Deut. xxix. 23, Jer. xlix. 18, l. 40, Am. iv. 11, cf. Gen. xix. 25); so that it is not improbable that the text should be corrected to *as the overthrow of Sodom* (סְדוֹם for זָרִים), i.e. a complete overthrow (cf. *v.* 9), the word *strangers* being an accidental substitute from the first part of the verse. Duhm and others reject the whole clause *and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers* as a gloss which spoils the symmetry of the verse.

8. *the daughter of Zion.* Equivalent to *the daughter Zion* (the gen. being appositional). Lands and cities were often thus personified

left as a booth in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city. 9 Except the LORD of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

as women; cf. the parallels in xxxvii. 22, x. 32, xxiii. 10, 12, xlvii. 1, lii. 2, Jer. xlvi. 11, Lam. iv. 21, Ps. xlv. 12.

is left, etc. The capital, the solitary survivor of the general overthrow, is compared to the lonely platforms (supported on poles and screened by brushwood), which were erected in vineyards and in gardens, when the fruits were ripe, to shelter the watchman who guarded them against depredation: cf. Job xxvii. 18.

cucumbers. These were a favourite food, Num. xi. 5.

as a besieged city. i.e. as isolated (by reason of the surrounding devastation) as if it were actually invested. But since in the Assyrian war of 701 Jerusalem was really blockaded (see p. xxvii), Duhm is perhaps right in taking the participle as a noun (not elsewhere found) and rendering *a city of watch*, i.e. an outlying fort, situated in an exposed and lonely spot (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 9).

9. *the LORD of hosts.* This expression, commonest in Isaiah, occurs also frequently in several of the other prophetic writers (Jer., Am., Hag., Zech., Mal.) and, as employed by them, refers especially to the supramundane resources of the Lord, and so describes Him as possessed of power irresistible by mortal men. By the LXX. it is either left untranslated, or rendered by κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων (Ps. xxiv. 10, etc.) or κύριος παντοκράτωρ (Jer. v. 14, etc., *the Almighty* of the Nicene Creed). Sym. and Theod. also have κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, but Aq. has κύριος στρατειῶν, and the Vulg. *Dominus exercituum.* On its probable origin see p. 12.

a very small remnant. As Jerusalem could not be considered a small or unimportant part of Judah, the original of the words *very small* (which is omitted by the LXX., Syr., O.L., and Vulg.) is best connected (despite the Heb. accents) with the second half of the *v.* in the sense of *soon* (Ps. lxxxi. 14)—*we should have been soon like Sodom* (which had been completely destroyed, Gen. xix. 24—28). The *v.* is applied by St Paul (Rom. ix. 29) to the small minority of Jews who accepted Christianity.

10—17. An exposure of the worthlessness of formal worship when divorced from morality.

This section seems to date from the same period as the preceding, to which it is linked by the reference (in *v.* 10) to *v.* 9 (*Sodom... Gomorrah*). The people may be supposed to meet the charge that they have forsaken the Lord, by adducing the number of their sacrifices to Him. The Lord's rejoinder is that He derives no satisfaction from their offerings because they are accompanied by moral offences, and that what He requires is the practice of social justice and mercy, for which sacrifices can be no substitute. Utterances of the same tenor as this occur in Hos. vi. 6 (quoted in Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7),

10 Hear the word of the LORD, ye [1]rulers of Sodom; give
ear unto the [2]law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. 11 To
what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith
the LORD: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat
of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of
lambs, or of he-goats. 12 When ye come [3]to appear before me,

[1] Or, *judges* [2] Or, *teaching*
[3] Or, as otherwise read, *to see my face*

Am. v. 21—24, Mic. vi. 6—8, Jer. vii. 4—7, 21—23, Ps. xl. 6—7, l. 7—15, li. 16—17, Prov. xv. 8, xxi. 3, 27. The censures here and elsewhere passed upon the belief that God derives gratification from formal worship and material sacrifices, independently of the worshipper's conduct, obviously do not disparage external acts of worship as a means both of expressing and of fostering sincere religious devotion.

10. *ye rulers of Sodom.* Since Jerusalem had almost experienced the fate of the cities of the Plain, it must be comparable to them in moral state: cf. iii. 9, Jer. xxiii. 14, Ezek. xvi. 48, Rev. xi. 8. The governing classes are specially arraigned because they were responsible for the maintenance of civic justice (cf. iii. 14). Gesenius quotes an Arabic proverb (probably derived from this passage), *More unjust than a judge of Sodom.*

the law. Better (as in the mg.), *the teaching* or *the direction* (and so in ii. 3, v. 24, viii. 16, xxx. 9, xlii. 21), i.e. the Divine revelations imparted by the prophet (e.g. *vv.* 11—17): cf. Jer. xxvi. 4, 5.

11. *To what purpose,* etc. Probably the desperate situation of the country had led to the multiplication of offerings in order to obtain deliverance.

your sacrifices. The term here used was confined to flesh offerings which included (*a*) burnt offerings, in which the victim was wholly given to God and consumed by fire (Lev. i. 3 f.), (*b*) peace offerings, in which only the *fat* and the *blood* were given to God (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 16, xiv. 34, Deut. xii. 16, Lev. iii. 1—5) whilst the rest of the victim was eaten by the priests and worshippers (Lev. vii. 28—34).

or of lambs. Omitted by the LXX.

12. *to appear before me.* i.e. to attend at my sanctuary (cf. Ex. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23). The most natural rendering of the original (differently pointed) is *to see my face* (cf. mg. and Ex. xxxiv. 24, Deut. xxxi. 11). The phrase *to see the face of God* is analogous to *seeing the face of a king* (which implied admission to the court and royal favour, 2 Sam. xiv. 24, 2 Kgs. xxv. 19), and perhaps originated at a time when the presence of the Lord was associated with some material object like the Ark (cf. Num. x. 35, 36) which privileged worshippers were allowed to behold. When a higher conception of Deity made the thought of actually seeing the Divine face inadmissible (cf. Ex. xxxiii. 20, Deut. iv. 12), the pointing of the verb was altered.

who hath required this at your hand, to trample my courts?
13 Bring no more [1]vain oblations; incense is an abomination
unto me; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies,—

[1] Heb. *an oblation of vanity*.

who hath required, etc. Attendance and offerings at the three agricultural festivals are prescribed in those parts of the Pentateuch (JE) which are believed to be of earliest, and certainly pre-prophetic, date (Ex. xxiii. 14—17, xxxiv. 22—23, cf. 1 Sam. i. 22), so that Isaiah's language must be rhetorical. What the question here really implies is that God does not want such worship as His worshippers actually rendered Him—formal service and practical apostasy (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 22).

to trample. The phrase, appropriate to acts of desecration (1 Mac. iii. 45, 51, iv. 60), is a contemptuous description of the formalism that prevailed.

my courts. The LXX. has *my court*. Solomon's temple in strictness had only a single court; but a second court enclosed the palace, and a third surrounded both temple and palace together (see *DB*. IV. 695).

13. *oblations*. The word denotes both (*a*) offerings in general, whether animal or cereal (Gen. iv. 3, 4, 1 Sam. ii. 15—17), and (*b*) offerings of grain or meal in particular (1 Ch. xxi. 23, Jer. xli. 5 mg., 1 Kgs. viii. 64, 2 Kgs. xvi. 13, Lev. ii. 1, etc.). The context is in favour of the word here having the wider meaning.

incense. Better, *abominable incense are they unto me*. The term *incense* is ambiguous, and signifies both (*a*) the savour or steam of burnt sacrifices (Ps. lxvi. 15 and perhaps Deut. xxxiii. 10, cf. the Homeric κνίσῃ, *Il*. I. 66), and (*b*) incense of spices (Ex. xxx. 35, 2 Ch. ii. 4). Here the first signification is most likely, for the earliest mention of frankincense is in Jer. vi. 20, the references to it in the Hexateuch occurring only in the Priestly code.

The connection of this *v*. with the preceding is given differently in the LXX., which implies a text like the following: *When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this* (i.e. the sacrifices mentioned in *v*. 11) *at your hands? Trample my courts no more; to bring an oblation is vain; incense is an abomination unto me.* This furnishes a more appropriate context for the words *at your hands*, but involves a slight change in the text (מִנְחָה or מִנְחוֹת for מִנְחַת).

new moon and sabbath. Directions for observing the sabbath occur in the earliest legislation of the Pentateuch (see Ex. xx. 8—11, xxxiv. 21, cf. also Lev. xix. 3, Num. xxviii. 9—10), whereas the observance of the new moon is enjoined only in the Priestly code (Num. x. 10, xxviii. 11—15); but evidence that the latter was an early institution in Israel is furnished by 1 Sam. xx. 5, 18, 24; cf. also 2 Kgs. iv. 23, Hos. ii. 11, Am. viii. 5.

the calling of assemblies. i.e. for the observance of religious festivals —occasions on which no servile work was permitted (Lev. xxiii., Num. xxviii., xxix.).

[1]I cannot away with iniquity and the solemn meeting. 14 Your
new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are
a [2]trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. 15 And when
ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you:
yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands
are full of blood. 16 Wash you, make you clean; put away the
evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil:
17 learn to do well; seek judgement, [3]relieve the oppressed,
judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

[1] Or, *I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting*
[2] Or, *cumbrance* [3] Or, *set right the oppressor*

I cannot away with, etc. Better, *I cannot brook* (the combination of) *iniquity and a solemn meeting.* The term *solemn meeting* (Am. v. 21) was specially applied to the religious gatherings at the close of the feasts of Unleavened Bread (Deut. xvi. 8) and Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 36) which were accompanied by abstention from labour.

14. *appointed feasts.* For an enumeration of these, as prescribed in the Priestly code, see Lev. xxiii., Num. xxviii., xxix. In the LXX. the division between this *v.* and the preceding differs from that in the Heb.: *your new moons and sabbaths and holidays* (ἡμέραν μεγάλην) *I cannot brook: fasting* (reading צוֹם for אָוֶן) *and idleness* (reading עֲצָלָה for עֲצָרָה) *and your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth.*

15. *And when ye spread*, etc. i.e. in prayer (cf. 1 Kgs. viii. 22, 38, Ex. ix. 29, Ezra ix. 5, Ps. xliv. 20, Hor. *Od.* III. xxiii. 1, *Caelo supinas si tuleris manus.*

when ye make many, etc. Cf. Matt. vi. 7, where the practice is discouraged by our Lord as reflecting heathen conceptions of God.

your hands, etc. Cf. *v.* 21, iv. 4. The context (*vv.* 17, 23) suggests that the blood-guiltiness was incurred by the commission of judicial murders (similar to that of Naboth, 1 Kgs. xxi. 8 f.).

16. *Wash you.* A figure for repentance and amendment (cf. Ps. xviii. 20, 24, xxiv. 4, Job ix. 30). Duhm connects this clause with the last clause of *v.* 15.

16, 17. *cease to...well.* This abstract generalisation is omitted by Duhm as an insertion.

17. *seek judgement.* i.e. pursue justice. Hebrew judges were probably unpaid, and so were the more liable to be bribed by wealthy suitors (cf. *v.* 23, v. 23). The prevalence of corruption is evidenced by the numerous warnings against it (Ex. xxiii. 6—9, Deut. xvi. 19, 20, xxvii. 19, Lev. xix. 15, Am. v. 12, Mic. iii. 9—11).

relieve the oppressed. Better (as in the mg.), *set right the oppressor.* Cheyne and Marti substitute *discipline* (or *chastise*) *the oppressor* (יַסְּרוּ for אַשְּׁרוּ).

18 Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD:
though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow;
though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. 19 If
ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land:
20 but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the
sword: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

21 How is the faithful city become an harlot! she that
was full of judgement! righteousness lodged in her, but now

18—20. An appeal to the people to consider the alternatives before them—security attending obedience, and destruction ensuing on disobedience.

This section, which seems to be a detached oracle, must, from its tenor, have been written before the country had been devastated in the manner described in *v.* 7.

18. *let us reason together.* This may mean either "let us come to an understanding" (the apodosis in the sentence that follows being a gracious promise), or "let us implead one another" (the following clause being an exclamation of indignant irony). In the latter case, the second half of the *v.* will run: *if your sins be as scarlet, they are to be as white as snow! if they be red like crimson, they are to be as wool!* (i.e. accounted by you as non-existent or of no importance).

19. *ye shall eat*, etc. Plenty and the secure enjoyment of it are similarly promised as the reward of obedience in Lev. xxvi. 1—13, Deut. xxviii. 1—14.

20. *ye shall be devoured*, etc. There is a rhetorical antithesis to *v.* 19: according to their conduct they should eat or be themselves consumed. Some render, *ye shall be made to eat the sword.*

21—26 (28). A lament over the contrast between the present and the past state of Jerusalem, and an announcement of a purifying judgment which will restore it to its earlier and better condition.

This section is written in the Hebrew elegiac rhythm, compositions in which often begin with the exclamation *How!* (cf. xiv. 4, Lam. i. 1, ii. 1, iv. 1).

21. *an harlot.* The relation between the Lord and Jerusalem being comparable to those of husband and wife (see on *v.* 2 and cf. Rev. xxi. 2, 9), the disregard shewn by the city for His authority is described as an act of conjugal infidelity (cf. Ex. xxxiv. 15, Ezek. xvi. 22, Hos. i.—iii., Matt. xii. 39). The expression, which is here used of moral unfaithfulness, is more commonly applied to idolatry (Jer. ii. 20, Ezek. vi. 9, xx. 30, etc.) than to social sins.

was full of judgement. There is perhaps a reference to Solomon (1 Kgs. iii. 16 f.) or to Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. xix. 5—7).

righteousness. i.e. the upright administration of justice (see v. 7, xxxii. 16, and cf. Am. v. 24).

but now murderers. These words, which spoil the balance of the clauses and do not harmonize with the preceding abstractions (*judg-*

murderers. 22 Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed
with water. 23 Thy princes are rebellious, and companions
of thieves; every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards:
they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the
widow come unto them.

24 Therefore saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts, the Mighty
One of Israel, Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and
avenge me of mine enemies: 25 and I will [1]turn my hand
upon thee, and [2]throughly purge away thy dross, and will take

[1] Or, *bring my hand again*
[2] Heb. *as with lye.*

ment, righteousness), seem rightly rejected by Duhm as a gloss suggested by *vv.* 15, 18.

22. *Thy silver*, etc. The figure of adultery (*v.* 21) is here replaced by that of adulteration. The metaphors of *silver* and *wine* probably refer to the highest classes in the state: cf. Jer. vi. 28, 30, Ezek. xxii. 18.

mixed. Literally, *circumcised*: cf. the similar phrase in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XIX. 19, *vina saccis castrari* (i.e. strained and weakened).

23. *Thy princes*, etc. Better, *Thy princes are unprincipled* (there being an assonance in the Heb.). The title *princes* probably only denotes high officials (cf. their function in Jer. xxvi. 10 f.).

companions of thieves. Perhaps by accepting bribes to acquit them.

24. *saith.* Literally, *an utterance of* (the term being usually confined to solemn communications imparted by the Lord to the prophets (cf. Jer. xxiii. 31)).

the Lord. Heb. *Ha-Âdôn*, a title of honour, distinct from *the* LORD, which is the equivalent of JEHOVAH (and so in iii. 1, x. 16, 23, 33, xix. 4).

the Mighty One. The term (which appears first in Gen. xlix. 24) recurs in xlix. 26, lx. 16, Ps. cxxxii. 2, 5. The multiplication of the divine titles is designed to heighten the people's alarm, now that they have made an enemy of Him Who was formerly their champion, and Whose resources are so vast.

25. *throughly purge away*, etc. More literally, *refine away thy dross as with alkali and take away all thy alloy.* One of the metaphors of *v.* 22 is resumed: the debased metal must be re-smelted, the process being effected by mixing the ore or unpurified metal with an alkali and exposing the whole to great heat. But since all the expressions are figurative, the qualifying *as* prefixed to *alkali* alone is inappropriate, and the conjecture *in a furnace* is not improbable (בַּכּוּר for כַּבֹּר), cf. Ezek. xxii. 18, 20. The LXX. has πυρώσω σε εἰς καθαρόν; the Vulg. *excoquam ad purum scoriam tuam* (reading לְבַר for כַּבֹּר).

away all thy [1]tin: 26 and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: afterward thou shalt be called The city of righteousness, the faithful city. 27 Zion shall be redeemed with judgement, and [2]her converts with righteousness. 28 But the [3]destruction of the transgressors and the sinners shall be together, and they that forsake the LORD shall be consumed. 29 For they shall be ashamed of the [4]oaks which ye have desired, and ye shall be

[1] Or, *alloy* [2] Or, *they that return of her*
[3] Heb. *breaking.* [4] Or, *terebinths*

26. *and I will restore*, etc. i.e. by the elimination of the incorrigible.

thou shalt be called. The name is supposed to reflect faithfully the character; cf. iv. 3, ix. 6, xix. 18, xlvii. 1, xlviii. 8, lvi. 7, lviii. 12, lxi. 6, lxii. 4, Zech. viii. 3.

city...city. Better, *citadel...city* (distinct words being used in the original).

27—28. These two *vv.* are thought by Duhm and Cheyne to be an addition (both the Lord and Zion being spoken of in the 3rd pers., contrast *vv.* 24—26), and to date from the post-exilic period (cf. the phraseology of lix. 20, lxv. 11). But the contents are not inconsistent with the context; the metre of *v.* 27 at least seems the same; and *judgment* and *righteousness* (i.e. the execution of a just sentence) form a characteristic Isaianic combination (v. 16, xxviii. 17).

27. *redeemed.* i.e. delivered from her disordered condition by the removal of the impenitent (*v.* 28); cf. iv. 3.

her converts. Literally, *they of her that turn* (or *return*, cf. mg.), i.e. her penitents (vi. 10 Heb.). The LXX. and Syr. have *her captivity* (שִׁבְיָהּ for שָׁבֶיהָ), i.e. her captive people, but the antithetic terms in *v.* 28 are against this.

29—31. A prediction of destruction for idolaters.

The abrupt transition from complaints of oppression and judicial corruption to a charge of idolatry, coupled with a change of number and metre, makes it probable that these *vv.* are alien to their context, and since in both contents and diction they bear some resemblance to cc. lxv., lxvi. (see lxv. 3, 12, lxvi. 3, 17), they may be post-exilic. Those critics who regard them as Isaianic mostly think they refer to Ephraim (cf. Hos. iv. 13).

29. *For they...ashamed of.* Better (with a few MSS.), in agreement with the foll. verbs, *For ye shall be ashamed because of.*

oaks. Better (as in the mg.), *terebinths* (or *turpentine trees*[1]). These are named as representatives of large trees in general, which were objects of idolatry (lvii. 5, Deut. xii. 2, Jer. ii. 20, Ezek. vi.

[1] These have pinnate leaves and bear clusters of small berries of a reddish colour.

confounded for the gardens that ye have chosen. 30 For ye shall be as [1]an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water. 31 And the strong shall be as tow, and his work as a spark; and they shall both burn together, and none shall quench them.

[1] Or, *a terebinth*

13). The worship of such doubtless originated in an animistic conception of them, to which the phenomena of their life and growth were calculated to give rise. In Britain oaks were similarly regarded by the Druids as sacred, the appearance of mistletoe upon one of them marking the tree as chosen by a god (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XVI. 95).

30. *ye shall be,* etc. i.e. your prosperity shall fade like the trees you worship (contrast lviii. 11, Jer. xvii. 8, Ps. i. 3).

31. *the strong.* i.e. he who in reliance upon superstitious practices deems himself secure against adverse fortune.

his work. i.e. his idolatry, which will occasion his destruction; cf. ix. 18. The translation involves a slight correction (supported by the LXX.) of the Heb.

Additional Note on v. 9 (*The* LORD *of hosts*).

Though in later times the expression *LORD* (or *JEHOVAH*) *of hosts* (of which *the God of hosts* (Am. v. 27), and *JEHOVAH the God of hosts* (Am. iv. 13 etc.) are variant forms) had relation to the Lord's supramundane powers (cf. ii. 12, vi. 3), it has been thought by some scholars that it originally had reference to the hosts of Israel, because (*a*) the forces of Israel are actually styled *the hosts of the LORD* (Ex. vii. 4, xii. 41) and *the armies of the living God* (1 Sam. xvii. 26, 36), (*b*) the two phrases *the LORD of hosts* and *the God of the armies of Israel* appear as synonyms (1 Sam. xvii. 45), (*c*) Israelite wars were entitled *the wars of the LORD* (Num. xxi. 14), (*d*) it is only in connection with earthly hosts, especially those of Israel, that the plural form *tsebâoth* is otherwise found[1], (*e*) the Ark which usually accompanied the Israelite armies to battle (1 Sam. iv. 3, 2 Sam. xi. 11, Num. xiv. 44) was called *by the name of the LORD of hosts* (2 Sam. vi. 2). But on the whole, it is more probable that the phrase under consideration had in view, from the first, celestial, and not terrestrial, forces. Whatever may have been the original conception of JEHOVAH, He was from very early times associated with the heavens and atmospheric disturbances, commotions in the elements being represented as manifestations of His presence or as His agencies for aiding His people and destroying His enemies. The wind in the trees was the sound of His marching (2 Sam. v. 24), hailstones were His missiles (Josh. x. 11, cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 22), the driving wind or cloud was His war chariot (Ps. xviii. 10, Hab. iii. 8), and the lightning was the glancing of His spear or arrows (Hab. iii. 11, Ps. lxxvii. 17, cxliv. 6). The

[1] This plural form in connection with the hosts of Israel occurs chiefly in the Priestly source of the Hexateuch: elsewhere only in 1 Kgs. ii. 5, Deut. xx. 9, and the later compositions 1 Ch. xxvii. 3, Heb., Ps. xliv. 9, lx. 10 (cviii. 11).

Lord, when thought of as present in such phenomena, would naturally be imagined not as a solitary warrior but as accompanied by an army of celestial beings or angels (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2, Josh. v. 14, Zech. xiv. 5, Joel iii. 11), to whom the expressions *God's camp* (or *company*), *God's hosts* (*tsebâim*), and the *host of heaven* are actually applied (Gen. xxxii. 2, Ps. ciii. 21, cxlviii. 2, 1 Kgs. xxii. 19, Neh. ix. 6): cf. also στρατιὰ οὐράνιος (Luke ii. 13). Such celestial armies were probably connected in popular fancy with the stars (cf. Job xxxviii. 7), which, besides being styled collectively *the host of heaven* (Deut. iv. 19, 2 Kgs. xvii. 16, Is. xxxiv. 4) are represented as being marshalled by the Lord (Is. xl. 26), and described in Jud. v. 20 as *fighting* (for the Lord) *against Sisera*. (Cf. Driver in Hastings, *DB.* III. 137.)

FIRST COLLECTION OF ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES. CHAPTERS II.—XII.

Chapters II.—IV.

Within the first collection of Isaiah's prophecies (cc. ii.—xii.) to which the superscription in ii. 1 is at present prefixed, a minor group is constituted by cc. ii.—iv., to which the heading may originally have belonged. This group consists of a number of distinct oracles, viz. (*a*) ii. 2—5, (*b*) ii. 6—22, (*c*) iii. 1—12, (*d*) iii 13—15, (*e*) iii. 16—iv. 1, (*f*) iv. 2—6; and some of these may themselves be composite. They form, however, in some measure, a literary unity (iv. 4, for instance, refers to iii. 16 f.), and have been so arranged that the announcement of an imminent judgment closes with a promise of felicity for the survivors of it. Such of the oracles as are Isaianic in origin are probably among the earliest of the prophet's utterances that have been preserved, and date from the reign of Jotham or the beginning of that of Ahaz. This period is fixed by the contemporary situation implied in them. (1) The accumulation of wealth (ii. 6, 7, iii. 16 f.), and the multiplication of the means of defence (described in ii. 6, 7, 15) reflect the prosperity which the country had enjoyed under Uzziah and Jotham, and the provision which these kings had made for its security (2 Ch. xxvi. 8, 10, xxvii. 3—6, cf. Hos. viii. 14); and point to a time preceding the reverses sustained in the reign of Ahaz from Syria and Ephraim (c. vii.). (2) The allusion to the nation's shipping (ii. 16) implies that Elath, Judah's port on the Red Sea, acquired by Amaziah (2 Kgs. xiv. 22) but taken from Ahaz by the Syrians (2 Kgs. xvi. 6), was not yet lost. (3) The description of the judgment (ii. 12 f.) looks as if it had been composed when the impression produced on the writer by the earthquake in the reign of Uzziah (Zech. xiv. 5, Am. i. 1) was still fresh. (4) The character of the country's rulers in iii. 12 suggests that when that passage was written Ahaz had already come to the throne.

Chapter II.

This c. consists of two originally distinct sections very awkwardly connected together: (1) a prediction, of uncertain origin, announcing the future pre-eminence of mount Zion, the site of the Temple, as a centre of enlightenment for the world (*vv.* 2—5); (2) a description of the godless condition of the nation, and of the judgment impending over it (6—22).

II. 1 **The word that Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.**

II. 1. This superscription, which like that in i. 1 gives the name of Isaiah's father, is obviously the heading of a collection which was once detached from c. i., and did not include cc. xiii. foll., though whether it originally referred to the group, cc. ii.—xii., or the smaller group, cc. ii.—iv., there is nothing to shew.

The word...saw. The term *word* is equivalent to *revelation* (Jer. xviii. 18); the verb *saw,* used in connection with it, merely visualises the prophet's intuitions: cf. xiii. 1, Am. i. 1, Mic. i. 1, Hab. i. 1, ii. 1, Lam. ii. 14[1].

2—5. A prediction that in the time to come the Temple hill will attract to itself all the nations of mankind, for there the Lord will instruct them and usher in an age of universal peace.

These *vv.* recur in Mic. iv. 1—3, 5[b], the variations being unimportant; and the coincidence implies that the passage is unoriginal in one or both of the books that contain it. (1) In Isaiah the abruptness with which the section begins, and the awkwardness of the transition from it to the passage that follows (*vv.* 6—22), suggest that it is an insertion here. (2) In Micah the section appears in a longer and seemingly more original form; but there also it is introduced too abruptly to be quite appropriate to its context[2]. (3) Hence it is probable that the passage really belongs to neither, but is derived from a third writer, and transferred to the books of Isaiah and Micah by an editor. It was perhaps originally inserted as a sequel to the description of the purifying judgment in i. 24—28 (31) to which it was meant to be attached: if so, the superscription of c. ii. has somehow become misplaced, and should follow, instead of preceding, this section. Its author is more likely to have been a successor than either a contemporary or a precursor of the two prophets amongst whose writings it appears. It is in compositions later than the eighth century that the ideal it describes seems to obtain earliest expression. It is in Jeremiah and in the exilic and post-exilic prophets that it is first anticipated that the heathen peoples will gather to Jerusalem to receive religious instruction and offer worship (Jer. iii. 17, Zech. ii. 11, viii. 20—22, xiv. 16—19, Is. lvi. 7, lx. 3, lxvi. 23), and that the Jewish nation will become a source of spiritual enlightenment to mankind[3]. Moreover, it is in Zech. ix. 10 that the prediction of a universal reign of peace has its nearest counterpart; and the conception of the physical elevation of the hill of Zion finds a parallel only in Ezek. xl. 2, Zech. xiv. 10.

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[1] Cf. 1 Sam. iii. 15 where *vision* is used in reference to the Lord's *calling* Samuel.

[2] The previous *v.* (Mic. iii. 12) predicts the desolation of Zion, so that some mention of its re-building should precede the prophecy of its exaltation. It is a further objection to the view that the passage is authentic in Micah and borrowed by Isaiah that in Micah it follows upon a prophecy delivered in the reign of *Hezekiah* (see Jer. xxvi. 18).

[3] On Is. xviii. 7 see note.

2 [1]And it shall come to pass in the latter days, that the
mountain of the LORD'S house shall be established [2]in the top
of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all
nations shall flow unto it. 3 And many peoples shall go and
say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to
the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his
ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go

[1] See Micah iv. 1—3. [2] Or, *at the head*

2. *And it shall come*, etc. This phrase naturally suggests that the section which it introduces was once the continuation of a preceding passage and not the beginning of a separate collection of prophecies, as its present position implies.

in the latter days. Literally, *in the sequel of days.* The phrase does not imply finality but succession; and describes a future which is the sequel of the present, without distinguishing between what is near and what is remote. It is generally employed in connection with prediction, in order to designate the period when the hopes, whatever they are, that relieve a dissatisfying present will be fulfilled (see Gen. xlix. 1, Num. xxiv. 14); and in the prophetic writings it is most commonly applied to a future time of recovery and restoration from existing material or spiritual ill[1] (Deut. iv. 30, Hos. iii. 5, Jer. xlviii. 47, xlix. 39). The expression has given rise to imitation in the N.T., see Heb. i. 2, 1 Pet. i. 20, 1 Cor. x. 11. Cf. *the last day* in Joh. vi. 39, xii. 48.

the mountain, etc. i.e. Mount Zion, the eastern of the two hills on which Jerusalem stands. The LXX. implies the reading *the mountain of the* LORD *shall be established, even the house of God on the tops of the mountains*, which is favoured by *v.* 3; though cf. Mic. iii. 12.

in the top. Better, *on the top.* The writer's conception seems to be that the Temple hill (which was lower than many rival hills, Ps. lxviii. 15, 16) is to be physically elevated above all others (cf. Zech. xiv. 10, Ezek. xl. 2) partly as a token of the dignity belonging to it, as the earthly seat of the Lord's sovereignty (Jer. iii. 17), and partly to render it a conspicuous landmark, so that the nations of the world may see it, and be able to converge towards it from all directions.

3. *he will teach us.* The conception of the Lord as a Teacher recurs in xlviii. 17 (and perhaps xxviii. 26), Ps. xxv. 8, xciv. 10.

of his ways. Strictly, *out of his ways*, i.e. out of His store of precepts regulating the course of life which He requires; cf. xlii. 24, lviii. 2, lxiii. 17, Deut. viii. 6, x. 12, Ps. xviii. 21, xxv. 4, li. 13, cxix. 15. For the sense of *way* compare the use of ὁδός in Mk. xii. 14, Matt. xxii. 16.

for, etc. The speech of the peoples continues to the close of *v.* 3.

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[1] An exception occurs in Deut. xxxi. 29.

forth [1]the law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.
4 And he shall judge [2]between the nations, and shall [3]reprove
many peoples: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up
sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.
5 O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of
the LORD. 6 For thou hast forsaken thy people the house of

[1] Or, *instruction* [2] Or, *among* [3] Or, *decide concerning*

the law. Better (as in the mg.), *instruction* (and so in li. 4). The prediction has obtained a fulfilment in the fact that it was within the Jewish nation that Christianity, with its universal range, had its origin.

4. *he shall judge,* etc. Since all nations will acknowledge the Lord, disputes will be settled by Him instead of by the arbitrament of the sword.

reprove. Better, *arbitrate for* (xi. 4, Gen. xxxi. 37, Job ix. 33).

plowshares. Perhaps better, *mattocks,* see 1 Sam. xiii. 20. For the promise of universal peace cf. Zech. ix. 10. The phraseology resembles Mart. *Ep.* XIV. 34 (of the sickle), *Pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus; Agricolae nunc sum, militis ante fui.* A converse prediction occurs in Joel iii. 10.

This *v.* forms an appropriate conclusion to the present passage, though in Micah it is followed by a fourth verse.

5. This *v.* (an exhortation to Israel to use the privileges which it possesses and which the heathen will desire to share) seems to have been adapted from Mic. iv. 5, perhaps by an editor who, finding *vv.* 2—4 incorporated in c. ii., instead of concluding c. i., sought by it to adjust the citation *vv.* 2—4, to its new context.

house of Jacob. Here a designation of Judah only, as in viii. 17, x. 20.

the light. For this term, applied to instruction as a source of illumination, see xlii. 6, xlix. 6, Prov. vi. 23.

6—22. This section, perhaps the very earliest of Isaiah's prophecies, consists of an account of the advent of the Lord in judgment, to punish and humiliate the nation for its self-sufficiency and idolatry. The prophecy, though tolerably uniform in tenor, is marked by the repetition (in slightly variant forms) of two refrains, one occurring in *vv.* 10, 19, 21, and the other in the intervening *vv.* 11 and 17, and this feature has suggested that it is really a combination of two separate fragments (*a*) *vv.* 6—10, 18—21, (*b*) *vv.* 11—17.

6. *For,* etc. This *v.* cannot without harshness be connected with *v.* 5 as an explanation of conduct occasioning the foregoing exhortation, since the Lord's rejection of His people should be the consequence, not the cause, of His people's perversity. If the opening word is rightly rendered by *For,* the true beginning must have been lost. But possibly *For* should be replaced by *Surely* (cf. iii. 1, xv. 1).

Jacob, because they be filled *with customs* from the east, and *are* soothsayers like the Philistines, and they strike hands with the children of strangers. 7 Their land also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land also is full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots.

thou hast forsaken. Better, *thou hast cast off* (Jud. vi. 13, 2 Kgs. xxi. 14). The pronoun refers to the Lord: the LXX. and O.L. have *he hath cast off his people.*

they be filled with, etc. Literally, *they are filled from the east.* The original is probably defective, and the succeeding clause suggests that the word to be supplied is not *customs* but *diviners* or *divination* (קְסָמִים or קֶסֶם). The prevalence of divination in Judah in Isaiah's time (cf. iii. 2) is attested likewise by Micah (v. 12); and the addiction of the people to it appears from the prohibitions against it in Deut. xviii. 10 f., Lev. xix. 26. By the *east* here is probably meant Syria (the *Aram* whence the enchanter Balaam came (Num. xxiii. 7)): cf. Gen. xxix. 1.

and are *soothsayers.* Or *and* are full of *soothsayers.* The word rendered *soothsayers* probably means either "crooners of charms," or "observers of clouds": see *EB.* I. 1119.

like the Philistines. Reference to diviners in Philistia occurs in 1 Sam. vi. 2, and there was a famous oracle at Ekron (2 Kgs. i. 2).

strike hands, etc. i.e. make engagements, probably (as the context suggests) in order to obtain the services of heathen enchanters (cf. Balak's hiring of Balaam, Num. xxii. 5 f.). But even commercial and political compacts with foreign countries tended, by the increase of wealth and the introduction of heathen usages, to impair the nation's religious faith, and were accordingly disapproved of by the Hebrew prophets. As the original of *children of strangers* is not the usual periphrasis for *strangers* (Joel iii. 6, Am. ix. 7), the text, which has וּבְיַלְדֵי, should possibly be corrected to וּבְיָדֵי. But some scholars, retaining the text, take the verb in a different sense, and render *abound with* (cf. 1 Kgs. xx. 10, Heb.) *the young children of strangers* (i.e. youthful foreign slaves): cf. LXX. τέκνα πολλὰ ἀλλόφυλα ἐγενήθη αὐτοῖς. The Vulg. has *pueris alienis adhaeserunt* (reading יִסָּפְחוּ for יִשְׂפִּיקוּ).

7. *silver and gold.* The possession of Elath facilitated commerce with the gold-producing regions of S. Arabia and E. Africa and perhaps even India (cf. 1 Kgs. x. 11, 22).

horses...chariots. Horses were associated with war and martial pride (Job xxxix. 19—25) (just as the ass was with peace and peaceful qualities, Zech. ix. 9), and the multiplication of them was in consequence censured by the prophets (see xxx. 16, xxxi. 1, Mic. v. 10, cf. Deut. xvii. 16). In the time of David horses began to be used for riding by persons of dignity (2 Sam. xv. 1, contrast Jud. v. 10, x. 4); but it was by Solomon that a force of chariots and horses was first

8 Their land also is full of idols; they worship the work of their
own hands, that which their own fingers have made. 9 And the
mean man [1]is bowed down, and the great man [2]is brought low:
therefore forgive them not. 10 Enter into the rock, and hide
thee in the dust, from before the terror of the LORD, and from
the glory of his majesty. 11 The lofty looks of man shall be
brought low, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down,
and the LORD alone shall be exalted in that day. 12 For [3]there
shall be a day of the LORD of hosts upon all that is proud and

[1] Or, *boweth down* [2] Or, *humbleth himself*
[3] Or, *the LORD of hosts hath a day*

acquired for military purposes (1 Kgs. x. 26). The country from which they were principally obtained was Egypt (1 Kgs. x. 28, but see Burney).

8. *idols.* The original term (אֱלִילִים) seems to mean *nonentities*, being associated with the negative particle אל. It occurs several times in Isaiah (*vv.* 18, 20, x. 10, 11, xxxi. 7, cf. also xix. 1, 3), but is otherwise rare (Lev. xix. 4, xxvi. 1, Ezek. xxx. 13, etc.). For the prevalence of idolatry in Judah, see Mic. v. 13.

9. *the mean man...the great man.* The terms probably do not here describe contrasted classes (as in Ps. xlix. 2), but are synonyms, equivalent to *mankind...man*; cf. *v.* 11, xxxi. 8 (Heb.), Prov. viii. 4 (Heb.).

is bowed down. The perfect expresses the certainty and inevitableness of the approaching catastrophe. The mg. *boweth down...humbleth himself*, in homage (lx. 14) before the idols (*v.* 8), is inconsistent with the sense which the verbs have in *v.* 11, cf. v. 15.

therefore, etc. Better, *and thou must not forgive them.* But the sentence is not very appropriate to the context, and Duhm conjectures *and surely there is no uplifting* (recovery) *for them* (וְאַל־תִּשָּׂא for וְאִם שְׂאֵת).

10. *Enter*, etc. The LXX. (probably rightly) has the full refrain as it recurs in *vv.* 19, 21, and replaces the 2nd sing. by the 2nd plur. Refuge will be sought in dens and caves from the anger of the Lord as once from the rage of men (Jud. vi. 2, 1 Sam. xiii. 6). The first part of the *v.* has influenced Rev. vi. 15, and the latter part 2 Thess. i. 9.

11. *The lofty looks.* Better (by an omission which restores the grammar of the Heb.), *The loftiness*; cf. *v.* 17.

12. *For there shall be*, etc. Better (as in the mg.) *For the LORD of hosts hath a day.* The word *day* was applied to the occasion of a decisive victory (ix. 4, cf. Ezek. xiii. 5); and the Lord being thought to be Israel's champion, the phrase *the day of the LORD* popularly described the occasion when He was expected to intervene to overthrow the nation's enemies (see xiii. 6, 9, xxxiv. 8, Ob. *v.* 15). But Isaiah foreboded that the Lord's intervention would bring a catastrophe upon the nation itself, and used the phrase to denote a day of chastisement for the national offences (cf. xxii. 5, Am. v. 18, Zeph. i. 7), and the

haughty, and upon all that is lifted up; and it shall be brought low: 13 and upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan; 14 and upon all the high mountains, and upon all the hills that are lifted up; 15 and upon every lofty tower, and upon every fenced wall; 16 and upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all pleasant

expression was afterwards employed to denote the universal judgment (Matt. vii. 22, 2 Tim. i. 12, iv. 8). Here the predicted overthrow is especially directed against the sources of the people's pride. Among the Hebrews (as well as other nations) everything in human conduct or human possessions that seemed to encroach upon, or rival, the Divine prerogatives was considered to be peculiarly provocative of the Divine resentment (see Gen. iii. 22, xi. 6, 1 Sam. viii. 7, 2 Sam. xxiv.[1], Is. xiv. 13—15, xxx. 16, xxxi. 1, Ezek. xxviii., Hos. x. 13, xii. 8, Am. vi. 13, Mic. v. 10).

and it shall be brought low. This clause requires to be replaced by the words *and high* (וְגָבוֹהַּ); cf. *v.* 13 and the LXX. ἐπὶ πάντα ὑψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον καὶ ταπεινωθήσονται (a conflate reading).

13. *upon all the cedars*, etc. Better (by transposition), *upon all the cedars of Lebanon that are high, and upon all the oaks of Bashan that are lifted up*: cf. *v.* 14. The *day of the* LORD is conceived as a violent convulsion of the earth, sea, and atmosphere, levelling and demolishing everything elevated, the source of the imagery being doubtless the earthquake in the reign of Uzziah which Isaiah probably witnessed. The mere physical altitude of *Lebanon* and *Bashan* (which are named as typical heights, though neither belonged to Judah) is thought of as a challenge to the Lord's supremacy (cf. Ps. xxix. 5); whilst their cedars (1 Kgs. iv. 33, Ps. xcii. 12) and oaks (Ezek. xxvii. 6, Zech. xi. 2) furnished materials for military defence (cf. xxii. 8). Probably, too, the idea that such were the objects of the Divine resentment was helped by their being frequently struck by lightning[2].

15. *lofty tower...fenced wall.* The fortifications erected by Uzziah and Jotham (2 Ch. xxvi. 9, xxvii. 3, 4) are perhaps in the writer's mind.

16. *ships of Tarshish.* i.e. sea-going ships (LXX. πᾶν πλοῖον θαλάσσης). The vessels are probably so described from their build (like our "Indiaman") and not from the place to which they voyaged, for Tarshish, a western region (Ps. lxxii. 10), famous for its mines (Jer. x. 9, Ezek. xxvii. 12), and probably colonized from Tyre (xxiii. 6, 10), is usually identified with Tartessus in Spain at the mouth of the Baetis (mod. *Guadalquivir*), whereas Elath, Judah's only port, was on the Red Sea.

pleasant imagery. Cf. Vulg. *omne quod visu pulcrum est.* But

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[1] To number Israel was parallel to attempting to number the stars (Gen. xxii. 7) which only the Almighty could do (Is. xl. 26).

[2] Cf. Hdt. VII. 10, ὁρᾷς ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀποσκήπτει βέλεα, φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν.

[1]imagery. 17 And the loftiness of man shall be bowed down,
and the haughtiness of men shall be brought low: and the
LORD alone shall be exalted in that day. 18 And the idols
shall utterly pass away. 19 And men shall go into the caves
of the rocks, and into the holes of the [2]earth, from before the
terror of the LORD, and from the glory of his majesty, when he
ariseth to shake mightily the earth. 20 In that day a man
shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which
they made for him to worship, to the moles and to the bats;
21 to go into the caverns of the rocks, and into the clefts of
the ragged rocks, from before the terror of the LORD, and from
the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake mightily the
earth. 22 [3]Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils:
for wherein is he to be accounted of?

[1] Or, *watch-towers* [2] Heb. *dust.* [3] The Sept. omits this verse.

since the context suggests something elevated, the word rendered *imagery* may perhaps mean *gazebos* or *belvederes* (from a root signifying "to look out," cf. the mg. *watch-towers*), though the apparently cognate term in Num. xxxiii. 52, Lev. xxvi. 1, Ezek. viii. 12 suggests *sculptured stones* (as objects of worship). The LXX. has ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θέαν πλοίων κάλλους, and some scholars accordingly take the word to mean the ornaments (Lat. *aplustria*) at the sterns of ships, whilst others would substitute *stately vessels* (reading סְפִינוֹת for שְׂכִיוֹת, cf. Jon. i. 5).

18. *And the idols,* etc. This *v.*, which consists of one clause only, seems incomplete.

19. *And men shall go.* Literally, *And they shall go.* The parallel of *v.* 10 (LXX.) suggests that in place of the future there should be substituted the imperative, *go* (or *enter*), reading בֹּאוּ for וּבָאוּ. The passage is imitated in Rev. vi. 15.

20. *In that day.* This *v.* seems to be an interpolation (in prose) expounding the mutilated *v.* 18. The *day of the Lord* will reveal the worthlessness of idols: cf. xvii. 8, xxx. 22, xxxi. 7.

which they made for him. Better (with the LXX.), *which he made for himself.*

21. *to go into,* etc. As this *v.* is substantially a repetition of the refrain in *v.* 19, it must be either a variant of it, or some *vv.* must have been lost before it. The infin. (for the imperat.) is perhaps due to the sentence having been adjusted to the intrusive *v.* 20.

22. This *v.* is omitted by the LXX., and is perhaps the moralizing comment of an editor.

Cease ye, etc. i.e. cease to place trust in man (cf. Jer. vii. 16, Ps. cxlvi. 3—4, cxviii. 8, 9).

whose breath, etc. Better, *in whose nostrils is but a breath* (which is so easily quenched, cf. Ps. civ. 29), *for at what is he to be valued?* (i.e. how little is his worth!).

Chapters III.—IV.

The prophecies in these cc. are distinct from those in the preceding, the sins here denounced being not idolatry and national self-sufficiency, but social injustice and private luxury. Their date, however, cannot be far removed from that of c. ii., the description of the nation's condition being appropriate to the beginning of the reign of Ahaz (cf. on p. 13).

The prophecies comprise four separate oracles, (*a*) iii. 1—12, (*b*) iii. 13—15, (*c*) iii. 16—iv. 1, (*d*) iv. 2—6, of which the first three announce an imminent judgment, and describe the offences that call it down, whilst the last depicts the future felicity of Jerusalem after the corrupt elements in it have been destroyed.

III. 1 For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah stay and staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water; 2 the mighty man, and the man of war; the judge, and the prophet, and the diviner, and the [1]ancient; 3 the captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning [2]artificer,

[1] Or, *elder* [2] Or, *charmer*

III. 1—12. A prediction of the removal from the state (by deportation or death) of its chief supports and the surrender of it to disorder as a penalty for the oppression that is rife in it.

1. *For.* As at present arranged, c. iii. serves to illustrate the means whereby the national overthrow predicted in c. ii. will be accomplished; but, since this c. seems to be separate from the foregoing, the conjunction should perhaps be rendered *Surely* (cf. ii. 6).

Jerusalem...Judah. The order of the words (cf. *v.* 8, v. 3) is significant of the preponderant influence of the capital.

the whole stay...water. This clause misinterprets the terms *stay* and *staff*, and is probably a gloss, suggested by *v.* 7 and influenced by Lev. xxvi. 26, Ezek. iv. 16. The true sense of the terms is given in *v.* 2, viz. the classes that chiefly sustain the social fabric (cf. the metaphors in xix. 13, Jud. xx. 2 mg., and Hom. *Il.* xvi. 549, ἕρμα πόληος, of Sarpedon).

2. *the mighty man.* Representing the royal bodyguard (2 Sam. xxiii. 8 f.).

the man of war. The representative of the national militia.

the diviner. The original word seems to mean one who practised his art by drawing lots (perhaps with arrows, cf. Ezek. xxi. 21, 22).

the ancient. Better, *the elder*, who was responsible for the administration of justice (cf. 1 Kgs. xxi. 8).

3. *the captain of fifty.* Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 12, 2 Kgs. i. 9.

the honourable man. Strictly, *one who has received promotion*, i.e. (probably) a royal favourite (2 Kgs. v. 1).

and the skilful enchanter. 4 And I will give children to be
their princes, and [1]babes shall rule over them. 5 And the
people shall be oppressed, every one by another, and every one
by his neighbour: the child shall behave himself proudly
against the [2]ancient, and the base against the honourable.
6 When a man shall take hold of his brother in the house of
his father, *saying*, Thou hast clothing, be thou our [3]ruler, and
let this ruin be under thy hand: 7 in that day shall he lift up
his voice, saying, I will not be [4]an healer; for in my house is
neither bread nor clothing: ye shall not make me ruler of

[1] Or, *with childishness shall they rule over them* [2] Or, *elder*
[3] Or, *judge* [4] Heb. *a binder up.*

the counsellor. i.e. a member of the royal council (cf. i. 26, Mic. iv. 9).

the cunning artificer. Although craftsmen were a very important class of the community (cf. 2 Kgs. xxiv. 14, 16, Jer. xxiv. 1), the context is in favour of the mg., *the cunning charmer* (literally, *the wise in* (magic) *arts*).

the skilful enchanter. Literally, *one skilled in whispered charms*: Vulg. *prudentem eloquii mystici.*

4. *I will give.* The Lord is abruptly represented as speaking (cf. *v.* 14).

children. After the removal of the older and more experienced men the control of affairs will pass into the hands of the young and hare-brained, with deplorable results (cf. Eccles. x. 16).

babes. Literally, *wantonness*, the abstract term being used to describe irresponsible and wayward characters: cf. *v.* 12.

5. *the child shall*, etc. With young and insolent upstarts in power, respect for experience and worth will disappear.

6. *When...his brother.* A Heb. idiom for *When one shall take hold of another.*

in the house of his father. The man importuned to assume authority and put an end to anarchy is one who in the collapse of the social order has retained some portion of his patrimony.

clothing. i.e. the outer garment which in more normal times every one would have (Ex. xxii. 26, 27, Deut. x. 18), but which in the prevailing distress is an exceptional possession.

ruler. The office meant is not that of king, the word being the same as that used in i. 10.

this ruin. i.e. the disorganised commonwealth.

7. *an healer.* The cure of physical ills as a figure for moral or political restoration recurs in xix. 22, xxx. 26, lvii. 18, 19: cf. also the expression "The Good Physician."

for in my house, etc. The appeal is refused on the ground of lack of means to support the burden of office, most civic officials among the Hebrews probably being unpaid.

the people. 8 For Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah is fallen:
because their tongue and their doings are against the LORD,
to provoke the eyes of his glory. 9 [1]The shew of their
countenance doth witness against them; and they declare
their sin as Sodom, they hide it not. Woe unto their soul!
for they have [2]rewarded evil unto themselves. 10 Say ye of
the righteous, that *it shall be* well *with him*: for they shall eat
the fruit of their doings. 11 Woe unto the wicked! *it shall*
be ill *with him*: for the [3]reward of his hands shall be [4]given
him. 12 As for my people, children are their oppressors,
and women rule over them. O my people, they which lead
thee cause thee to err, and [5]destroy the way of thy paths.

[1] Or, *Their respecting of persons doth &c.* [2] Or, *done*
[3] Or, *doing* [4] Heb. *done to him.* [5] Heb. *swallow up.*

8. *because*, etc. The approaching ruin of the state has its causes in acts of social oppression (*vv.* 14, 15) and utterances of defiant impiety (see v. 19).

the eyes of his glory. Better, *his glorious eyes.* The Lord is not unobservant, as His people imagine, of their conduct, and the iniquity He witnesses rouses His resentment (cf. Hab. i. 13).

9. *The shew of their countenance.* i.e. the expression, bold and unblushing, of their faces: they do not pay to virtue even the homage of hypocrisy. But since the passage seems to be an indictment of the ruling classes in particular (see *vv.* 14, 15, cf. i. 17, 23), perhaps better as in the mg., *Their respecting of persons*, i.e. partiality in judgment (Deut. i. 17, Prov. xxiv. 23, Heb.). The Vulg. has *agnitio vultus* ("a glance at their face," which suffices to read their characters).

rewarded. Better, *done* or *dealt out.* The evil which they have wrought to others will recoil upon themselves: cf. the phrase *sinners against themselves* in Heb. xii. 3.

10—11. These *vv.* are not improbably a marginal comment, since the generalizations they contain are out of keeping with the directness of the rest of the address (though cf. i. 19, 20).

10. *Say ye of.* The parallelism with *v.* 11 seems to require the emendation *Happy is* (אַשְׁרֵי for אִמְרוּ) *the righteous, for*, etc.

11. *the reward*, etc. Better, *the work of his hands shall be done to him*, in accordance with retributive justice.

12. *children*, etc. Better, *their oppressor plays the child* (the plural being a plural of dignity). The description suits Ahaz.

women. i.e. the queen mother and the ladies of the royal harem. The important place often occupied by the mother of the reigning sovereign appears from the allusion in 2 Kgs. xxiv. 12, cf. also 2 Ch. xxii. 3.

they which lead, etc. The original is more graphic: *they which should set thee right lead thee wrong, and confuse the way of thy paths*; cf. ix. 16.

13 The LORD standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the
[1]peoples. 14 The LORD will enter into judgement with the elders
of his people, and the princes thereof: It is ye that have eaten
up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses:
15 what mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the face
of the poor? saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts.

16 Moreover the LORD said, Because the daughters of Zion
are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton
eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling
with their feet: 17 therefore the Lord will smite with a scab

[1] Or, *people*

13—15. A trial scene, wherein the Lord judges the rulers of His people. This short section would be more in place after v. 1—7.

13. *to plead.* i.e. to contend as a complainant.

the peoples. Better (with the LXX. and Syr.) *his people*[1] (cf. Deut. xxxii. 6).

14. *the elders...the princes.* The first are the representatives of the old patriarchal system (perhaps surviving chiefly in the country districts), the second are the royal officials brought into existence by the monarchy.

It is ye. The words begin the Lord's address to the offenders.

the vineyard. The LXX. has *my vineyard.* The metaphor is elaborated in v. 1—7 and recurs frequently (see xxvii. 2, Jer. ii. 21, v. 10, xii. 10, Ps. lxxx. 8 f., Matt. xx. 1 f., xxi. 33). The guardians of the Lord's vineyard have themselves done what it was their duty to prevent (cf. v. 5).

15. *crush...grind the face.* For the figures here used to describe the merciless treatment of the poor, cf. the parallel metaphors in Mic. iii. 2, 3, Am. iv. 1.

16—**IV.** 1. This oracle, though distinct from the preceding, is presumably contemporaneous in time as it is similar in spirit. It denounces the fashionable ladies, who spend the wealth, which their lords have gained by extortion, upon luxury and frivolity.

16. *the daughters of Zion.* For the denunciation of the women of Jerusalem see xxxii. 9—12: cf. also Am. iv. 1 f. (of the women of Samaria).

stretched forth necks. i.e. expressive of an arrogant demeanour.

mincing...tinkling. The unnatural gait, and the sound accompanying their movements, were produced by the anklets and ankle chains mentioned in *vv.* 18 and 20.

17. *the Lord.* Heb. *Adōnai*, a title, not a proper name: and so in vi. 1, xxviii. 2, xxxvii. 24, xxxviii. 16.

will smite, etc. The beauty of which they are so vain will be

[1] In Deut. xxxiii. 3 where *peoples* seems to be used of the tribes of Israel the LXX. has *his people* (see Driver *ad loc.*).

the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and the LORD will lay bare their secret parts. 18 In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their anklets, and the [1]cauls, and the crescents; 19 the pendants, and the [2]bracelets, and the mufflers; 20 the headtires, and the ankle chains, and the sashes, and the perfume boxes, and the amulets; 21 the rings, and the nose jewels; 22 the festival robes, and the mantles, and the shawls, and the satchels; 23 the hand mirrors, and the fine linen, and the turbans, and the veils. 24 And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet spices there shall be rottenness; and instead of a girdle a rope; and instead of well set hair baldness; and

[1] Or, *networks* [2] Or, *chains*

disfigured by disease, and their persons, which they adorn so sumptuously, will be exposed to indignities (cf. xlvii. 3). The last clause Dillmann and others render, *will lay bare their temples* (reading פְּאֵתֵהֶן for פְּתֵהֶן) : cf. Vulg. *crinem eorum nudabit.*

18—23. This long and prosaic catalogue of finery (21 articles in all) is deemed by Duhm, Cheyne, and others an interpolation, concealing the close connection between *vv.* 17 and 24. The insertion, however, if such it be, is not ineffective as a satire, and, though inartistic, deepens the contrast between the fashionable lives which the ladies lead now and the condition to which they will shortly be reduced.

18. *anklets.* These are said to be still used in Egypt, Syria, and Abyssinia.

cauls. A kind of head-dress: "front-band." But some explain the word to mean *little suns*, which, charged with solar and planetary influence by sympathetic magic, were worn as amulets.

crescents. Probably used as charms; cf. Jud. viii. 21, 26. The metal crescents that still adorn the harness of horses are, in origin, likewise charms.

19. *pendants.* Or *ear-drops.*

mufflers. Perhaps better, *gauzes.*

20. *ankle chains.* Or *stepping-chains*, connecting the *anklets* (*v.* 18), and rendering the steps taken by their wearers short and tripping. But some explain the word to mean *armlets.*

amulets. Or *charms*, worn as a protection against hostile incantations.

21. *rings.* Better, *signet rings* (Gen. xli. 42).

nose jewels. For the wearing of nose-rings see Gen. xxiv. 47.

23. *hand mirrors.* These consisted of discs of polished metal (Job xxxvii. 18). But the LXX. has διαφανῆ Λακωνικά, i.e. transparent robes.

24. *rottenness...a rope.* The accompaniments of disease and captivity.

baldness. Caused by tearing the hair as a mark of distress (see xv. 2, xxii. 12, Am. viii. 10, Mic. i. 16). Among the Hebrews and

instead of a stomacher a girding of sackcloth: branding instead of beauty. 25 Thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy [1]mighty in the war. 26 And her gates shall lament and mourn; and she shall be [2]desolate and sit upon the ground. **IV.** 1 And seven women shall take hold of one man in that day, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name; take thou away our reproach.

[1] Heb. *might.* [2] Or, *emptied*

Greeks it was more particularly a sign of mourning for the dead (Jer. xvi. 6, Ezek. xxvii. 31), the severed hair being placed on the corpse or the grave (probably as a means of effecting union with the departed): cf. Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 135, *θριξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν καταείνυσαν, ἃς ἐπέβαλλον κειρόμενοι*, Aesch. *Cho.* 167, *ὁρῶ τομαῖον τόνδε βόστρυχον τάφῳ.*

stomacher. Sym. has *στηθοδεσμίς*, the Vulg. *fascia pectoralis.*

sackcloth. A usual sign of woe (2 Kgs. vi. 30, Am. viii. 10, Jer. iv. 8). Possibly the wearing of it was a mourning custom originally adopted as a disguise to hinder the ghost from recognizing and troubling the living, but retained to prevent the ordinary attire from being contaminated by proximity to the dead body and thereby rendered useless: cf. Num. xix. 13—19.

branding. This they would undergo as slaves. The final clause spoils the symmetry of the *v.* and is omitted by the LXX. and Vulg.

25—26. These two *vv.* contain an apostrophe to a devastated city, and interrupt the connection between *v.* 24 and iv. 1. They are probably citations from a poem bewailing the capture of Jerusalem (perhaps in 587), which have been added to the text by an editor.

26. *her gates.* These, the resort of the citizens in prosperity, are personified as grieving over their deserted condition: cf. xiv. 31, Jer. xiv. 2, Lam. i. 4.

sit upon the ground. The depopulated city is regarded as a woman seated in a posture of distress and abasement; cf. xlvii. 1, Lam. ii. 10. On coins struck by Vespasian to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 Judæa is similarly represented as a woman seated on the ground (see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 208, 209).

IV. 1. *And seven women.* This *v.* connects with iii. 24. It is presupposed that in the predicted overthrow the bulk of the male population will perish, so that of the survivors the women will outnumber the men; and as in their forlorn condition they each will seek a husband, *seven* (a round figure for *many*, see xi. 15) will woo one man.

We will eat, etc. Their motive is not the desire to relieve themselves of the burden of their own support (though every wife could claim from her husband food and raiment, Ex. xxi. 10) but to gain protection from the insults to which they are exposed.

called by thy name. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* II. 342, *Da tantum nomen inane Conubii; liceat tumulo scripsisse, Catonis Marcia.*

our reproach. Amongst other circumstances provoking insult would

2 In that day shall the [1]branch of the LORD be beautiful
and glorious, and the fruit of the [2]land shall be [3]excellent and
comely for them that are escaped of Israel. 3 And it shall
come to pass, that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth
in Jerusalem, shall be called holy, even every one that is
written [4]among the living in Jerusalem: 4 when the Lord shall

[1] Or, *shoot* Or, *sprout* [2] Or, *earth* [3] Or, *majestic* [4] Or, *unto life*

be their unmarried and childless condition (see liv. 4, Gen. xxx. 23, Jud. xi. 38, 1 Sam. i. 5—11). In the absence of the hope of personal immortality, it was the perpetuation of the family that was the chief solace for the transitoriness of the individual life.

2—6. A prediction of a wonderful change in the material conditions of the people, after the impending chastisement has eradicated from among them all evil.

The authenticity of this passage has been questioned by Duhm, Cheyne, and others, the diction, the ideas, and the imagery being alleged to be non-Isaianic and post-exilic. But the objections to *vv.* 2—4 at least seem insufficient (see below).

2. *In that day.* The event that executes God's vengeance (iii. 18) also ushers in an age of bliss.

the branch of the LORD. Better (as in the mg.), *the sprout of the* LORD. The close parallelism with the next clause is decisive for the conclusion that the phrase (like *the fruit of the land*, cf. Num. xiii. 26) denotes vegetation, and is not meant figuratively (like *sprout of righteousness* in Jer. xxxiii. 15, xxiii. 5, cf. Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12). The term translated *sprout* is ordinarily used of that which springs from the ground (see lxi. 11, Gen. xix. 25, Ezek. xvi. 7, Ps. lxv. 10), and the phrase *sprout of the* LORD is a natural expression for luxuriant wild produce, which is made to grow exclusively by Divine and not by human agency (Num. xxiv. 6, Ps. lxxx. 10, civ. 16). The augmented fertility of the soil is a feature in other descriptions of the final happiness of the Lord's people; see xxx. 23—25, xxxii. 15, lv. 13, Am. ix. 13, Hos. ii. 21, 22, as well as Jer. xxxi. 12, Ezek. xxxiv. 27, 29, Zech. ix. 17, Joel ii. 19, 22—27.

beautiful and glorious, etc. Better, *for beauty and for majesty... for pride and for glory*, i.e. enhancing the reputation of the people among the nations (cf. Deut. xxviii. 10).

for...escaped, etc. That Isaiah believed that a remnant, though only a remnant, of his countrymen would escape the judgment is evidenced by the name of his eldest son (vii. 3). The phrase here used occurs in x. 20, xxxvii. 31, 32.

3. *shall be called holy.* i.e. shall be holy (see on i. 26). Though the epithet is not elsewhere applied by Isaiah to the people (for vi. 13 see note), its connotation here (as shewn by *v.* 4) is the Isaianic ideal of civic righteousness (i. 26), not the later ideal of religious consecration and dignity (lxii. 12, cf. Deut. vii. 6, xxvi. 19, Lev. xix. 2).

written among the living. Better, *registered for life* (cf. mg. and

have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall
have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof,
by the [1]spirit of judgement, and by the [1]spirit of burning.
5 And the LORD will create over [2]the whole habitation of
mount Zion, and over her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by
day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night: for over all the
glory *shall be spread* a canopy. 6 And there shall be a pavilion

[1] Or, *blast* [2] Or, *every dwelling place*

LXX. οἱ γραφέντες εἰς ζωήν). Those who are destined to survive the coming judgment are thought of as entered by the Lord in a book, the figure (which occurs in early as well as late writings) expressing the precision and fixity with which He regulates human existence, cf. Ex. xxxii. 32, Ps. lxix. 28, cxxxix. 16, Dan. xii. 1; also Jer. xxii. 30. Here the *life* meant is life on earth: in Phil. iv. 3, Rev. iii. 5, xvii. 8, xiii. 8, xx. 15, xxi. 27 the language is applied to eternal life; cp. Luke x. 20.

4. *the filth.* A figure for moral foulness (Prov. xxx. 12)—see iii. 16.

the blood, etc. i.e. such as accompanied the acts of oppression implied in iii. 1—15; cf. also i. 15. The capital, *Jerusalem*, is representative of the country at large.

the spirit of, etc. Better, *a blast of judgment* (i. 27, v. 16) *and a blast of destruction*, i.e. an exterminating judgment.

5—6. The genuineness of these two *vv.* is more doubtful than that of *vv.* 2—4, for the contents and phraseology are both rather suggestive of a late date, though some of the suspicious features do not occur in the LXX.

5. *And the LORD will create*, etc. The text is best corrected (in part after the LXX.) to *And He will come, and there shall be over the whole habitation of mount Zion and over her suburbs* (reading וּבָא וְהָיָה for וּבָרָא יְהוָה and מִגְרָשֶׁיהָ for מִקְרָאֶיהָ). It is implied that the protection of the Lord's presence will not be confined to the Temple alone, but extend to the dwellings on the Temple hill and to the fields and pastures in the vicinity. The emendations remove a word (*create*) which is characteristic of the Priestly source of the Hexateuch.

a cloud and smoke, etc. Better (after the LXX.), *a cloud by day and the smoke of a flaming fire by night.* The Lord is thought of as being present in an enveloping cloud which becomes luminous at night (the conception being apparently based on Num. ix. 15, 16, Ex. xl. 38 (P); cf. Zech. ii. 5).

for over all the glory. The text is probably in some disorder, and should be corrected (by the insertion of יְהוָה, after the LXX. (A), and the transfer to this *v.* of the first word of the next) to *for over everything* (Ezek. xliv. 30) *shall the glory of the LORD be a canopy and a pavilion* (cf. Ps. xxvii. 5, xxxi. 20). Point כֹּל כָּבוֹד for כָּל-כָּבוֹד.

6. *And there shall be*, etc. Better (with the LXX.), *And it* (i.e. the glory) *shall be for a shadow*, etc (reading וְהָיָה for תִּהְיֶה) i.e. the

for a shadow in the day-time from the heat, and for a refuge and for a covert from storm and from rain.

Lord's Presence will be a screen and shelter against all adversities (which are described, as in xxv. 4, xxxii. 2, under the metaphors of heat and storm). The words *in the day-time* are omitted by the LXX., and are doubtless inserted from *v.* 5.

Chapter V. 1—24.

This section falls into two parts: (1) a parable, setting forth the Lord's care for Judah and the nation's unworthy return (*vv.* 1—7); (2) a series of denunciations of national vices (*vv.* 8—24).

The section is independent of the preceding group of cc. ii.—iv. (of which iv. 2—6 is manifestly the conclusion); but it has certain points of contact with them, for it uses the same figure of the vineyard which occurs in iii. 14, and denounces the sins of reckless living and social oppression which are the subject of c. iii. (*vv.* 16 f., 14—15); whilst, in addition, an artificial link has been created between it and c. ii. by the introduction at *v.* 15 of the refrain of ii. 9, 17. Hence it is probable that the section dates from virtually the same period as cc. ii.—iv., viz. the early years of Ahaz, when the country whose moral condition is portrayed in such dark colours was as yet undisturbed by war. The two divisions (*vv.* 1—7 and 8—24) into which it falls seem to be distinct, and presumably proceed from different, though closely-connected, occasions.

V. 1 Let me sing [1]for my wellbeloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard. My wellbeloved had a vineyard in [2]a very fruitful hill: 2 and he [3]made a trench about it, and

[1] Or, *of* [2] Heb. *a horn, the son of oil.* [3] Or, *digged it*

V. 1—7. A parable illustrative of Israel's moral unfruitfulness and the consequent fate in store for it.

The prophet, who may be assumed to have gathered an audience around him (perhaps by playing a few notes on an instrument), recites to them a poem (cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 32) of a certain Friend, relating his disappointing experience with his vineyard, and then explains who his Friend is, and who are represented by the vineyard.

The Hebrews were much addicted to the use of parables and allegories: see Jud. ix. 7 f., 2 Sam. xii. 1—4, 2 Kgs. xiv. 9, Ezek. xvii. 3 f., etc., and in the N.T. cf. Matt. xiii. 3 f., xx. 1 f., xxi. 33, etc. For the figure of the vineyard cf. iii. 14.

1. *for my wellbeloved.* Better, *about my wellbeloved* (cf. mg.).

a song of...his vineyard. Lowth and others would substitute *a song of love for his vineyard* (דּוֹדִים for דּוֹדִי).

in a very fruitful hill. Vines were grown on hills to catch the sun (cf. Am. ix. 13, Verg. *G.* II. 113, *Bacchus amat colles*, Hom. *Od.* I. 193, γουνὸς ἀλωῆς οἰνοπέδοιο); but there is perhaps also an allusion to the

gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest
vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also hewed out
a [1]winepress therein: and he looked that it should bring forth
grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes. 3 And now, O in-
habitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge, I pray you,
betwixt me and my vineyard. 4 What could have been done
more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? wherefore,
when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth
wild grapes? 5 And now go to; I will tell you what I will do
to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall
be [2]eaten up; I will break down the fence thereof, and it shall
be trodden down: 6 and I will lay it waste; it shall not be
pruned nor hoed; but there shall come up briers and thorns:

[1] Or, *winefat* [2] Or, *burnt*

hill-country of Judah, where the people typified by the vineyard had their dwelling.

2. *made a trench about it.* i.e. for drainage. But probably better, as in the mg., (with the Syr.), *digged it.*

the choicest vine. Literally, *a sorek* (cf. Jer. ii. 21, Heb., Gen. xlix. 11), a variety of vine bearing red grapes. The disappointing results were due to no lack of care on the part of the husbandman.

a tower. i.e. a building (more substantial than the *booth* of i. 8) designed as a shelter for the watchman who kept guard whilst the grapes were ripening (cf. Mk. xii. 1, Matt. xxi. 33), and as a store-house for tools.

a winepress. Better, *a wine-vat*, a deep receptacle hewn in the rock to receive the juice extracted from the grapes by treading them (lxiii. 3, Joel iii. 13) in the press (a shallower but larger cavity on a higher level).

3—4. *And now, O inhabitants*, etc. The appeal made by the prophet, in the character of his friend, to the audience to decide where the responsibility for the failure lies is meant to lead the people to condemn themselves, as Nathan led David, and our Lord the Jews of His own day (2 Sam. xii. 1—6, Matt. xxi. 33—41).

5. As the audience can offer no defence for the vineyard, the owner explains his decision about it.

hedge...fence. i.e. of thorns (Prov. xv. 19, Mic. vii. 4) and stones[1] respectively (cf. Prov. xxiv. 30, 31, Verg. *G.* II. 371, *texendae saepes etiam et pecus omne tenendum, Praecipue dum frons tenera imprudensque laborum*). The verse has a close parallel in Ps. lxxx. 12, 13.

6. *I will lay it waste.* Better, *I will make an end of it.*

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[1] Such walls at the present time are constructed without mortar and vary in height from 4 to 12 feet (Whitehouse, *Primer of Heb. Ant.* p. 97).

I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it.
7 For the vineyard of the LORD of hosts is the house of Israel,
and the men of Judah [1]his pleasant plant: and he looked for
judgement, but behold [2]oppression; for righteousness, but
behold a cry.

8 Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to
field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in

[1] Heb. *the plant of his delight.* [3] Or, *shedding of blood*

command the clouds, etc. The prophet in declaring his friend's resolve to withhold the rain (which no human being could do) lays aside the disguise in which he had wrapped his meaning, and prepares his hearers for the announcement which follows.

7. *the house of Israel.* Not a designation of the kingdom of Ephraim, but synonymous with *men of Judah.*

judgement. i.e. just decisions (cf. i. 17, Ps. xxxvii. 30).

oppression. Perhaps better, *bloodshed* (cf. i. 15).

righteousness. i.e. upright administration.

a cry. i.e. an outcry from the victim of injustice (Ex. xxii. 23).

The expressions used summarize the complaints respecting the prevalence of social wrongs already made in i. 21—23, iii. 14. There is an assonance in the original which may be distantly imitated by *he looked for rule and behold misrule; for redress but behold distress.* (Similar assonances occur in vii. 9, xiii. 6, lvii. 6, lxi. 3, lxv. 11, 12.)

This parable was adapted by Christ and applied by Him to the Jews of His time, who similarly disappointed the expectations of the Lord (Matt. xxi. 33—41).

8—24. A series of Woes pronounced against various classes of people who were guilty of flagrant sins.

These Woes are at present six; but it is not improbable that originally there was a larger number (see on *v.* 14). In the case of the first two the denunciation of a particular sin is followed at once by the announcement of an appropriate penalty; but to each of the last four a corresponding threat of judgment is lacking, and these may once have existed in a longer form. It is possible that the Woe in x. 1—4 belongs to the same series (see on p. 71).

8. *Woe unto them that join*, etc. The first Woe is directed against the rapacious owners of large estates who absorbed the property of smaller freeholders and left no room for a class of yeomen beside them. It is probably implied that the appropriation of the land was brought about by illegitimate and cruel pressure upon the occupiers, e.g. through loans at usurious interest, which forced them to surrender it (see Mic. ii. 2 and cf. 1 Kgs. xxi., Neh. v. 3, 5). In an agricultural community like that of Judah in Isaiah's time the concentration of all the land in the hands of a few was even a more serious evil than in modern industrial states, for those who lost their freeholds scarcely had any other resource than to become hirelings or slaves, and the state

the midst of the land! 9 In mine ears *saith* the LORD of hosts,
Of a truth many houses shall be desolate, even great and fair,
without inhabitant. 10 For ten acres of vineyard shall yield
one bath, and a [1]homer of seed shall yield *but* an ephah.

11 Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that
they may follow strong drink; that tarry late into the night,

[1] See Ezek. xlv. 11.

suffered by the independence of numbers of its citizens being impaired or destroyed. The abuse was denounced not only by Isaiah but by his contemporaries Micah and Amos (Mic. ii. 2, 9, Am. ii. 7, iv. 1); and it was to prevent the permanent alienation of estates that the Law of Jubilee was designed (Lev. xxv. 10). The same evil existed in Rome and evoked like complaint from Roman writers; see Sall. *Cat.* xx., *Quis...tolerare potest...illos binas, aut amplius, domos continuare?* Hor. *Od.* II. xviii. 23, *Quid, quod usque proximos Revellis agri terminos et ultra Limites clientium Salis avarus?*

9. *In mine ears* saith *the* LORD. The word to be supplied is *revealed himself* (xxii. 14). The phrase, though perhaps originating in experiences accompanying a state of trance, is here probably a conventional way of expressing the intuitive conviction that what is about to be uttered is God's truth.

many houses, etc. The punishment is in keeping with the offence: the land thus acquired will be doomed to sterility, and famine will force the rich landowners from their homes as they had previously driven the poor from theirs: cf. Am. iv. 9, v. 11.

10. *ten acres.* The word rendered *acres* strictly means the extent of ground which a yoke (or pair) of oxen could plough in one day: cf. the Homeric measure of distance οὖρον ἡμιονοῖιν (*Od.* VIII. 124), the English *furlong* (i.e. furrow-long), and the Latin *iugerum* and *iugum* (cf. Varro, *R.R.* I. 10, *in Hispania ulteriore metiuntur iugis: iugum vocant quod iuncti boves uno die exarare possint*). The space denoted by *acre* here is estimated to be equivalent to half an English acre.

one bath. Better, *only one bath* (little more than eight gallons) of wine.

a homer. About 83 gallons.

an ephah. A dry measure of the same capacity as the *bath* (Ezek. xlv. 11). The produce would thus be only one-tenth of the seed sown.

11. *Woe unto them that rise*, etc. The second Woe has in view the dissolute, whose intemperance dulled their capacity for serious reflection. The prevalence of drunkenness in both Israel and Judah appears from xxii. 13, xxviii. 1, 7, Am. ii. 8, iv. 1, vi. 6, Hos. iv. 11, vii. 5.

early. To begin feasting early was a characteristic of those given to excess: cf. Eccles. x. 16. So at Rome, *tempestiva convivia* had a bad reputation; cf. Juv. *Sat.* I. 49, *ab octava Marius bibit* (the usual hour being the ninth).

till wine inflame them! 12 And the harp and the lute, the
tabret and the pipe, and wine, are *in* their feasts: but they
regard not the work of the LORD, neither have they considered
the operation of his hands. 13 Therefore my people are gone
into captivity, for lack of knowledge: and [1]their honourable
men are famished, and their multitude are parched with thirst.
14 Therefore [2]hell hath enlarged her desire, and opened her
mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude,
and their [3]pomp, and he that rejoiceth among them, descend
into it. 15 And the mean man is bowed down, and the great
man is humbled, and the eyes of the lofty are humbled: 16 but

[1] Heb. *their glory are men of famine.*
[2] Or, *the grave* Heb. *Sheol.* See Gen. xxxvii. 35. [3] Or, *tumult*

12. *the harp*, etc. Cf. Am. vi. 5, 6. Of the two stringed instruments here named, the *harp* (or *lyre*, LXX. κιθάρα) was square, with a sound-box at the base, whilst the *lute* (or *viol*, LXX. ψαλτήριον) was triangular, or bow-shaped, with the sound-box above. The *tabret* was a variety of hand-drum or tambourine; whilst the *pipe* (or *flute*) was a wind instrument (see *DB.* III. 458 f.).

regard not the work, etc. i.e. ignore the workings of Divine Providence, and the tokens of God's moral government of the world, cf. *v.* 19, x. 12, xxviii. 21, xxix. 23, Deut. xxxii. 4, Job xxxvi. 24, Ps. xxviii. 5.

13. *are gone into captivity*, etc. The perfects are perfects of certitude: cf. ii. 9.

for lack of knowledge. The LXX. has διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς τὸν κύριον. But better, *unawares*, i.e. before they realize their danger.

famished. The text has *men of famine*, whilst the LXX. and Vulg. have *dead of famine* (pointing מֻתֵּי for מְתֵי); but many critics adopt the emendation *wasted with famine* (reading מְזֻוָּה for מְתֵי, as in Deut. xxxii. 24). The rich revellers are appropriately punished by privation.

their multitude. Better, *their uproarious ones* (the upper and wealthy classes alone being in the prophet's thoughts; cf. *vv.* 14, 17).

14. *Therefore.* This *v.* follows unnaturally upon *v.* 13 (which likewise begins with *therefore*), and probably after *v.* 13 a verse has been lost describing another sin of which this *v.* announces the penalty. It may have contained a reference to the city or land, for the pronouns in the second half are strictly fem. sing., not masc. plur. (see below).

hell. Heb. *Sheol*, the abode of the dead (see on xiv. 9). This, like a ravenous monster (cf. Prov. xxx. 16 mg., Hab. ii. 5), devours the voracious.

their glory, etc. Better, *her* (Jerusalem's) *splendour and uproar and tumult, and he who rejoices* (or *revels*) *in her.*

15—16. These two *vv.*, which, unlike their context, do not refer to particular classes of offenders, but to all classes, and repeat in a

the LORD of hosts is exalted in judgement, and God the Holy
One is sanctified in righteousness. 17 Then shall the lambs
feed as in their pasture, and the waste places of the fat ones
shall [1]wanderers eat.

18 Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity,
and sin as it were with a cart rope: 19 that say, Let him make
speed, let him hasten his work, that we may see it: and let the
counsel of the Holy One of Israel draw nigh and come, that we
may know it!

[1] Or, *strangers*

variant form the refrains of c. ii. (see *vv.* 9, 11, 17) are intrusive here, and separate *vv.* 14 and 17 which should stand in close connection.

16. *is exalted...is sanctified.* By the righteous judgment (cf. i. 27) inflicted on offenders the Lord asserts His supremacy and vindicates His Godhead, which their wickedness has insulted (see iii. 8, and cf. xxix. 23, Lev. x. 3, Ezek. xxviii. 22, xxxvi. 23, xxxviii. 16).

17. *Then shall*, etc. This *v.* continues *vv.* 13, 14, and describes the land as depopulated and reduced to pasturage: cf. the similar descriptions in vii. 21, 22, xvii. 2, xxxii. 14, Mic. iii. 12, Zeph. ii. 14, Hor. *Od.* III. iii. 40, *Dum Priami Paridisque busto Insultet armentum.*

the fat ones. i.e. the once powerful and prosperous (cf. x. 16, Ps. xxii. 29).

wanderers. Literally, *sojourners*, which, if the text is sound, must mean nomad shepherds. But the LXX. has ἄρνες, *lambs* (פָּרִים or גְּדָיִים for גָּרִים), which suits the parallel clause better. Duhm rejects the word altogether as a corrupted gloss on the word rendered *fat ones*, which he takes to mean *fatlings* (Ps. lxvi. 15) and renders *and fatlings shall eat the waste places* (חָרָבוֹת for חָרֵבוֹת).

18—19. The third Woe is directed against the impious who defiantly disbelieve in any retribution awaiting upon sin. For the presence of sceptics in Judah cf. xxviii. 14, 22, Jer. v. 12, xxvii. 14, Ezek. xii. 22.

18. *draw iniquity*, etc. i.e. court guilt and consequent destruction (the words *iniquity* and *sin* connoting also *penalty* and *punishment*; see Gen. iv. 13 mg., Zech. xiv. 19, 1 Sam. xxviii. 10, 2 Kgs. vii. 9).

cords of vanity. i.e. the unbelief which draws vengeance all the more speedily upon them by daring the Almighty to inflict it.

as it were with a cart rope. i.e. they use the surest means whereby to bring guilt and retribution upon them. But the parallelism and sense is improved by Knobel's emendation *with a rope of wickedness* (בַּעֲבוֹת הָעָוְלָה for בַּעֲבוֹת הָעֲגָלָה).

19. *his work...the counsel.* i.e. the execution of His retributive purpose (cf. *v.* 12).

20 Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that
put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter
for sweet, and sweet for bitter!
21 Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and
prudent in their own sight!
22 Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men
of strength to mingle strong drink: 23 which justify the wicked
for a reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous
from him! 24 Therefore as the tongue of fire devoureth the
stubble, and as the dry grass sinketh down in the flame, so their
root shall be as rottenness, and their blossom shall go up as

20. The fourth Woe denounces the class that sought to justify iniquitous practices (such as those which are the subject of *vv.* 8, 11) by sophistry, and confounded moral distinctions.

21. The fifth Woe is directed against the self-confident—probably the politicians who advocated courses which the prophet knew to be opposed to the true interests of the country; cf. xxviii. 9 f., xxix. 14, xxx. 1, 9 f., xxxi. 1—2.

22—23. The sixth Woe seems to embrace two distinct classes: (1) the drunken, already denounced (*v.* 11); (2) venal judges.

to mingle. i.e. not, to dilute it with water (as in 2 Mac. xv. 39), but to compound ("mull") it out of various ingredients (such as spices, Cant. viii. 2), the mixture (lxv. 11, Prov. xxiii. 30) being probably a headier liquor than the ordinary wine of the country. Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XIV. 15, *lautissima apud priscos vina erant myrrhae odore condita.*

23. *which justify*, etc. To connect this *v.* with *v.* 22 it has been suggested that the intemperate are thought of as selling justice in order to get means for indulging their cravings (cf. Am. ii. 8); but it is perhaps more likely that the text is defective and that two Woes have become merged in one. By Giesebrecht this *v.* is placed after x. 1, and the whole section x. 1, v. 23, x. 2—4, in this order, considered to be the opening Woe of the present series, and placed after *v.* 7. Verse 22 he prefixes to *v.* 11.

24. *Therefore*, etc. This *v.*, in which the punishment does not correspond to the foregoing offences (as is the case with *vv.* 9, 10 and 13, 14), and which ends with a general reason for the menace it contains, is probably the conclusion of the whole series of Woes.

as the tongue, etc. The figure of a prairie conflagration is intended to illustrate the swiftness of the approaching doom: cf. xlvii. 14, Obad. *v.* 18.

their root...their blossom. The terms, like "root and branch," express the comprehensiveness of their extermination (cf. Mal. iv. 1, Job xviii. 16, Am. ii. 9). The preceding figure is here (in the Heb.) replaced by one derived from the decay of vegetation; but the LXX. seems to have read *chaff* (מֹץ) instead of *rottenness* (מַק).

dust: because they have rejected the [1]law of the LORD of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.

[1] Or, *teaching*

V. 25—30.

These *vv.* are misplaced and belong to the section ix. 8—21 (a prophecy against Ephraim). That they are alien to their present context appears from the facts (*a*) that the preceding section v. 8—24 has its proper conclusion in *v.* 24, so that another prediction of a judgment for Judah is here superfluous, (*b*) that *v.* 25, beginning with *therefore*, is not the logical sequel of *v.* 24, which begins similarly. Further, their connection with ix. 8—21 is shewn by (*a*) the occurrence of the same refrain as in ix. 12, 17, 21, (*b*) the identity of the Hebrew for *therefore* (*v.* 25, עַל־כֵּן) with that employed in ix. 17 and not with that used in v. 13, 14, 24 (לָכֵן). Accordingly the section ought to be transposed to the end of ix. 21, though others would place it after x. 4 (but see on x. 1—4).

25 Therefore is the anger of the LORD kindled against his people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them, and the hills did tremble, and their carcases were as refuse in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still. 26 And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss for

25. This *v.* refers to the past, and describes a punitive judgment that has already fallen upon the kingdom of Ephraim (see ix. 9), but has not yet exhausted the Lord's wrath. It is probably a fragment, the end of a lost strophe, following upon those contained in ix. 8—21.

Therefore is the anger. Better, *Therefore was the anger*, etc.

the hills did tremble. The chastisement implied is perhaps an earthquake (cf. ii. 19).

their carcases, etc. The loss of proper burial added a further horror to death: cf. 2 Kgs. ix. 37, Zeph. i. 17, Jer. viii. 2, xvi. 4, xxv. 33, Ps. xviii. 42, lxxxiii. 10.

26—30. A description of the nation whom the Lord will summon to complete His vengeance.

These *vv.* are a prediction of a judgment to come, and form the last strophe of the oracle ix. 8—21, v. 25. As it relates to the future and depicts the last stage of the drama of retribution, when the Lord's anger is finally exhausted, it appropriately lacks the refrain that occurs in ix. 12, 17, 21, v. 25.

26. *he will lift*, etc. The summons will be communicated by both sight and sound. For the employment of an *ensign* or banner, as a signal, cf. xi. 10, 12, xiii. 2, xviii. 3, xlix. 22, lxii. 10.

the nations. Better, with Duhm and others (reading לְגוֹי מִמֶּרְחָק for

[1]them from the end of the earth: and, behold, [2]they shall come
with speed swiftly: 27 none shall be weary nor stumble among
them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of
their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken:
28 whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent; their
horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like
a whirlwind: 29 their roaring shall be like a lion, they shall
roar like young lions: yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the
prey, and carry it away safe, and there shall be none to deliver.
30 And they shall roar [3]against them in that day like the roaring

[1] Heb. *him.* [2] Heb. *he*, and in the following verses. [3] Or, *over*

לְגוֹיִם מֵרָחוֹק cf. Jer. v. 15) *a nation*, since the sing. is used in the rest of the *v.* (see mg.). The nation meant is the Assyrian (cf. Am. vi. 14).

hiss. The word is here equivalent to our *whistle* (cf. Zech. x. 8).

from the end of the earth. Though so far away, the summons of the Lord can still reach them. The world of the Hebrews was a very circumscribed one; Assyria, Mesopotamia (xli. 9) and Media (xiii. 5) are all represented as being at the world's end.

27—29. All the details of this description help to deepen the impression of the formidable character of the invaders, their readiness for immediate battle, their rapid and untiring advance, and their unyielding grip.

27. *none shall slumber*, etc. This clause (in strictness appropriate to the Lord only, and metrically isolated) is regarded by Duhm as introduced from Ps. cxxi. 4.

the girdle. This, worn by those engaged in active exertion (cf. 1 Kgs. xviii. 46, Hom. *Od.* XIV. 72, ζωστῆρι θοῶς συνέεργε χιτῶνα, βῆ δ' ἴμεν κ.τ.λ.), was usually laid aside for repose.

nor...broken. The fact is intended to illustrate the excellence of their military equipment.

28. *their horses' hoofs*, etc. A hard hoof was a valuable quality in a horse, since in antiquity horses were generally unshod. Cf. Hom. *Il.* v. 329, κρατερώνυχες ἵπποι, Verg. *G.* III. 88 (among the points of a good horse) *solido graviter sonat ungula cornu.*

their wheels, etc. For the comparison see Jer. iv. 13, Ezek. x. 13, Hom. *H. Ven.* 218, ἀελλόποδες ἵπποι, Soph. *O.T.* 466, ἀελλάδες ἵπποι. The Assyrians used two-wheeled chariots in war.

29. *their roaring*, etc. The comparison illustrates the terrifying character of their war-cry: cf. Jer. ii. 15, Ps. lxxiv. 4.

yea, they shall roar. Better, *yea, they shall growl* (the verb differing from the preceding).

30. *And they shall roar*, etc. The simile here changes, and probably the subject of the verb also, which seems to be the Lord: hence better, *And He shall rumble* (literally, *growl*) *above them like the rumbling of the sea*, i.e. God with thunder and gloom will intensify

of the sea: and if one look unto the land, [1]behold darkness *and* distress, and the light is darkened in the clouds thereof.

[1] According to the Massoretic text, *behold darkness; distress and light; it is dark &c.*

the horror of the onslaught. By Duhm and others the *v.* is considered to be a late addition (of consolatory tenor), *above them* being tantamount to *against them* (the Assyrians).

unto the land. Better, *unto the earth* (in antithesis to the heavens where the thunder manifests the Lord's wrath).

darkness and *distress.* Better (altering the accents), *distressful darkness* (Vulg. *tenebrae tribulationis*): cf. viii. 22, Zeph. i. 15.

in the clouds thereof. i.e. in the clouds covering the earth. Possibly the text should be corrected (with Houbigant) to (*the light is darkened*) *with heavy clouds* (reading עֲרָפֶל for עֲרִיפָיִה, cf. lx. 2).

Chapters VI. 1—IX. 7.

These cc. form another group of prophecies, beginning with Isaiah's call (c. vi.) and ending with a Messianic passage (ix. 1—7); and since c. vi. would naturally stand in the front of any collection which first included it, this group probably once existed separately. When to this collection the collection cc. ii—iv., with c. v., was prefixed, the original order of the cc. was not disturbed; and the existing arrangement has the advantage of bringing into view the nature of the national sins before the c. is reached that affirms the people's impenitence, with its consequences. The prophecies here included, the detached character of which appears from the introductory words prefixed to several (vii. 3, 10, viii. 1, 5), belong to various dates.

Chapter VI.

This c., which narrates the occasion when Isaiah first became conscious that he had a commission from the Lord to speak to his countrymen, should be compared with the accounts given by Jeremiah (i. 4—10) and Ezekiel (cc. i. 1—iii. 3) of the inauguration of their respective ministries. Though the event here related was the earliest in Isaiah's prophetic career (see *vv.* 8, 9), the dating of it suggests that the account was not written until after some interval, perhaps late in the reign of Ahaz, at a time when Isaiah had come to believe that the mass of his fellow-countrymen were incorrigible (see *v.* 10)—a conviction which he can scarcely have entertained when he first entered upon a mission to reform them.

VI. 1 In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his [1]train filled

[1] Or, *skirts*

VI. 1. *In the year*, etc. On the chronology see p. xl f. For the method of dating (by events and not by the years of a reign, as in xxxvi. 1) cf. xiv. 28, xx. 1, Am. i. 1, Jer. xlvii. 1. This seems to be a trait of pre-exilic writers.

the temple. 2 Above him stood the seraphim: each one had
six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he

I saw, etc. Isaiah's call, like those of Moses (Ex. iii. 3—4), Ezekiel (Ezek. i. 1 f.) and St Paul (Acts ix. 1—9), is described as attended by experiences that appealed to the senses. The sights and sounds perhaps in part represent the instinctive externalizing of inward thoughts and reflections at a time of spiritual development and spiritual conflict, and in part are the deliberately chosen imagery of conscious art, suggested by contemporary beliefs and conceptions. But though the experiences narrated were doubtless not objective in the sense of being visible and audible to the physical eyes and ears, they none the less express a real revelation, imparted to the prophet through mental and spiritual processes, of God's nature and requirements, and of his own duty (cf. Acts x. 9—16).

high and lifted up. The description here applies to the throne, though used in lvii. 15 of the Lord Himself. The elevation of the Lord's throne is symbolical both of His exaltation above all earthly powers and of His separateness from human sinfulness.

his train. i.e. of His royal robes. The prophet, with reverential self-restraint, describes only the state and retinue of the Divine King, not His Person.

the temple. Or *palace* (LXX. ὁ οἶκος). The prophet must be supposed to be standing in the court in front of the temple at Jerusalem (see *v.* 6 and cf. Ezek. viii. 3, x. 4, Jer. xxiv. 1), the open doors of which revealed the interior, transformed from its ordinary aspect into that of the Almighty's heavenly palace (Ps. xi. 4, xviii. 6, xxix. 9), where He was present with His angelic attendants.

2. *Above him*. As the Lord was seated, the figures of the erect seraphs extended above Him.

stood. The term is not to be understood literally (see *v.* 2[b]), but denotes the attitude of servants (cf. 1 Kgs. x. 8).

the seraphim. These celestial attendants of the Lord are only mentioned here, the word elsewhere denoting "fiery" or "burning" serpents, real or figurative (Num. xxi. 6, Deut. viii. 15, Is. xxx. 6, xiv. 29). As serpents in various places have been considered in the light of guardians of sacred localities, it has been thought that the seraphim were at first the serpent-guards of the abode of the Lord. In Egypt, winged griffins, represented as protecting tombs, were actually called *serefs*. But comparison with the *cherubim*, which attend or convey the Lord in Ezek. x., points to a different explanation; for as the conception of the *cherubim* seems to have been derived from the wind or the clouds (Ps. xviii. 10), so that of the *seraphim* may have come from the serpentine lightning. Here, however, the association of them with serpents or a serpent-like shape seems to have disappeared, the description suggesting gigantic winged human figures, inasmuch as they have hands, feet, and voice[1].

six wings. The description has influenced Rev. iv. 8.

[1] In Enoch xx. 7 the serpents who are represented as being, with the cherubim, under the charge of the angel Gabriel seem to correspond to the seraphim.

covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. 3 And one cried
unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts:
[1]the whole earth is full of his glory. 4 And the foundations of
the thresholds were moved at the voice of him that cried, and
the house was filled with smoke. 5 Then said I, Woe is me!

[1] Heb. *the fulness of the whole earth is his glory.*

covered his face. i.e. as fearing to look upon the Divine glory (cf. Ex. iii. 6, 1 Kgs. xix. 13).

covered his feet. i.e. as shrinking from exposing the lower parts of the body to the Divine gaze (Ezek. i. 11).

3. *cried*, etc. More accurately, *kept crying.* This description is reproduced in the *Te Deum: incessabili voce proclamant*; cf. Rev. iv. 8, v. 9, 10, vii. 11, 12.

Holy, holy, holy. Holiness (see p. xxxiv) is the intrinsic quality of the Lord's character. The threefold repetition is intensive (like the Greek τρισμέγιστος, τρίλλιστος, and the Latin *ter felix* (Ov. *Met.* VIII. 51), cf. also Jer. vii. 4, xxii. 29, Ezek. xxi. 27), though it gains special appropriateness from the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

the whole earth...glory. The glory of the Lord is the manifestation of His external majesty and dominion, of which the sphere is the whole world as contrasted with the limited area over which the authority of a mere national god was supposed to extend (1 Sam. xxvi. 19): cf. Num. xiv. 21, Ezek. xxxix. 21.

The two central ideas respecting the Lord here impressed upon Isaiah were (1) that He was in His essence a moral Being, to whom everything impure and corrupt was alien (whence it followed that only by moral service—by righteousness and not ritual merely—could He be honoured, cf. i. 11—17, v. 7, iv. 3, 4); (2) that He possessed universal supremacy (so that His power both to punish sin and to vindicate faith was absolute).

4. *the foundations*, etc. Better (in this context), *the supports of the lintel* (Heb. *lintels*), the latter being here described by the term more appropriate to the sill of the doorway, cf. Am. ix. 1 (where the Vulg. has *superliminaria*). The *foundations* (or *supports*) are the side-posts sustaining the lintel. The LXX. has merely τὸ ὑπέρθυρον.

were moved. i.e. rocked with the volume of sound.

smoke. This is probably to be regarded as a manifestation of the Divine displeasure (xxx. 27, lxv. 5, Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxx. 4 mg.), the reaction of the Divine holiness at the approach of the prophet whilst yet unpurified from his sin: cf. Rev. xv. 7, 8.

5. *Woe is me.* It was an early belief that the mere sight of God, or intrusion into Divine concerns, was dangerous to a mortal (Gen. xix. 17, 26, xxxii. 30, Ex. iii. 6, xix. 21, xx. 19, xxxiii. 20, Jud. vi. 22, xiii. 22, 1 Sam. vi. 19); but what inspired Isaiah with fear was the sense of his sinfulness (cf. xxxiii. 14)[1].

[1] Instances of human beings seeing God and yet surviving (like those recorded in Gen. xxxii. 30, Ex. xxiv. 10) are regarded as very exceptional; see also Ex. xxxiii. 21—23 (where the sight of God is represented as only partial).

for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I
dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes
have seen the King, the LORD of hosts. 6 Then flew one of the
seraphim unto me, having a [1]live coal in his hand, which he had
taken with the tongs from off the altar: 7 and he touched my
mouth with it, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and
thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin [2]purged. 8 And I
heard the voice of the Lord saying, Whom shall I send, and
who will go for us? Then I said, Here am I; send me. 9 And

[1] Or, *hot stone* [2] Or, *expiated*

unclean lips. The sin of his lips is uppermost in Isaiah's mind because his being present with God naturally prompted him to speech with, or praise of, Him, for which his unclean lips unfitted him (cf. Zeph. iii. 9). For the Divine displeasure against sins of the lips cf. iii. 8, lviii. 9, 13, lix. 3, Matt. xii. 34.

I dwell in, etc. The prophet's own sin could not be compensated for by any merits on the part of his countrymen (cf. Gen. xviii. 23—33), for such were lacking.

the King. The title is applicable to the Lord both as King of Israel (xxxiii. 22, xli. 21, 1 Sam. xii. 12, Zeph. iii. 15) and as universal King (Jer. x. 7, Zech. xiv. 9).

6. *Then flew.* Upon the consciousness and confession of sin there followed at once its forgiveness and removal (cf. Luke xviii. 13, 14).

a live coal. This rendering (LXX. ἄνθρακα πυρός, "glowing charcoal") seems preferable to the mg. *a hot stone* (Aq., Th., Sym. ψῆφος, Vulg. *calculus*) if the altar is the altar of incense *within* the Temple, where the scene is laid. Fire, which was an agency for removing ceremonial defilement (Num. xxxi. 22, 23), is here symbolic of an agency capable of effecting moral purification (cf. Mal. iii. 2, Luke xii. 49, Matt. iii. 11).

7. *purged.* Better, *cancelled* (by the free forgiveness of God). The primary sense of the verb is disputed, some authorities taking it to be "cover," others "wipe out": see W. R. Smith, *OTJC.* p. 381.

8. *who will go*, etc. The LXX. supplies πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον. The Lord avails Himself of human agents for the admonishing of the sinful as He does for the chastising of the incorrigible (x. 5, 6) and for the deliverance of the distressed (xlv. 1—7); and He invites voluntary and ungrudging service.

for us. The plural points to the attendance upon the Lord of a council of celestial beings whom He consults. These are elsewhere described as *the sons of God* (Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7), *the holy ones* (Ps. lxxxix. 7, Deut. xxxiii. 2, Zech. xiv. 5), *the host of heaven* (1 Kgs. xxii. 19); and their presence is implied in Gen. i. 26, iii. 22.

Then I said. With Isaiah's spontaneous offer the hesitation and self-distrust of Jeremiah under similar circumstances (Jer. i. 4—8) stand in marked contrast.

he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye [1]indeed, but understand not; and see ye [1]indeed, but perceive not. 10 Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and [2]understand with their heart, and turn again, and be healed. 11 Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until cities be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and the land become utterly waste, 12 and the LORD have removed men far away, and the forsaken places be many in the

[1] Or, *continually* [2] Or, *their heart should understand*

9. *this people.* Probably Judah (since the scene is the Temple at Jerusalem), though some of Isaiah's prophecies were addressed to the northern kingdom (ix. 8—21, xvii. 4—11, xxviii. 1—6). The phrase has a touch of scorn; see viii. 6, 11, 12, xxviii. 11, 14, xxix. 13, xxxvi. 6, Ex. xxxii. 1, 1 Sam. x. 27, and cf. also xxii. 15, Acts vi. 14, xix. 26.

Hear ye indeed. Better (cf. mg.), *Go on hearing...go on seeing.* The imperatives are equivalent to futures (cf. viii. 9): the people will have repeated opportunities of learning God's will through His prophets or through experience, but they will not heed (cf. xxix. 10, xxx. 9—11). Verses 9, 10 are quoted by Christ in Matt. xiii. 14, 15, Mk. iv. 12, Luke viii. 10 (cf. also Joh. ix. 39), and they are used by St John (xii. 40) and by St Paul (Acts xxviii. 26, 27) in connection with Jewish disbelief in our Lord.

10. *Make the heart...fat.* i.e. coarsen and dull their understanding, (of which in Heb. the *heart* is the seat, x. 7, xxxiii. 18, Jer. v. 21 mg., Hos. vii. 11 mg.). For *fat*, in the sense of spiritually and intellectually obtuse, cf. Ps. cxix. 70, Ov. *Met.* XI. 148, *pingue sed ingenium mansit.* The prophet is represented as bringing about the consequences destined to follow upon his preaching (cf. Jer. i. 10, xxxi. 28, Hos. vi. 5).

lest they see, etc. It was not God's original intention that His people should be indifferent to His revelation, but it *was* His purpose that an attitude of indifference or defiance, once assumed, should be punished by an increasing incapacity to abandon it: cf. lxiii. 17, Ex. iv. 21, Joh. ix. 39. The very abundance of the revelations imparted to them involved the greater guilt if they did not profit by them (cf. Matt. xiii. 12).

turn again. Cf. x. 21 and the name of Isaiah's son *Shear-jashub.* But some take this in combination with the next verb (cf. *v.* 13, Heb.), as equivalent to *be restored again to health.*

11. *Until*, etc. i.e. the nation's perversity will be brought to an end by nothing short of its extermination by death or exile: cf. xxii. 14.

become utterly waste. Better (with the LXX. and Vulg.), *be left waste* (תִּשָּׁאֵר for תִּשָּׁאֶה).

12. *removed men*, etc. i.e. caused them to be deported by a foreign enemy: cf. v. 13.

midst of the land. 13 [1]And if there be yet a tenth in it, it shall again be [2]eaten up: as a terebinth, and as an oak, [3]whose [4]stock remaineth, when they [5]are felled; so the holy seed is the [4]stock thereof.

[1] Or, *But yet in it shall be a tenth, and it shall return, and shall be eaten up*
[2] Or, *burnt*
[3] Or, *whose substance is in them*
[4] Or, *substance*
[5] Or, *cast* their leaves

13. *And if there be*, etc. The punitive judgment will be so thorough that if a fraction of the people survive the first chastisement, it will be subjected to a second, which will consume it altogether.

eaten up. Better, *extirpated* (cf. Deut. xiii. 5, Heb.).

as a terebinth, etc. The comparison is intended to illustrate the completeness of the nation's annihilation, the surviving tenth being likened to the stump of a felled tree, which is not allowed to remain in the soil but is rooted up. The LXX. ends the c. at this point, and if, as seems probable, it preserves the true text, Isaiah does not manifest here the hope which he expresses elsewhere that a remnant of the people would permanently survive (see below).

so the holy seed, etc. Better, *so a holy seed is the stock thereof* (i.e. of the land). For the term *holy seed*, cf. Ezra ix. 2. The addition of this clause gives a different turn to the preceding comparison, which, instead of illustrating the destruction, is thereby made to illustrate the survival, of a fraction of the nation, from which it could again be revived (cf. Job xiv. 7). The clause is probably a gloss, inserted with a consolatory purpose; for it is absent from the LXX., and Isaiah is scarcely likely to have introduced so important a qualification of his preceding announcement of doom thus briefly and abruptly. But though probably a gloss, it is a useful reminder that the prophet in reality *did* modify the prediction of extermination here uttered against his countrymen, as he shewed by the name he gave to his eldest son (vii. 3); cf. also i. 25, 26, iv. 3, x. 24—27, xiv. 24, 25, xxxvii. 31, 32 (xxviii. 5).

Chapter VII.

The occasion which evoked the prophecies contained in this c. was the confederation of Syria and N. Israel against Judah, *circ.* 735—4, in the reign of Ahaz. The king of Israel at the time was Pekah, who, it is probable, was anti-Assyrian in his policy (see Int. p. xxii); and it is a plausible supposition that his alliance with Rezin, king of Syria, against Ahaz was designed to force the latter to unite with them against Assyria, or, if he refused compliance, to depose him.

The c. describes the alarm of Ahaz in consequence of the attack of Rezin and Pekah, the endeavours of Isaiah to reassure him, and the calamity which the prophet predicted would ensue for Judah from the king's want of faith in the Lord. The prophecies which it comprises are placed in a setting of historical narrative which in its present form proceeds from a late editor (see on *vv.* 1, 8).

VII. 1 And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up to Jerusalem to war against it; but could not prevail against it. 2 And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria [1] is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest are moved with the wind.

3 Then said the LORD unto Isaiah, Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and [2] Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the

[1] Heb. *resteth on Ephraim.* [2] That is, *A remnant shall return.*

VII. 1—9. Ahaz's dismay at the coalition of Syria and Israel, and Isaiah's assurance of the certain failure of the enemy's schemes.

1. *And it came to pass*, etc. This *v.* seems to have been borrowed from 2 Kgs. xvi. 5 (with some slight modification), where it is more in place; here it anticipates the issue of the events foretold in *vv.* 4—16 (cf. xx. 1).

in the days of Ahaz. In 2 Kgs. xv. 37 the beginning of this hostile movement is assigned to the reign of Jotham, whom Ahaz probably succeeded in 735 (see p. xli).

Rezin. The LXX. (A) has Ραάσσων, corresponding to a Heb. form *Rezon* or *Razon*, which comes nearer than *Rezin* to the Assyrian equivalent *Rasunnu* (Schrader, *COT.* II. p. 252).

could not prevail. 2 Kgs. xvi. 5 has *and they besieged Ahaz but could not overcome him.* According to 2 Ch. xxviii. 5—8, Pekah slew 120,000 Judæans in one day and carried off 200,000 women and children as captives (who were afterwards sent back by the direction of the prophet Oded), whilst the Edomites and the Philistines simultaneously raided Judah (2 Ch. xxviii. 17 f.). In view of the depreciatory estimate of the confederacy in *v.* 4, and of the prevalent exaggeration of the Chronicler some of these statements are improbable. The chief disaster sustained by Judah was the loss of Elath, which was taken by Rezin and restored to Edom (2 Kgs. xvi. 6 mg.).

2. *the house of David.* i.e. Ahaz and his family, the latter being included in the plural *ye*, used in *vv.* 9, 13: cf. iii. 12.

is confederate with. The rendering really implies the conjectural reading נִלְוָה (cf. LXX. συνεφώνησεν): the received text means (as in the mg.) *resteth upon* (cf. *v.* 19, Ex. x. 14, 2 Sam. xxi. 10), the phrase describing the encampment of the Syrians upon Ephraimite territory.

Ephraim. A common designation of the kingdom of the Ten tribes (of which Ephraim was the strongest).

3. *Shear-jashub.* The child's name gave expression to one of Isaiah's predictions (*Only*) *a remnant shall return* (see iv. 3, vi. 13, x. 22): cf. the significant names bestowed on Hosea's children (Hos. i. 4, 9). Isaiah, in taking his son with him to meet the king, perhaps hoped to convey to Ahaz a tacit warning not to precipitate by unbelief the calamity of which the boy's name was ominous.

conduit of the upper pool, in the high way of the fuller's field;
4 and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither let
thine heart be faint, because of these two tails of smoking fire-
brands, for the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria, and of the son of
Remaliah. 5 Because Syria hath counselled evil against thee,
Ephraim *also*, and the son of Remaliah, saying, 6 Let us go up
against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for
us, and set up a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeel:

the end, etc. i.e. the lower end, or outlet. It may be assumed that Ahaz had gone thither to take measures for husbanding the supply of water, in the event of a siege (cf. xxii. 9 of Hezekiah). The situation of *the upper pool* has been variously identified. The most probable opinion seems to be that it was the basin of the Gihon spring (2 Ch. xxxii. 30) in the gorge of the Kidron. At Gihon (the mod. *Ain Sitti Mariam* or Virgin's spring) was the principal water supply of Jerusalem in early times[1]; and the conduit here mentioned was most likely a surface conduit from it, which has been found to lead towards the Lower pool of Siloam (the *Birket el Hamrâ*, see xxii. 9), a little to the S.E. of the Upper pool of Siloam (the *Birket Silwân*), at the S. end of the Temple hill. Another view identifies the *upper pool* with a pool reported to have been discovered N.E. of the *Birket Silwân*. (See further G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II. p. 127.)

the fuller's field. To *full* is to thicken woollen cloth by washing, beating, and drying it in the sun. The process serves also to bleach it (cf. Mk. ix. 3).

4. *be quiet.* i.e. maintain an attitude of abstention from political entanglements (either with Syria and Ephraim by submission, or with Assyria by an appeal for help), and of calm confidence in the Lord: cf. xxx. 15. Isaiah no doubt knew already that Ahaz was more inclined to rely for defence upon material, than spiritual, means of protection.

these two tails. i.e. these two fag-ends of firebrands that are no longer alight, but only smouldering, and so incapable of causing serious harm. Possibly the strength of the two allies had previously been exhausted in mutual conflict (cf. on ix. 11, 12). Isaiah's contempt for Pekah in particular is marked by the designation of him (here and *vv.* 5, 9, viii. 6) merely by the name of his father (cf. 1 Sam. xx. 27, 31, xxii. 12, 13), who was of humble, or at least not royal, lineage (2 Kgs. xv. 25).

for the fierce...Remaliah. This clause is probably an explanatory gloss, cf. *vv.* 17, 20: in view of *v.* 5 it is certainly superfluous.

6. *vex it.* Better, *dismay* (or *cow*) *it.* But some critics would substitute *press it hard*, as in xxix. 2 (נציקנה for נקיצנה).

the son of Tabeel. The object of the confederates in seeking to replace Ahaz by a creature of their own was to set over Judah a king more

[1] It is probably the *fons perennis aquae* mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 12).

7 thus saith the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. 8 For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin: and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken in pieces, that it be not a people: 9 and the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.

amenable to their wishes. Isaiah's contempt is again shewn (see *v.* 4) by the omission of the man's own name. His father's name, *Tabeel* (like *Tabrimmon*, 1 Kgs. xv. 18), is Syrian, and this suggests that the person intended was a nominee of Rezin's[1].

7. *It shall not stand.* i.e. the scheme shall not succeed (cf. viii. 10, xiv. 24, xxviii. 18, Prov. xv. 22 Heb.).

8. *For the head*, etc. i.e. the head of Syria is only Damascus, and the head of Damascus is only Rezin (similarly in *v.* 9). The enemies threatening Judah were merely insignificant units, unsupported by other and more formidable powers.

within threescore, etc. i.e. before 669. This clause is probably a gloss, since (*a*) it separates very awkwardly the first part of *v.* 8 and the first part of *v.* 9, which should stand in close juxtaposition; (*b*) the precision of the statement is contrary to the run of prophetic predictions (numbers being usually expressed in round or conventional figures, see xxiii. 17, Jer. xxv. 11, Ezek. xxix. 11); (*c*) the interval it defines is too large, for the fall of Ephraim at so distant a date could not ensure Ahaz's deliverance from his present peril, whilst in *v.* 16 it is predicted for the near future, and the country was actually invaded and seriously crippled within a year or two (734). The interpolator must have had in mind the introduction of heathen colonists into Samaria by the Assyrian king Esar-haddon (681—668) (see Ezra iv. 2, 2 Kgs. xvii. 24), thinking that thereby the prophet's prediction obtained the fullest verification. The interpolation has been accidentally misplaced; it should follow *v.* 9[a] (not *v.* 8[a])[2].

9. *If ye will not believe*, etc. There is an assonance in the original (occurring also in 2 Ch. xx. 20) which may be faintly reproduced by *If ye will not confide, ye shall not abide.* The warning probably has regard to the continuance of the dynasty, for the verb rendered *established* is the same as that used in the phrase *a sure house* in 1 Sam. ii. 35, xxv. 28, 1 Kgs. xi. 38. The faith which was demanded of Ahaz and his princes was entire reliance upon the Lord and renunciation of material resources and political devices (cf. xxviii. 16, xxx. 15). The penalty

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[1] Some scholars think that Rezin himself is meant, *Tabeel* being a cypher for *Remaliah* (the position of the first three letters of *Tabeel* in the first half of the Hebrew alphabet corresponding to those of the first three letters of *Remaliah* in the second half).

[2] That the gloss is late in date is shewn by the arrangement (in the Hebrew) of the numerals.

10 And the LORD spake again unto Ahaz, saying, 11 Ask thee
a sign of the LORD thy God; [1]ask it either in the depth, or in
the height above. 12 But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will
I tempt the LORD. 13 And he said, Hear ye now, O house of David;
is it a small thing for you to weary men, that ye will weary my
God also? 14 Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign;

[1] According to some ancient authorities, *make it deep unto Sheol.*

which is here declared to follow upon a lack of faith is not overthrow at the hands of Syria and Ephraim (for deliverance from them is unqualifiedly promised (*v.* 16, viii. 4)) but destruction in a subsequent judgment of which Assyria was to be the instrument (see *vv.* 18—25).

10—16 (17). The offer of a sign in order to stimulate the king's faith.

Between the events recorded in the previous paragraph and what is related in this an interval may have elapsed, in which Ahaz shewed an increasing disposition to ask from Assyria the aid which he eventually sought (2 Kgs. xvi. 2, 8).

10. *And the* LORD. The Lord's communication would be made through Isaiah (see *v.* 13 and cf. iii. 16); and some critics would substitute the prophet's name.

11. *a sign.* i.e. some proof that the promise of security given by the prophet had the Divine power behind it (cf. Jud. vi. 17, Deut. xviii. 21, 22).

thy God. Ahaz, though not loyal to the Lord (see 2 Kgs. xvi. 10—15), was not an open apostate, for he gave to his son Hezekiah a name which means *JEHOVAH is strong*, or *JEHOVAH strengthens.*

ask it either...above. Better (linking this with the previous clause, and emending the text after Aq., Th. and Sym.), *either in the depth of Sheol or in the height above* (reading שְׁאֹלָה for שְׁאָלָה, cf. Vulg. *in profundum inferni*), i.e. ask a sign of any description. The phrase was perhaps proverbial: cf. Job xi. 8.

12. *neither will I*, etc. Better, *nor will I put the Lord to the proof* (cf. Ex. xvii. 7, Deut. vi. 16, Ps. lxxviii. 18, 41, 56). The language veiled the king's unwillingness to abandon his projected appeal to Assyria, to which acceptance of the Lord's offer would have committed him.

13. *is it a small thing*, etc. Better, *is it too little for you to weary men.* Isaiah had presumably sought to influence Ahaz and his court, but unsuccessfully, and the Lord's overtures were equally vain. The prophet's resentment finds expression in the substitution of *my God* for *thy God* (*v.* 11).

14. *Therefore...shall give.* A sign spontaneously given in consequence of Ahaz's refusal to choose a sign would leave the king without excuse, if he persisted in his contemplated policy.

a sign. The term does not, of itself, throw much light upon what is meant, for it is used equally of occurrences which are distinct from,

behold, [1]a [2]virgin [3]shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name [4]Immanuel. 15 [5]Butter and honey shall he eat, [6]when

[1] Or, *the* [2] Or, *maiden* [3] Or, *is with child, and beareth*
[4] That is, *God is with us.* [5] Or, *Curds* [6] Or, *that he may know*

and prior to, the event of which they are designed to be a pledge (see xxxviii. 7, 8, Ex. iv. 2—5, 7, 8, 1 Kgs. xiii. 3—5, 1 Sam. ii. 34, x. 2—7, Jer. xliv. 29, 30, Luke ii. 12), and of circumstances which are incidental to the event itself (see xxxvii. 30, cf. Ex. iii. 12).

a virgin. Better, *a* (literally, *the*) *young woman.* The Heb. word (עַלְמָה) seems etymologically to mean a girl of marriageable age, whether actually married or not (Gen. xxiv. 43, Ex. ii. 8, Ps. lxviii. 25, Prov. xxx. 19, Cant. vi. 8). A different word (בְּתוּלָה) is employed for *virgin* in the strict sense, and might have been expected here, if stress were laid on virginity (see Gen. xxiv. 16). The LXX. has παρθένος, but the other Greek versions have νεᾶνις. It appears from this that the nature of the sign does not turn upon a virgin birth, though the expression עַלְמָה is more natural if the prophet had in his thoughts a woman who at the time when he spoke was unmarried.

shall conceive and bear. Perhaps better (as in the mg.), *is with child and beareth* (or *shall bear*): cf. Gen. xvi. 11, Jud. xiii. 5. The birth which was in the prophet's thoughts was presumably expected to take place within less than a year, and so to encourage trust in the prediction of the event which was promised for a later date (*v.* 16).

shall call. Among the Hebrews in early times children were often named by the mother (see Gen. iv. 1, 25, xxix. 32, 33, xxx. 18, 20, 23, 1 Sam. i. 20; though contrast viii. 3, Gen. xxi. 3, Hos. i. 4). LXX. (A, B), Aq. and Sym. all have *thou shalt call*, probably identifying Immanuel with a son of Ahaz (perhaps Hezekiah). The Vulg. has *vocabitur.*

Immanuel. i.e. "God is with us." In the absence of any statement about the lineage, endowment, or future functions of the child whose birth is predicted, it is difficult to decide with confidence whether his name is expressive of an exceptional personality, or whether it is merely commemorative (cf. 1 Sam. iv. 21) and reflects the circumstances under which he was to be born (see p. 52). But certain considerations in favour of the view that Isaiah had in mind the birth of a remarkable child arise from (*a*) the unrestricted choice originally offered to Ahaz in regard to the sign (*v.* 11), which is a presumption that the sign actually tendered was of no ordinary character, (*b*) the designation of the mother as a *young woman*, suggesting that the child was to be her firstborn, (*c*) the reference to him in viii. 8, where he seems to be represented as the owner of, or heir to, the country, (*d*) the prophecies respecting a godlike king in ix. 6, 7 and xi. 1—9, and in Mic. v. 2—5. It is not unlikely that there was already current in Judah an expectation of the coming of a wonderful king (see Gen. xlix. 10 mg.), and such an expectation would account for the use of the expression *the young woman*, i.e. the young woman familiar to popular

he knoweth to refuse the evil, and choose the good. 16 For before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken.

thought as the destined mother of the looked-for king (though the article can be explained by a Heb. idiom, see Gen. xxviii. 11 mg., Ex. xxi. 20 (Heb.), Josh. ii. 15 (Heb.), 1 Sam. xvii. 34 (Heb.)). If so, the gist of the prediction is the *imminence* of his advent, which was to occur within a very short interval. On the analogy of the prophecies in ix. 6, 7, xi. 1—9, Mic. v. 2—5, it is probable that the child was expected to be the divinely appointed means for ensuring for Judah, after its present troubles, permanent security against the encroaching Assyrian (see viii. 9, 10), his name implying his character (see on i. 26) as the representative and agent of the Lord. It is also probable that he was expected to be of the lineage of David (see ix. 7, xi. 1); but the identity of the mother[1] was left to be disclosed by events, it being perhaps assumed that some unusual circumstance or portent attending the child's birth would indicate who he was, and lead to the bestowal upon him of the appropriate name *Immanuel.* But whilst this view does most justice to the language and spirit of this and the adjacent prophecies, it necessitates the conclusion that a circumstantial fulfilment of them never occurred. There is no record of any child answering to the prophet's expectations having been born in Isaiah's own age; and the birth of our Lord could be no fulfilment (as represented in Matt. i. 22, 23) of a prediction relating to a deliverance of Judah from temporal perils 700 years previously. Nevertheless the advent of our Lord was an illustration, in the spiritual sphere, of those gracious purposes of God towards His people in which Isaiah expressed such confident faith, and it verified in a pre-eminent degree the import of the name *Immanuel* (cf. p. xl). For other views of the *v.* see p. 52.

15. *Butter and honey*, etc. This *v.* seems to be an insertion, for it separates *v.* 16 from *v.* 14, of which *v.* 16 is the logical sequel. The insertion is based on *vv.* 21, 22: Immanuel, if born at the time indicated (see on *v.* 14), would obviously share during his childhood the privations destined to befall the country within a few years through an Assyrian inroad: he could only be his people's defence at a maturer age. *Butter* (or *curds*, Gen. xviii. 8) and *honey* (i.e. wild honey, Mk. i. 6, Matt. iii. 4) are here regarded as products of a land that has gone out of cultivation and only affords pasturage.

when he knoweth, etc. i.e. when he begins to exercise his faculties (cf. 2 Sam. xix. 35 and perhaps Deut. i. 39), and to display tokens of intelligence. The age implied is about three. For the temporal meaning of the preposition rendered *when* cf. Gen. xxiv. 63, Ex. xiv. 27, 2 Sam. xviii. 29[2].

16. *For before*, etc. This *v.* connects with *v.* 14 (cf. viii. 3, 4),

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[1] The *young woman* may possibly be a figurative expression for *Judah*: cf. the personification of the nation as a virgin (xxxvii. 22).

[2] The Vulg. has *ut sciat puer reprobare malum et eligere bonum* (taking the

17 The LORD shall bring upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days that have not come, from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah; *even* the king of Assyria.

18 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD shall hiss for the fly that is in the uttermost part of the rivers of Egypt,

and explains the approaching relief, of which (together with a still greater deliverance at a more distant date, viii. 10) the birth of Immanuel was the assurance. Before the child should reach the age of three or thereabouts the countries whose kings inspired in Ahaz such alarm would be depopulated through a hostile invasion. Of the event here predicted Immanuel could not be the author, for it is expected to be realized during his infancy. But since his birth is anticipated to occur within less than a year of the time when the prophet was speaking, his childhood is taken as a measure of the interval within which the event was to happen (though for this purpose any child born about the same period would have done as well). The prediction here uttered was substantially fulfilled almost, if not altogether, within the limited interval defined by the prophet. The northern provinces of the kingdom of Israel were ravaged by Tiglath-pileser in 734: and two years later the same Assyrian king took Damascus, deported its inhabitants, and slew Rezin (2 Kgs. xv. 29, xvi. 9). (For a different view of this *v.* see p. 53.)

17. This *v.* should probably be attached to the *vv.* that follow, to which it serves as an introduction: the LXX. marks the transition by prefixing *But.* The rescue of Judah from the danger threatening it from Syria and Israel was not to leave its future unclouded; there was in reserve for it, in consequence of Ahaz's want of faith (see viii. 6), a chastisement severer than any sustained by it since the secession of the Ten tribes (1 Kgs. xii.).

even *the king of Assyria.* This clause is probably a gloss (and so in *v.* 20), since *king* harmonizes badly with *days.*

18—25. Predictions of the occupation of Judah by devastating enemies, and of the thoroughness with which the country will be ravaged. The prophecies contained in this section were probably delivered by Isaiah when Ahaz's decision to seek Assyrian aid (2 Kgs. xvi. 7, 8) was definitely known (cf. viii. 5 f.). They are obviously later than those in *vv.* 1—16, and probably than those in viii. 1—4, and are not addressed directly to Ahaz.

18. *hiss.* The word reflects the belief that bees are attracted by sounds (Arist. *Hist. An.* IX. 40, δοκοῦσι δὲ χαίρειν αἱ μέλιτται καὶ τῷ κρότῳ: cf. Verg. *G.* IV. 64).

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prepos. in the final sense). The thought suggesting the translation presumably was that the discipline of privation undergone by the child in his infancy would conduce to the development in him of high ethical qualities. But possibly milk and honey were originally believed to produce these qualities, if Gressmann is right in holding that such food was regarded as the proper fare of divine or semi-divine beings. The food of Zeus, when an infant in Crete, was the milk of the goat Amaltheia and honeycomb (Call. *Hym. in Jov.* 48, 49).

and for the bee that is in the land of Assyria. 19 And they shall come, and shall rest all of them in the [1]desolate valleys, and in the holes of the rocks, and upon all thorns, and upon all [2]pastures.

20 In that day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, *which is* in the parts beyond the River, *even* with the king of Assyria, the head and the hair of the feet: and it shall also consume the beard.

21 And it shall come to pass in that day, that a man shall nourish a young cow, and two sheep; 22 and it shall come to pass, for the abundance of milk that they shall give he shall eat butter: for butter and honey shall every one eat that is left in the midst of the land.

[1] Or, *rugged* [2] Or, *bushes*

the fly...the bee. Swarms of flies and bees are common figures for vast hosts (cf. Hom. *Il.* II. 469, ἠύτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλά...τόσσοι ...Ἀχαιοὶ ἵσταντο, Aesch. *Pers.* 126, πᾶς γὰρ ἱππηλάτας καὶ πεδοστιβὴς λεὼς σμῆνος ὡς ἐκλέλοιπεν μελισσᾶν); and bees are used as similes for aggressive enemies in Deut. i. 44, Ps. cxviii. 12. The text identifies the *fly* with Egypt (where flies are a constant plague, cf. xviii. 1, Ex. viii. 21—32) and the *bee* with Assyria (where bee-keeping is still much practised), thus implying that Judah would become the battle-ground between the two nations. But at this period Egypt was not in a position to make an inroad into Palestine, and it is possible that the explanatory clauses that follow the words *fly* and *bee* are (partially mistaken) glosses, and that only one hostile people is meant, viz. Assyria, which alone is mentioned in *v.* 20. If Egypt is really referred to, Isaiah's anticipations were not realized.

19. *in the desolate valleys.* Better, *in the precipitous ravines.* The various localities enumerated are designed to illustrate the ubiquity of the invading enemy.

20. *a razor that is hired.* The expression alludes ironically to Ahaz's hire of Assyrian help by the sacrifice of his treasures (2 Kgs. xvi. 7, 8).

the River. i.e. the Euphrates (cf. Jer. ii. 18, Mic. vii. 12).

the beard. Since this was regarded as a symbol of dignity, and injuries to it were acutely felt (cf. 2 Sam. x. 4, 5), the metaphor is significant of the utmost humiliation in store for the country (which is personified as a man, cf. i. 5).

21. *a young cow, and two sheep.* Such scanty possessions would attest the impoverished condition of the country.

22. *and it shall...eat butter.* If this clause is genuine, it indicates indirectly the wide extent of pasturage in comparison with the small numbers of the population and of their cattle: by some critics it is rejected as a gloss on the next (thought to describe great fertility).

23 And it shall come to pass in that day, that every place,
where there were a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings,
shall even be for briers and thorns. 24 With arrows and with
bow shall one come thither; because all the land shall be briers
and thorns. 25 And all the hills that were digged with the
mattock, [1]thou shalt not come thither for fear of briers and
thorns, but it shall be for the sending forth of oxen, and for
the treading of sheep.

[1] Or, *where never came the fear of briers and thorns, shall be &c.* Or, *there shall not come thither the fear...but it shall be &c.*

23. *a thousand vines at*, etc. i.e. vineyards formerly planted with costly vines will be reduced to thickets. A *silverling* (or *piece of silver*, Gen. xx. 16, Jud. xvii. 2) was a shekel, estimated to have been worth intrinsically about 2*s.* 8*d.*

24. *With arrows*, etc. i.e. wild beasts, in consequence of the depopulation of the country, will increase to such a degree (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 26, of Samaria) that the only persons who will resort to the land will be hunters in pursuit of game to supply their needs.

25. *the hills.* These were the usual sites for vineyards (v. 1).

digged with the mattock. Better, *hoed with the hoe* (see v. 6).

thou shalt not come, etc. The 2nd pers. must represent an indefinite subject: some critics would substitute *one shall not come* (as in *v.* 24).

for fear of briers, etc. Where briers and thorns abounded wild animals were to be dreaded. (For the construction cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3.)

it shall be for the sending, etc. i.e. it shall be fit for nothing but a cattle-run and sheep-walk (cf. on v. 17).

The prediction in *vv.* 17—25 of the devastation of Judah was not fulfilled until the reign of Hezekiah some 35 years later.

Additional Note on vv. 14—16.

Several explanations of this passage, differing from the one given on p. 48, have been suggested.

(1) The prophecy has been held to be a prediction of the birth of Hezekiah, the *virgin* (or *young woman*) being Ahaz's queen. But apart from the inappropriateness of the expression for the queen, the explanation is contradicted by the chronology, if any confidence can be placed in the statement (2 Kgs. xviii. 2) that Hezekiah was 25 years old at his accession; for whether this occurred in 727, 720 or 715 (see p. xli), he must have been born before 734.

(2) The *virgin* (or *young woman*) is identified by Gesenius with a woman who was about to become Isaiah's second wife[1]. The sign would then consist in the evacuation of Judah by its invaders within a short period (perhaps less

[1] Isaiah's first wife would be the mother of Shear-jashub.

than a year) of the time when the prophet was speaking—a happy occurrence which would be reflected in the name given by the prophet's wife to her first-born child[1]. According to this explanation the name and not the personality of the child is alone of importance. Verse 14 thus becomes an *indirect* prediction of speedy relief for Ahaz from the pressure of invasion, and the realization of it would be an earnest of the truth of the further prediction (in *v.* 16) of the final overthrow of Ephraim and Syria. This view has in its favour the analogy of viii. 1—4, where Isaiah embodies a prediction of evil for the confederates in the name of one of his children; but it renders it necessary to understand the concluding words of viii. 8 as merely implying that Judah was Immanuel's native land (not his *realm*), and it is scarcely probable that the prophet would describe the woman whom he was about to marry in the terms of *v.* 14.

(3) The prophecy is likewise regarded by Duhm and others as an indirect prediction of the withdrawal of the forces of Ephraim and Syria from Judah, but the term *virgin* or *young woman* is understood in an indefinite sense, the prophet's declaration in *v.* 14 being taken to mean that any young woman who was shortly to become a mother would have reason to call her child *Immanuel* because the retirement of the foe by that time would have manifested God's presence with His people[2]. Duhm omits *v.* 15—a proposal which is intrinsically defensible (see note)—and also emends viii. 8 (see note). This view does not account for the use of עַלְמָה (for the sense would be more appropriately expressed by אִשָּׁה), and seems to do less than adequate justice to the general tenor of the prophecies in viii. 9, 10, ix. 2—7.

(4) The prediction in *vv.* 14—16 is regarded by Davidson (Hastings, *DB.* II. pp. 454—456) as foretelling the birth, within a year, of a remarkable child, destined to be the pledge of his country's eventual deliverance, but is considered to have for Ahaz himself an exclusively sinister significance (the *therefore* of *v.* 14 introducing an announcement of the penalty provoked by the king's obstinate unbelief, *v.* 12). The prophecy is taken to have no reference to a deliverance for Judah by the imminent overthrow of Ephraim and Syria, but only to foretell an approaching devastation for Judah itself by Assyria during Immanuel's childhood, in consequence of the king's mistrust. This, however, involves either the omission of *v.* 16 altogether, or the correction of it to *For before the child...the good, the land shall be forsaken* (omitting אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה קָץ מִפְּנֵי שְׁנֵי מְלָכֶיהָ). In favour of this view is the use of the sing. *land*, which is more appropriate to Judah than to the *two* countries of Syria and Ephraim; but against it is the improbability that the prophecy should lack all reference to the destined frustration of the designs of Rezin and Pekah of which Isaiah was so convinced (see viii. 4).

(5) The name *Immanuel* is considered by Porter to express the popular faith that the Lord would be present with, and support, His people in their

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[1] Cf. the name *Ichabod*, given by the wife of Phinehas to her child born when the Ark was captured at Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv. 19—22).

[2] Peake (Hastings, *DCG.* I. 783) thinks that Isaiah predicts that *some* young woman will bear a son and, in virtue of her faith, will call his name Immanuel although he will be born in a time of invasion and distress.

emergency, whatever their conduct might be (cf. Am. v. 14); and Isaiah, to disabuse them, is supposed to declare that though a woman, sharing that belief, might give her child the name *Immanuel*, yet the significance of the name would be contradicted by the privations which he would have to undergo in his childhood in consequence of the desolation which was about to come on the land. This view, which requires the same explanation of viii. 8 as (2) and the same modification of *v.* 16 as (4), and is open to the same objections as (3), is opposed by the tenor of viii. 9, 10, which imply that Immanuel's name was for Isaiah of good augury, and which therefore have to be omitted.

CHAPTER VIII.

This c. consists of a number of detached utterances, most of which belong approximately to the same period as the previous c., and relate to the same subject (the crisis of 735—4).

VIII. 1 And the LORD said unto me, Take thee a great tablet, and write upon it [1]with the pen of a man, For [2]Maher-shalal-hash-baz; 2 and I will take unto me faithful witnesses to

[1] Or, *in common characters* [2] That is, *The spoil speedeth, the prey hasteth.*

VIII. 1—4. A renewed prediction of the overthrow, within a brief interval, of Damascus and Samaria.

This prophecy is a reiteration (later in date, see on *v.* 4) of the one contained in vii. 14—16; but unlike that, which was communicated only to Ahaz and his court, was made known to the populace at large, two devices being employed with a view to its wide dissemination.

1. *Take...tablet.* The putting of the prophecy into writing ensured not only its publication (cf. Hab. ii. 2), but its preservation; so that when the event predicted occurred, proof of the prophet's prevision would be at hand; cf. xxx. 8. The *tablet* (cf. πινακίδιον, Luke i. 63) was probably of wood or metal (the same word is used of a metal mirror in iii. 23), smeared with wax, upon which characters were drawn by means of an instrument like a Roman *stilus.*

the pen of a man. i.e. one suitable for making the letters that were generally employed and understood by the common people (cf. mg.) whose attention was to be attracted (cf. *the cubit of a man* in Deut. iii. 11 and *the number of a man* in Rev. xiii. 18). The Heb. script in use at the time was not that in which modern Hebrew Bibles are printed, but that which occurs in the inscriptions (Heb., Aram., Moabite) of the ninth and eighth centuries.

For Maher-shalal-hash-baz. Strictly, *Maher-shalal-hash-baz's* (cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 16, Heb.), the preposition marking possession, as in the case of engraved seals (e.g. לעבדיהו, *Obadiah's*)[1]. The phrase constituting the name means "Swift (is) spoil, speedy (is) prey," and is a condensed announcement of the imminent sack by Assyria of the capitals

[1] See Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 258.

record, Uriah the priest, and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah.
3 And I went unto the prophetess; and she conceived, and bare
a son. Then said the LORD unto me, Call his name Maher-shalal-
hash-baz. 4 For before the child shall have knowledge to cry,
My father, and, My mother, the riches of Damascus and the
spoil of Samaria shall be carried away before the king of
Assyria.

5 And the LORD spake unto me yet again, saying, 6 Foras-
much as this people hath refused the waters of Shiloah that go

of the two countries that were menacing Judah. The enigmatic sentence, calculated to excite curiosity, was doubtless explained orally by the prophet.

2. *and I will*, etc. Better (with the LXX. and Syr.), *and take*, etc. (הָעִידָה for אָעִידָה). The purpose of taking witnesses was to obtain evidence for the utterance of the prophecy before the event.

Uriah. Probably identical with the priest mentioned in 2 Kgs. xvi. 10, who would be a man of influence and therefore a valuable witness.

Zechariah. The person meant may have been the Levite bearing the name who is mentioned in connection with the reign of Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxix. 13).

3. *the prophetess.* Isaiah's wife is so called because of her connection with her husband (as the wife of a bishop or a priest in ecclesiastical canons is sometimes termed *episcopa* or *presbytera*).

Call his name. The use of such a name for the boy, as well as the sight of it upon the tablet, would keep the prediction which it conveyed in the minds of the people. For similar lengthy appellations see 1 Ch. xxv. 4, Num. i. 6; and cf. the names assumed by the English Puritans (e.g. "Had-not-Christ-died-for-me-I-had-been-damned-Barebone").

4. *For before*, etc. The present prophecy virtually repeats the prediction of vii. 16 (this foretelling the capture of the enemies' capitals, and that the devastation of their territory), but the limit fixed for its fulfilment is shorter, for the child would learn to utter simple words within a year or so. The prophecy is therefore a year, or perhaps two years, later than the one just cited. Though Damascus fell in 732 (2 Kgs. xvi. 9) Samaria was not taken till 722 (2 Kgs. xviii. 10).

5—8. A prediction of the invasion of Judah by the Assyrians in consequence of Ahaz's mistrust of the Lord.

This oracle, which bears the same relation to the preceding as vii. 17—25 does to vii. 3—16, must have been delivered after Ahaz had decided to rely upon the aid of Tiglath-pileser (2 Kgs. xvi. 7).

6. *this people.* i.e. Judah; cf. vi. 9.

the waters of Shiloah. These were the waters of Gihon, which at this time were conveyed (the etymological meaning of *Shiloah* is

softly, [1]and rejoice [2]in Rezin and Remaliah's son; 7 now therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the River, strong and many, *even* the king of Assyria and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks: 8 and he shall sweep onward into Judah; he shall overflow and pass through; he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, [3]O Immanuel.

[1] Or, *even them that rejoice* [2] Or, *with* [3] See ch. vii. 14.

"sent" or "conducted," cf. Joh. ix. 7) from the Kidron valley to the Lower pool of Siloam by an open channel (see on vii. 3). Springs and fountains had for Semitic peoples religious associations (at Gihon, as at a hallowed spot, Solomon had been consecrated king), and the waters of Shiloah, as they issued from the rock, above which the Temple stood, were an appropriate symbol of the Lord and the defence, little regarded but unfailing, which He ensured for His people (cf. Ps. xlvi. 4, 5) so long as they trusted Him.

rejoice in, etc. The expression seems to imply that a section of the people sympathized with the designs of Rezin and Pekah (vii. 6); but this is inconsistent with vii. 2. Hence most critics correct the text to *despond on account of* (reading מָסוֹס מִפְּנֵי for מְשׂוֹשׂ אֶת): cf. *v.* 12.

7. *the River.* The Euphrates (vii. 20) is here an emblem of Assyria (as it is of Parthia in Verg. *A.* VIII. 726).

even *the king...glory.* This clause is generally considered a superfluous gloss: cf. vii. 4, 17, 20. The king's *glory* is his imposing military power (cf. x. 16, xvii. 3, xxi. 16).

and he shall come up, etc. Strabo (XVI. 1, § 9) states that the Euphrates becomes swollen at the beginning of summer, when the snow melts in Armenia; see also Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* VII. 21, § 2.

his channels. i.e. the artificial canals of Assyria and Babylonia (cf. Ezek. xxxi. 12).

8. *he shall sweep*, etc. For the comparison of an invading host to a flood cf. xxviii. 2, 18, Jer. xlvii. 2, Nah. i. 8, Dan. xi. 10. Ephraim, with its ally Syria, would naturally be the object of Assyria's hostility, and Judah, which had thrown itself upon Assyrian protection, expected to be undisturbed; but Isaiah represents its chastisement as coming from the very power which it had preferred before the Lord.

even to the neck. Judah is likened to a man struggling in a swollen stream: cf. xxx. 28.

the stretching out of his wings. Better, *the extension of his margins.* The word which the R.V. renders by *wings* is used of the bounds of the earth in xi. 12, Job xxxvii. 3, xxxviii. 13, and is here employed of the edges of the spreading waters. It is not probable that there is a change of figure from a river in flood to a bird of prey (cf. Hos. viii. 1), still less (as Cheyne and Marti suppose) that the clause represents

9 [1]Make an uproar, O ye peoples, and ye shall be broken in pieces; and give ear, all ye of far countries: gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. 10 Take counsel together, and it shall be

[1] Or, *Break* According to some ancient authorities, *Associate yourselves.*

the Lord as a *protecting* bird (cf. xxxi. 5, Ps. xvii. 8, xxxvi. 7, xci. 4), and connects the contents with the section *vv.* 9, 10.

of thy land, O Immanuel. Ahaz's policy was calculated to bring devastation upon the native land and eventual realm of the wonderful child who was the pledge of the country's ultimate salvation. Duhm and other critics, in accordance with the view adopted by them of the prophecy in vii. 14, emend the concluding words of this *v.* to *shall fill the breadth of the land. For with us is God* (אֶרֶץ כִּי עִמָּנוּ אֵל for אַרְצְךָ עִמָּנוּ אֵל).

9—10. A challenge to Judah's enemies, and a prediction of their ultimate overthrow.

These two *vv.* are marked by a sudden transition from denunciation of Judah to defiance of its foes. The foes must be the Assyrians, not the Syrians and Ephraimites; for (*a*) the words *ye of far countries* are appropriate only to the former (v. 26), not to the latter; (*b*) the tone is too exultant to be evoked by a prospective triumph over contemptible enemies like Rezin and Pekah (vii. 4); (*c*) this passage resembles xvii. 12—14 and xiv. 24—27, both of which have the Assyrians in view. The utterance was probably intended for the circle of believers who attached themselves to Isaiah at this time, and designed to encourage them with the thought that, though the Assyrian would invade and devastate the country (*vv.* 5—8), he would be eventually repulsed. The use in *v.* 10 of the phrase *for God is with us* (recalling Immanuel's name, see mg.) renders unlikely the opinion of some critics that the section belongs to a later date (722 or 711) than its context.

9. *Make an uproar.* i.e. raise your war-cries. But better (if the text is sound), *Be harmful.* The peoples (Assyria and its subject nationalities, cf. xvii. 12, xxix. 7, xxx. 28) are bidden ironically to pursue against Judah their hostile projects and take the inevitable consequences (for the imperative cf. xxix. 9). The mg. *Break* (i.e. be broken) connects the verb with a different root. But the LXX. has *Take knowledge* (דְּעוּ for רֹעוּ), which suits better the parallel clause *give ear.* On the other hand, Aq., Sym. and Th. have συναθροίσθητε, and the Vulg. has *congregamini* (apparently reading רעו but connecting the verb with רעה instead of רעע): hence the mg. *Associate yourselves.*

and ye shall be broken in pieces. Cf. xxx. 31. This sentence, in the first half of the *v.*, where it destroys the balance of the clauses, should be omitted as an accidental reproduction of the same words that follow later.

gird yourselves. i.e. equip and arm yourselves for war.

brought to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for
[1]God is with us. 11 For the LORD spake thus to me [2]with a
strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the
way of this people, saying, 12 Say ye not, A conspiracy, concerning all whereof this people shall say, A conspiracy; neither fear
ye their fear, nor be in dread *thereof.* 13 The LORD of hosts,
him shall ye sanctify; and let him be your fear, and let him be

[1] Heb. *immanu El.* [2] Heb. *with strength of hand.* See Ezek. iii. 14.

10. *speak the word.* Better, *speak a word,* i.e. announce your resolve.

for God is with us. The prophet, to express his faith in his country's final triumph over its enemies, uses the name of Immanuel, the child whose advent was to be the earnest of it.

11—15. An exhortation to the prophet's followers not to share the popular apprehensions, but to repose confidence in the Lord. The subject here reverts to the situation produced by the attack of Rezin and Pekah.

11. *For.* The causal particle connects the section with *vv.* 5—8 (especially *v.* 6).

spake...strong hand. The expression *with a strong hand* originally referred to the abnormal physical conditions which sometimes characterised the earlier prophets, and which they attributed to their being in the grasp of a superior power (cf. 1 Kgs. xviii. 46, 2 Kgs. iii. 15); and the figure was retained by the later prophets to express the forcible mastery which strong mental impressions or convictions exerted over them (see Ezek. iii. 14, Jer. xv. 17).

the way of this people. i.e. their conduct in misjudging the relative power of their human antagonists and their Divine Protector (see *v.* 6). The pronoun *this* marks contempt: cf. on vi. 9.

12. *Say ye not,* etc. Isaiah and his disciples are warned by the Lord against discovering, like the multitude, reasons for panic in all directions. The term *conspiracy* can apply to the external coalition of Pekah and Rezin (cf. the verb in Neh. iv. 8); but, as the word *all* shews, the popular fears were not confined to this. Some critics (in view of *v.* 13) emend the text to *Say ye not, A holy thing, concerning all whereof this people shall say, A holy thing* (reading קֹדֶשׁ for קֶשֶׁר). This emendation supposes that Isaiah here utters a warning against superstitious practices, to which the populace, in its alarm, had recourse (cf. *v.* 19).

13. *him shall ye sanctify.* Better, *him shall ye count holy* and therefore to be held in awe (cf. xxix. 23). The words are adopted by St Peter in regard to our Lord (1 Pet. iii. 14, 15). Duhm, for the sake of a closer parallel with *Say ye not, A conspiracy* in *v.* 12, substitutes *him shall ye regard as the conspirator* (תַּקְשִׁירוּ for תַּקְדִּישׁוּ), i.e. fear Him as the source whence real danger will come (see *v.* 14).

your dread. 14 And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. 15 And [1]many shall stumble thereon, and fall, and be broken, and be snared, and be taken.

16 Bind thou up the testimony, seal the [2]law among my disciples. 17 And I will wait for the LORD, that hideth his face

[1] Or, *many among them shall stumble, and fall &c.* [2] Or, *teaching*

14. *for a sanctuary.* i.e. the Lord, to those who stand in awe of Him and trust Him, will be a centre of security—an asylum in circumstances of peril (cf. Ezek. xi. 16). The thought of a sanctuary as an asylum (cf. 2 Mac. iv. 33) seems to be derived from the altar to which those whose lives were in danger fled for refuge (Ex. xxi. 14, 1 Kgs. i. 50, ii. 28). By Duhm the word (which does not harmonize with his proposed correction of *v.* 13) is rejected from the text, since it spoils the balance of the clauses.

a stone of stumbling, etc. i.e. to all who underrate or ignore the Lord's power and goodness (as did Ephraim by its aggression, and Judah by its want of faith) He will be a cause of disaster (symbolised by the figures of an obstacle by which they will be tripped, and a snare by which they will be trapped): cf. Ezek. xliv. 12, xii. 13, xvii. 20, xix. 8, Ex. xxxiv. 12. Part of the *v.* is cited in Rom. ix. 33, 1 Pet. ii. 8.

15. *And many...thereon.* Better (with the LXX. and Vulg., followed by the mg.), *And many among them* (i.e. the people of Ephraim and Judah) *shall stumble*; cf. xxviii. 13, Hos. xiv. 9. The verse has influenced Luke ii. 34 (the *stone* being interpreted of Christ): cf. also Matt. xxi. 44.

16—18. Directions to preserve a record of the prophet's predictions.

This section must have been written after Isaiah had abandoned as fruitless further public opposition to the king's policy, and was content to wait, with a small body of adherents, for the vindication of his prescience.

16. *Bind.* A command of Isaiah's to an attendant to tie up and seal the roll upon which had been written the oracles (contained in cc. vii., viii.) that were to be preserved against the future (cf. xxx. 8, Jer. xxxvi. 2, Dan. xii. 4).

the testimony. Better, *the attestation* (or *admonition*), i.e. the solemn warnings and injunctions delivered through the prophet; cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 15.

the law. Better, *the teaching* (as in i. 10).

my disciples. It was probably these to whom Isaiah addressed most of his consolatory utterances (cf. p. xxxi), and whom he expected to form the nucleus of the remnant destined to survive the judgment.

17. *I will wait for the LORD*, etc. i.e. for the Lord's verification of the predictions of ill for the people at large and of eventual deliver-

from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him. 18 Behold, I and the children whom the LORD hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from the LORD of hosts, which dwelleth in mount Zion.

19 And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits and unto the wizards, that chirp and that mutter: should not a people seek unto their God? on behalf of

ance for those who should trust Him. The words are the prophet's personal expression of the same faith which he recommended to his countrymen (vii. 9, xxviii. 16).

hideth his face. A metaphor for the withdrawal of favour: cf. liv. 8, lvii. 17, lxiv. 7, Jer. xxxiii. 5, Mic. iii. 4, Ezek. xxxix. 23.

18. *I and...given me*, etc. In Heb. ii. 13 these words are applied to our Lord, and those who through Him become the children of God.

for signs and for wonders. Better, *for signs and tokens*, i.e. agencies designed to reveal God's purposes; cf. xx. 3, Ezek. xii. 6, xxiv. 24, Zech. iii. 8. The very sound of Isaiah's own name and those of his children (see pp. xvii, 44, 54) would recall to such as heard them the burden of his teaching.

which dwelleth, etc. Though the Lord, in Isaiah's conception, was far removed from being a national or a local deity (see vi. 3), yet Zion was the centre of His worship and His revelations (vi. 1 f., cf. Am. i. 2); and it was with Zion that His protective presence was expressly associated: cf. xiv. 32, xxviii. 16, xxxi. 5, 9 (cf. p. xxxvii).

19—22. A description of the perplexity and helplessness of those who in the coming distress should have recourse to necromancy.

This passage is united to the preceding by the reference in *v.* 20 to *v.* 16. In it the prophet's disciples, who are alluded to in the 3rd pers. in *v.* 16, are directly addressed, and cautioned against being misled by their superstitious countrymen.

19. *And when*, etc. The time contemplated is when the predicted judgment (*vv.* 7, 8, 14) has fallen, and people are seeking to obtain oracles from the dead. For *seek unto* cf. xi. 10, xix. 3.

them that...the wizards. Perhaps better, *the ghosts and the knowing folk*, the terms here designating the spirits of the dead (xxix. 4, cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 8), not the persons who professed to be able to call them up (who were in strictness described as *possessors of a ghost*, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7, cf. Lev. xx. 27) or to be in communication with them (Deut. xviii. 11, cf. Acts xvi. 16). The second of the two words here used is perhaps merely explanatory of the first. The Semitic belief that the dead possessed greater knowledge and power than the living, and could be appealed to for aid, had its parallel among the Greeks: cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 476—7, κλύοντες, μάκαρες χθόνιοι, τῆσδε κατευχῆς πέμπετ' ἀρωγήν.

chirp...mutter. The words express the feeble tones in which the spirits were supposed to speak: cf. xxix. 4, Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 100, ψυχὴ...

the living *should they seek* unto the dead? 20 To the [1]law and to the testimony! [2]if they speak not according to this word, surely there is no morning for them. 21 And they shall pass through it, hardly bestead and hungry: and it shall come to pass that, when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and

[1] Or, *teaching*
[2] Or, *surely according to this word shall they speak, for whom there is no morning*

ᾤχετο τετριγυῖα, Verg. *A.* VI. 492 (of the shades of the Greeks) *pars tollere vocem exiguam*, Shaksp. *Ham.* I. i., *the sheeted dead did squeak and gibber.* The LXX. by its rendering of the passage suggests that the means used by the medium to create the impression that the voice heard came from the Underworld was ventriloquism.

should not...God? Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 753, τί δῆτα μαντευόμεθα; τοῖς θεοῖσι χρὴ Θύοντας αἰτεῖν ἀγαθά, μαντείας δ' ἐᾶν. By some critics this and the next sentence are regarded not as an answer to the preceding exhortation, but as part of it, and rendered, *should not a people seek unto the spirits of their departed* (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 13, Heb.)? *on behalf of the living should they not seek unto the dead?*

20. *To the law*, etc. See on *v.* 16. This is the counter advice to be given to those who counsel resort to the necromancers: Let them seek the revelations of the Lord.

if they speak, etc. The translation of this clause, and its relation to the following *v.* is uncertain. If the text is sound and the connection of the passage unbroken, the best of several suggested renderings is the mg., *Surely according to this word shall they speak for whom there is no morning* (or *dawn*), i.e. assuredly they shall recognize as true the prophet's revelations when it is too late, and when the calamity, now impending, admits of no relief (for the metaphor cf. lviii. 8, lix. 9). But against seeking the subject of the verb *speak* (pl.) in the relative clause that follows it is the fact that the pronoun *for whom* is really singular (not pl.), and as the verbs in *v.* 21 are also singular (a fact disguised in the R.V.) it is probable that the clause *for whom there is no morning* refers to the subject of *v.* 21, and that after *this word* in *v.* 20 a lacuna should be assumed. If so, the subject of the verb *speak* is *the teaching and the admonition*, i.e. the Divine oracles which (it is implied) will be found self-consistent, and the passage will run: *Surely according to this word* (i.e. Isaiah's recent utterances) *shall they* (i.e. later revelations) *speak...For whom* (sing.) *there is no morning.*

21. *And he shall pass through*, etc.

21. *And they.* Better (as above), *And he.* The passage describes the misery of some wanderer, a representative of those who had disbelieved the Lord's warnings. The pronoun *it* refers to the land (presumably mentioned in a lost *v.*), which has been devastated as predicted (v. 13, vii. 18 f.).

when they shall, etc. Better, *when he shall be hungry, he shall burst into anger.*

[1]curse by their king and by their God, and turn their faces upward: 22 and they shall look unto the earth, and behold, distress and darkness, the gloom of anguish; [2]and [3]into thick darkness *they shall be* driven away.

[1] Or, *curse their king and their God*
[2] Or, *and thick darkness shall be driven away: for there &c.* [Ch. viii. 23 in Heb.]
[3] Or, *in*

curse by their king, etc. Better (with the Vulg.), *curse his king and his god, and turn his face upward.* The word *king* is a title for the divinity who has been consulted and trusted in place of the Lord; cf. Am. v. 26. The false god cannot, and the true God will not, aid him.

22. *they shall look.* Better, *he shall look.* Whether his eyes turn heavenward or earthward, they can see no promise of relief (cf. v. 30).

the gloom of...away. Cf. Jer. xxiii. 12. But perhaps better (after the LXX.), *the gloom of anguish and thick darkness, so that there is no seeing* (reading מֵרְאוֹת for מְנֻדָּח).

Chapter IX. 1—7.

This section forms a Messianic conclusion in the group of cc. vi. 1—ix. 7, and depicts, as a sequel to the description of distress contained in viii. 21, 22, a wonderful transformation destined to take place in the condition of the land and its people, the tyranny of the Assyrian oppressor being replaced by the righteous rule of a native sovereign.

The Isaianic oracle is contained in *vv.* 2—7, and exhibits the usual parallelism of Hebrew poetry. From the reference to the *throne of David* (*v.* 7) it appears to have in view the prophet's own land of Judah, and since *v.* 4 seems to reflect the actual experience of invasion (cf. x. 27, xiv. 25), it is perhaps to be assigned to the year 701 in the reign of Hezekiah, when Judah was occupied by the forces of Sennacherib, rather than to 734 (as its context suggests). But prefixed to the oracle is a prose introduction (*v.* 1), which is designed to connect it with the preceding section, viii. 19—22, and the writer of which has seemingly erroneously identified the land enveloped in darkness (viii. 22) with the provinces of N. Israel which were ravaged by Tiglath-pileser in 734.

The association of the future felicity here depicted with the reign of a national king (as in xi. 1—9, xxxii. 1—5) has been regarded as an objection to the Isaianic authorship of the passage, and a reason for assigning it to post-exilic times, it being maintained by some critics that Isaiah took a sombre view of his country's future (vi. 11, 12), and that his hopes for it were limited to the survival of a small religious community (viii. 16—18) without any political organization. But Isaiah certainly expected Jerusalem to survive the Assyrian invasion of 701 (x. 24—27, xiv. 32, xxviii. 16, xxix. 7, xxx. 19?, xxxiii. 5, xxxvii. 31—35); and in an Isaianic picture of its future a king might certainly be expected to figure, for the most glorious memories of Hebrew history were connected with a king (David), whose dynasty had occupied the throne of Judah continuously (save for the brief usurpation of Athaliah) for

some 300 years. Moreover, the king here portrayed is represented as promoting the same ideal as that which Isaiah himself had in view for his country—social righteousness (cf. i. 26); whilst there is no trace of exilic or post-exilic anticipations, such as the return of dispersed Israelites, the submission of the heathen, or their attendance at the Temple worship. Nor is it a serious difficulty that elsewhere Isaiah represents the personal presence of the Lord with His people as the guarantee of their safety and welfare (xxviii. 16, cf. iv. 5, 6?), for the Messianic king is what he is through being endowed with the spirit of the Lord (see xi. 2). There is, it is true, no explanation as to how the king is related to the reigning monarch; but to such a question an answer is scarcely to be looked for. The prophet was content to assert his conviction that a bright destiny under a native sovereign was in store for his country; the precise manner in which it was to come about he left for time to reveal[1]. On the relation of the passage to Christ see p. xl.

IX. 1 [1]But there shall be no gloom to her that was in anguish. In the former time he brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time hath he made it glorious, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, [2]Galilee of the

[1] Or, *For* [2] Or, *the district* [Ch. ix. 1 in Heb.]

IX. 1. *But.* Perhaps better (as in the mg.), *For.* The sentence is possibly an interrogation and to be regarded (with Duhm) as a gloss on the words *gloom of anguish* in the previous *v.*: *For is there not gloom to it* (i.e. the land) *which is in anguish?*

In the former time. i.e. in the unhappy past (cf. Zech. viii. 11). The allusion is to 734, when some of the northern districts of the kingdom of Ephraim were ravaged by Tiglath-pileser (see 2 Kgs. xv. 29 and p. 50). The whole of this *v.* probably comes from a post-exilic editor; and his reason for connecting the prophecy that follows with the Israelite provinces mentioned in it can only be conjectured: possibly he was a native of one of them.

he brought, etc. The subject is the Lord, Who was the ultimate Author of the distress alluded to.

Zebulun. This tribe occupied a small district N. of the plain of Jezreel (Esdraelon) and W. of Lake Chinnereth (the Sea of Galilee).

Naphtali. Naphtali's territory extended to the N. and E. of Zebulun.

in the latter time. i.e. in a happier and better future (cf. ii. 2).

hath he...glorious. The tense here must be a prophetic perfect (and so in *vv.* 2, 3, 4). The editor probably had in view the restoration of the northern tribes and their re-union with Judah in the Messianic age: cf. xi. 13, Am. ix. 11—15.

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[1] If the prophecy of Immanuel (vii. 14) really relates to the birth of a great Personality, Isaiah retained faith in his advent, in spite of his not being born within the period then predicted. Probably more than 30 years separated that prophecy from this.

nations. 2 The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the [1]shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. 3 Thou hast multiplied the nation, [2]thou hast increased their joy: they joy before thee according

[1] Or, *deep darkness* [2] Another reading is, *thou didst not increase the joy.*

by the way of the sea. i.e. towards the Mediterranean: cf. Gen. xlix. 13.

beyond Jordan. i.e. west of the (upper) Jordan, the position of Zebulun and Naphtali being described from the point of view of a post-exilic writer resident somewhere E. of Palestine (cf. 1 Kgs. iv. 24 mg.).

Galilee of the nations. Literally, *the circle of the nations* (cf. 1 Macc. v. 15, and the similar expression in Josh. xiii. 2, Heb.), and called sometimes simply *the circle* (*Galilee*), see Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 32, 1 Kgs. ix. 11, 2 Kgs. xv. 29; cf. Matt. iv. 12. The land occupied by the two tribes named was very incompletely subdued at the conquest, and in it a large Canaanite population survived (see Jud. i. 30, 33).

2. The original prophecy begins here, and is probably addressed to the prophet's own disciples, the expected survivors of the judgment (note *unto us*, *v.* 6).

The people. i.e. the inhabitants of Judah.

walked. A common Heb. synonym for *lived*: cf. Eng. *fare.*

darkness...light. Ordinary metaphors for adversity and prosperity; see v. 30, Lam. iii. 2, Mic. vii. 8.

the shadow of death. Better, *deep shadow* (cf. mg.): it is probably only by an error of pointing that the word has become associated with the idea of *death.*

Vv. 1, 2 are quoted in Matt. iv. 15, 16 in connection with our Lord's residence at Capernaum in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali.

3. *multiplied the nation.* Though an increase of population is a feature in many prophetic descriptions of the nation's future (xxvi. 15, xlix. 19, liv. 2, 3, Hos. i. 10), the parallelism favours the emendation *multiplied the rejoicing* (הַגִּילָה for הִגְדַּלְתָּ לֹא(לוֹ)) : cf. next note.

hast increased their joy. This (הִגְדַּלְתָּ לוֹ) is the reading of the Heb. mg. (supported by the Syr.): the Heb. text has הִגְדַּלְתָּ לֹא (supported by Sym. the Vulg. and perhaps the LXX., whose ὅ looks like a corruption of οὐ), which must be taken as a relative clause (*thou hast multiplied the nation*) *for whom thou didst not* formerly *increase joy* (a litotes for *whom thou didst greatly distress*). But the true reading is probably *thou hast increased the joy* (לוֹ and לֹא being merely corruptions of the last syllable of the concluding word of the preceding clause (הַגִּילָה)).

before thee. The expression implies that the Lord is recognized as the source of the people's joy.

to the joy in harvest, as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.
4 For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the
rod of his oppressor, thou hast broken as in the day of Midian.
5 For [1]all the armour of the armed man in the tumult, and the
garments rolled in blood, shall even be for burning, for fuel of
fire. 6 For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and
the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall
be called [2]Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, [3]Everlasting

[1] Or, *every boot of the booted warrior* [2] Or, *Wonderful counsellor*
[3] Heb. *Father of Eternity.*

the joy in harvest. Proverbial for great delight (Ps. iv. 7, cf. cxxvi. 6).

when they divide the spoil. Another proverbial occasion for great satisfaction (Ps. cxix. 162).

4. *the yoke*, etc. The terms used (the *yoke* which beasts of burden wore, *the staff*, and the *rod* (or *club*) with which slaves were beaten) are all symbols of the oppression which the nation had to endure from Assyria (cf. x. 24, 27, Nah. i. 13). But for *staff of his shoulder* some propose *yoke bar* (lviii. 6, 9) *of his shoulder*, reading מוֹטַת for מַטֵּה.

as in the day of Midian. i.e. as on the occasion of Midian's overthrow by Gideon (cf. x. 26, Ps. lxxxiii. 11 and see Jud. vii.). The Midianites were nomads who roamed the deserts S. and E. of Palestine (Ex. iii. 1, 1 Kgs. xi. 18, Jud. vi. 33).

5. *For all the armour*, etc. Better, *For every boot of him that tramps noisily* (cf. Jer. xlvii. 3). The original term for *boot* is probably an Assyrian loan-word. (See Burney, *JTS.*, Ap. 1910.)

the garments, etc. Better, *the cloak*, worn by soldiers, and after battle usually stained with blood. Some critics instead of *rolled* would read *defiled* (מְנֻאָלָה for מְגוֹלָלָה).

The articles here mentioned represent the accoutrements of the Assyrian troops, which, after their wearers have perished, will be collected and burnt: cf. Ezek. xxxix. 9, 10, Verg. *A.* VIII. 562, *scutorum incendi victor acervos.*

6. *is born.* The tense is a prophetic perfect, the birth being still in the future. The child is not the destined agent of the Assyrian overthrow—that is supposed to be achieved by the Lord—but is to be the nation's safeguard against the renewal of all danger in the future: cf. Mic. v. 5, and see p. 49.

his shoulder. On the shoulder the *insignia* of authority were carried (xxii. 22). Cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 10 (quoted by Gesenius), *expertus Pater quam bene humeris tuis sederet imperium.*

his name. The expressions that follow are separate titles descriptive of the characteristics of his rule (see on i. 26). Symmetry requires that they should be arranged as four (not five), each consisting of two words.

Wonderful, Counsellor. Better (as in the mg.), *Wonderful counsellor*

Father, Prince of Peace. 7 Of the increase of his government
and of peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David,
and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with
judgement and with righteousness from henceforth even for
ever. The zeal of the LORD of hosts shall perform this.

(literally, *a wonder of a counsellor*, cf. Gen. xvi. 12, *a wild ass of a man*), i.e. endowed with extraordinary understanding and prudence. Cf. Theod. θαυμαστῶς βουλεύων.

Mighty God. Better, *Divine Warrior*, (Heb. *El Gibbor*, literally, *a God of a warrior*). The term *El* was not exclusively used of beings believed to be really divine (x. 21), but was employed also of men in whom, as invested with godlike power or authority, God seemed to be present, see Ezek. xxxi. 11, xxxii. 21; perhaps cf. also the use of the synonym *Elohim* in Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 8, vii. 1, Ps. xlv. 6 (mg.). The expression *Divine Warrior* describes the child as endued with superhuman prowess.

Everlasting Father. Literally, *Father of* (i.e. *in*) *perpetuity* (cf. xlvii. 7), i.e. one who will be perpetually the father of his country (cf. xxii. 21, Gen. xlv. 8, Job xxix. 16, 1 Macc. ii. 65, Hom. *Od.* II. 234, οἶσιν ἄνασσε πατὴρ ὣς ἤπιος ἦεν). The term rendered *perpetuity* or *eternity* (see mg.), though used of God's existence (lvii. 15), is also employed to describe long, but not endless, duration (see Ps. xxi. 4, 6, Prov. xxix. 14). A word of identical form means *spoil* (xxxiii. 23, Gen. xlix. 27, Zeph. iii. 8), and hence some render *Father of spoil*, i.e. taker or possessor of booty; but this would seem to require בַּעַל instead of אָבִי.

Prince of Peace. i.e. ensuring for his subjects, by his successful rule, the blessings of prosperity: cf. Mic. v. 5.

7. *Of the increase*, etc. The Heb. text is irregularly written, and suggests that the word rendered *increase* is a corruption (through dittography) of an adjective, which is preserved in the LXX.; and the true reading probably is *Great will be his dominion, and of peace there will be no end.*

upon the throne, etc. It is a reasonable inference from these words that the child is regarded as sprung from the family of David (cf. xi. 1).

judgement...righteousness. Cf. xvi. 5, Ps. xlv. 4, 7, lxxii. 1—4. The qualities of the Messiah's rule (cf. xxxii. 1) recall those of David (2 Sam. viii. 15) and Solomon (1 Kgs. x. 9).

for ever. This does not refer to the duration of the king's life, but to the permanence of his kingdom or dynasty (Ezek. xxxvii. 25). The expression implies long continuance, not eternity (see on *v.* 6).

IX. 8—21.

This section is a separate prophecy (ix. 8 being obviously the beginning of an oracle) which is concerned exclusively with the kingdom of Israel (Ephraim) —see ix. 9, 21. As it appears here, it is imperfect, the concluding portion having been transferred to c. v. Its division into strophes, marked by the recurrence of a refrain[1], is very perceptible. The present passage, ix. 8—21, contains three (1) ix. 8—12, (2) ix. 13—17, (3) ix. 18—21: a fragment of a fourth is found in v. 25; and a fifth and final strophe occurs in v. 26—30. Many critics consider that another strophe, anterior to the last, exists in x. 1—4, which ends with the same refrain; but see note.

The character and date of the section are difficult to determine with confidence, not only from the obscurity of the allusions, but also from the uncertainty whether the past tenses in it relate to the actual past, or are prophetic perfects describing the future. The refrain, however, is most naturally understood of punitive blows that have already fallen; and on the whole the simplest view is that the three strophes contained in this c. (*vv.* 8—21) constitute a review of past chastisements, that the fragment of the fourth strophe in v. 25 is likewise retrospective, and that v. 26—30 (concluding the oracle) is alone a prediction of an impending final chastisement. Inasmuch as Syria appears only as the enemy of Ephraim, whereas in 734 it was its ally, the date is probably prior to that year, and the prophecy may have been written about 735, when Pekah had recently succeeded to the throne of Israel (Jotham being then king of Judah, 2 Kgs. xv. 32), and when the northern kingdom had begun to recover from the humiliation suffered under Menahem (2 Kgs. xv. 19, 20), and the alliance with Syria had not yet been contracted. The conclusion that the oracle is earlier than 734, the year of the Assyrian invasion of Gilead and Naphtali, is confirmed by the description of the Assyrians in v. 26—30, which implies that they were an unfamiliar foe.

8 The Lord sent a word into Jacob, and it hath lighted upon Israel. 9 And all the people shall know, *even* Ephraim and the

8—12. The first strophe. Ephraim, for its self-confidence, has been punished by attacks from its neighbours on either side.

8. *a word.* i.e. the prediction in v. 26—30 (see p. 36).

Jacob...Israel. Here synonymous with Ephraim, the northern kingdom.

hath lighted. Better, *shall light*, i.e. take effect (cf. Zech. ix. 1). The *word*, which is the expression of the Lord's will, is hypostatized (as it were) into a distinct entity, and despatched to work out its own fulfilment (see lv. 11, cf. xxxi. 2, Ps. cvii. 20, cxlvii. 15, Ecclus. xlii. 15). Similarly the divinely inspired utterances of Isaac and Balaam are represented as irreversible when once made (Gen. xxvii. 33, Num. xxii. 6).

9. *shall know.* i.e. shall discover by bitter experience (cf. Hos. ix.

[1] For similar refrains cf. ii. 6—22, Am. iv. 6—11, Ps. xlii. 5, 11, xliii. 5, xlvi. 7—11, xlix. 12, 20, lvii. 5, 11.

inhabitant of Samaria, that say in pride and in stoutness of heart, 10 The bricks are fallen, but we will build with hewn stone: the sycomores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars. 11 Therefore the LORD [1]shall set up on high against him the adversaries of Rezin, and [2]shall [3]stir up his

[1] Or, *hath set* [2] Or, *hath stirred* [3] Or, *join together* Or, *arm*

7, Job xxi. 19, Ezek. xxv. 14) what the Lord has purposed concerning them.

that say. In the original the sentence is imperfect, and should perhaps run (as suggested by Bickell), *that boasted in pride and in stoutness of heart, saying*, etc. The occasion alluded to was a time when the kingdom of Ephraim had undergone a recent decline; but instead of repenting of the sins which the decline was designed to chastise, it was full of confidence that it would not only regain, but surpass, its former prosperity (cf. Hos. v. 5, vii. 10, Am. vi. 13). The decline to which reference is made is perhaps that which the nation had experienced during the reigns of Zechariah, Shallum and Menahem, after the prosperity enjoyed under Jeroboam II. (see 2 Kgs. xiv. 23—xv. 22, and cf. Hos. vii. 1, viii. 8). The northern kingdom, besides being a land of much natural fertility, was placed on one of the main trade routes between the Euphrates and the Nile; and under favourable conditions its wealth doubtless accumulated rapidly.

10. *The bricks*, etc. The hoped-for retrieval of their recent misfortunes is described in terms borrowed from the reconstruction of a fallen edifice. *Bricks* formed the ordinary, *hewn stone* superior, building materials, cf. Am. v. 11, 1 Kgs. v. 17. *Sycomore* (not the tree known by that name in this country, but a species of fig, *ficus sycomorus*) furnished a wood that was common and cheap (1 Kgs. x. 27); whereas *cedars* (described by Jerome as *enodes et imputribiles*) afforded the choicest timber (2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Kgs. vi. 9 f.).

11. *shall set up*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *hath set up...hath stirred up.*

the adversaries of Rezin. If the text is sound, the expression must denote the Assyrians, to whom Rezin was tributary in 738, and who threatened the kingdom of Ephraim in the reign of Menahem (see 2 Kgs. xv. 19), but were bought off by that king. But the second half of the *v.* seems to identify the people meant with the Syrians; and hence it appears necessary to emend the phrase צָרֵי רְצִין. Among the emendations proposed are (1) *the princes of Rezin* (שָׂרֵי רְצִין)—which finds support in several Heb. MSS.; (2) *his* (Israel's) *adversaries* (צָרָיו),—omitting *Rezin* as a gloss; (3) *his* (Israel's) *adversary Rezin* (צָרֹה רְצִין), this being favoured by the LXX. (which seems to have misread it as צָרֵי הַר צִיּוֹן)[1].

[1] Whitehouse adopts the LXX. reading as the true text, and, taking the verb as a future, explains it to mean that the Syrians and Philistines, who were the enemies of *Judah* in 734, are to become the foes of Ephraim their former ally. He dates the oracle about 726 in the reign of Hoshea.

enemies ; 12 the Syrians [1]before, and the Philistines [2]behind ;
and they [3]shall devour Israel with open mouth. For all this
his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out
still.

13 Yet the people hath not turned unto him that smote
them, neither have they sought the LORD of hosts. 14 Therefore
the LORD [4]will cut off from Israel head and tail, palm-branch
and rush, in one day. 15 The [5]ancient and the honourable
man, he is the head ; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is

[1] Or, *on the east* [2] Or, *on the west* [3] Or, *have devoured*
[4] Or, *hath cut* [5] Or, *elder*

his enemies. i.e. Israel's enemies.

12. *the Syrians.* If the c. describes the past, it must be assumed that Syria, which had been conquered by Jeroboam II. (2 Kgs. xiv. 28)[1] recovered its independence under his successors in a war of which no record is preserved, but which ended with an alliance, the two foes uniting against Judah (vii. 1).

the Philistines. These, though they are not mentioned as having made war on Pekah, may be credited with having taken advantage of Israel's misfortunes whenever they could.

before...behind. i.e. on the E. and W. respectively (cf. Job xxiii. 8, Heb.). The Hebrews, when designating the points of the compass, faced the sunrise (cf. Joel ii. 20, Zech. xiv. 4 (Heb.), Ezek. xvi. 46).

shall devour. Better, *devoured.* The expression (for which cf. Jer. x. 25, xxx. 16) obviously does not imply complete destruction (see *vv.* 13 f.).

13—17. The second strophe. Impenitence has been avenged by a sudden disaster embracing all classes.

13. *hath not turned,* etc. Better, *did not turn* (cf. Am. iv. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11)...*neither did they seek* (i.e. consult, cf. xxxi. 1) *the Lord of hosts.*

14. *will cut off.* Better, *cut off,* by a hostile overthrow, civil commotions (cf. *v.* 20), or perhaps a pestilence.

palm-branch, etc. Figures (like *head* and *tail*) for the highest and lowest orders in the state (cf. xix. 15) : the destruction will be comprehensive.

in one day. i.e. within a brief period : cf. x. 17.

15. *The ancient.* Better, *The elder.* This *v.*, which explains the words *head* and *tail* to mean political and religious leaders respectively, seems to be a mistaken gloss, though its omission leaves the strophe defective.

that teacheth lies. i.e. communicates pretended revelations (Jer. xiv. 14).

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[1] The text of Kings in this passage is doubtful, see Burney *ad loc.*

the tail. 16 For they that lead this people cause them to err;
and they that are led of them are [1]destroyed. 17 Therefore
the Lord shall not rejoice over their young men, neither shall
he have compassion on their fatherless and widows: for every
one is profane and an evil-doer, and every mouth speaketh
folly. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is
stretched out still.

18 For wickedness burneth as the fire; it devoureth the
briers and thorns: yea, it kindleth in the thickets of the forest,
and they roll upward in thick clouds of smoke. 19 Through the
wrath of the LORD of hosts is the land [2]burnt up: the people
also are as the fuel of fire; no man spareth his brother. 20 And
one shall snatch on the right hand, and be hungry; and he shall

[1] Heb. *swallowed up.* [2] Or, *darkened*

16. *For they that lead*, etc. Better, *And the leaders of this people became misleaders, and they that were led were misguided* (or *confused*, cf. iii. 12, xxviii. 7, xix. 3, Ps. cvii. 27). By Duhm and Cheyne this *v.*, as well as the preceding, is rejected as an editorial addition.

17. *shall not rejoice*, etc. Better, *does not rejoice over* (a litotes for *withdraws His favour from*) *their young men* (i.e. their warriors, cf. xxxi. 8) *neither has he compassion on their fatherless and widows* (who are ordinarily the objects of His special care, cf. Ps. lxviii. 5, x. 14). Instead of *does not rejoice over* Duhm reads *does not spare* (literally, *does not pass over*), changing יִשְׂמַח to יִפְסַח: cf. xxxi. 5, Ex. xii. 13.

profane. i.e. irreligious (x. 6, xxxii. 6, xxxiii. 14), placing their confidence, not in the Lord, but in worldly policy.

speaketh folly. i.e. gives expression to sceptical utterances (like those in v. 19, xxviii. 15): cf. xxxii. 6.

18—21. The third strophe. A description of Israel's distracted condition.

18. *For wickedness*, etc. The lack of religious principle among the people, like a fire kindled in a forest, results in their destruction. For the comparison cf. i. 31, xxxiii. 12, Job xxxi. 12.

19. *burnt up.* i.e. by the flames of war (Num. xxi. 28, Ps. lxxviii. 63). The verb (which is ungrammatical) only occurs here, and the translation follows the LXX. (א, B) συγκέκαυται. The Vulg. has *conturbata est terra* (perhaps reading נָעָה for נֶעְתַּם); but the parallel clause favours *burnt up.*

are as the fuel of fire. To make this clause correspond more nearly to the next, Duhm proposes *the people became as man eaters* (כְּמוֹ אֹכְלֵי אִישׁ for כְּמַאֲכֹלֶת אֵשׁ); but see next note.

no man spareth, etc. This clause should probably be transposed to the end of *v.* 20, to the final clause of which it forms a parallel.

20. *And one shall snatch*, etc. Better, *And one cut off* (a portion)

eat on the left hand, and they shall not be satisfied: they shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm: 21 Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh: and they together shall be against Judah. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.

...and was hungry...ate...they were not satisfied. Internal feuds were a conspicuous feature in the history of the northern kingdom (1 Kgs. xv. 27—29, xvi. 9—12, 16—18, 2 Kgs. ix.), and of the four kings that immediately preceded Pekah three perished by violence (2 Kgs. 15).

they shall eat...arm. Better, *they eat*, etc. The expression *the flesh of his own arm* describes figuratively the suicidal character of such intestine strife. But the text should probably be corrected (with some support from LXX. A) to *they eat every man the flesh of his neighbour* (רֵעוֹ for זְרֹעוֹ); cf. Jer. xix. 9.

21. *Manasseh, Ephraim*, etc. The rivalry between these two tribes was of long standing (see Jud. viii. 1, xii. 1, etc.). Possibly Pekah, who gained the throne by the assassination of Pekahiah, belonged to Manasseh, since his fellow-conspirators were Gileadites (2 Kgs. xv. 25).

shall be against, etc. Better, *are against*. In Pekah's reign the hostility which so often marked the relations between the northern and southern kingdoms issued in the coalition against the latter of Ephraim and Syria.

For the conclusion of the poem see v. 25—30.

Chapter X. 1—4.

This section is probably misplaced. The refrain in *v.* 4 appears to connect it with the prophecy contained in ix. 8—21 and v. 25—30, of which it has been deemed by many critics to be one of the middle strophes (see p. 67). But against this connection are the facts (1) that the evils denounced are not the pride and factious spirit of a whole nation, but the unjust decisions of a particular class, (2) that the reference to *the desolation which shall come from far* (*v.* 3), which naturally means an Assyrian invasion, must, if this section is prefixed to v. 25—30, impair the impressiveness of the description of the Assyrians in v. 26 f. (where they seem to be alluded to for the first time). On the other hand, the denunciation of the ruling class, and the opening exclamation *Woe*, associate the passage with the prophecy v. 8—24 (which is directed against *Judah*, not Israel), and it is with the last-named section that it has been plausibly connected by Giesebrecht[1]. Accordingly the refrain in 4[b], which is really inappropriate after a prediction of the future (*vv.* 3—4[a]), must be regarded as a mistaken addition.

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[1] See his *Beiträge zur Iesaiakritik* (1890), pp. 1—24.

X. 1 Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and
to the writers that write perverseness: 2 to turn aside the needy
from judgement, and to take away the right of the poor of my
people, that widows may be their spoil, and that they may make
the fatherless their prey! 3 And what will ye do in the day of
visitation, and in the desolation which shall come from far? to
whom will ye flee for help? and where will ye leave your glory?
4 [1]They shall only bow down under the prisoners, and shall fall
under the slain. For all this his anger is not turned away, but
his hand is stretched out still.

[1] Or, *Without me they shall bow down &c.*

X. 1—4. The iniquity of the judges of Judah calls for vengeance, from which there will be no escape.

1. *that decree*, etc. The prophet's denunciation is directed against those responsible for inequitable judicial decisions. Such decisions, after being recorded, would constitute a body of case-made law, guiding subsequent judgments, so that injustice would be perpetuated.

that write perverseness. Better, *that register oppression*, i.e. oppressive sentences.

3. *of visitation.* i.e. of punishment (cf. Hos. ix. 7, Mic. vii. 4, Jer. x. 15).

the desolation. Perhaps better, *the storm* (the allusion being presumably to an Assyrian invasion). The direct question is obviously only appropriate if addressed to the people (Judah) amongst whom Isaiah was resident.

to whom. Idols (ii. 20), or the powers of the under-world (viii. 19, xxviii. 15), were impotent to aid, and the Lord was estranged.

your glory. Better, *your wealth* (cf. lxi. 6, Gen. xxxi. 1, mg.).

4. *They shall only*, etc. Perhaps better, *Except they bow down ...prisoners, they shall*, etc.: their only resource is captivity or death (cf. Jer. vi. 15, Ezek. xxxii. 20). But the original is obscure and perhaps corrupt. An ingenious emendation (by Lagarde) is *Beltis boweth down, Osiris is broken, and under the slain shall they fall* (בֵּלְתִּי כֹרַעַת חַת אֹסִיר for בִּלְתִּי כָרַע תַּחַת אַסִּיר). Osiris was an Egyptian deity, and Beltis, as the equivalent of *Baalah* or *Baalath*, "lady," might be applied as a title to the goddess Isis. The emendation (which is modelled on xlvi. 1, cf. also Jer. l. 2) pre-supposes that as early as Ahaz's reign (see p. 51) Egyptian deities had been introduced into Judah, but affirms that they will be found powerless to defend those who have trusted them and that their prostrate and shattered images will be buried beneath heaps of carnage. The concluding refrain should be omitted.

X. 5—34.

This oracle (distinguished from the preceding context by both contents and spirit) was addressed to Judah on the occasion of an invasion by Assyria, and designed to encourage the people by the assurance that the chastisement of which the Assyrians were the instruments (cf. vii. 18—20, viii. 5—8) would be regulated by the Divine purposes and not by the invader's ambition, and would not end in the total destruction of the Lord's people (cf. viii. 9, 10). The date must be at least later that 717, for mention is made in *v.* 9 of the capture of Carchemish, taken by the Assyrians in that year. By Cheyne *vv.* 5—9, 13, 14 are assigned to the reign of Sargon who, about 713—711, assailed Ashdod (see c. xx.) and in a contemporary inscription (if it is correctly interpreted) claims to have subdued Judah[1]. But on that occasion Isaiah anticipated that the Assyrian arms would be carried into Egypt and Ethiopia (xx. 4), whereas in the present oracle, composed apparently before the march of the invaders had actually reached as far south as Judah (*vv.* 28—32), the prophet regards their destruction as imminent. Hence the prophecy (so far as it is Isaiah's) is more plausibly attributed to the reign of Sennacherib and the year 701 (cf. the reflexions of the Assyrian king in *vv.* 8—11, 13, 14 with the language of Sennacherib in xxxvi. 18—20, xxxvii. 11—13). It thus approximately synchronizes with xxviii. 7—29 and cc. xxix.—xxxi., but is somewhat later than these; for whereas in the cc. just cited Isaiah aims at discouraging the false hopes of his countrymen, he here seeks to prevent a recoil from exaggerated self-confidence to exaggerated despondency. Certain superficial objections to the date (701) here assigned are considered in the notes on *vv.* 27, 28—34.

The authenticity of large portions of this section has been questioned; and those passages which are suspected with most reason are indicated as they occur.

5 [1]Ho Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, the staff in whose
hand is mine indignation! 6 I will send him against a profane

[1] Or, *Woe to Asshur*

5—15. The Assyrian proposes and the Lord disposes.

5. *the rod*, etc. The figures are confused, for Assyria cannot with consistency be regarded at the same time as being the instrument of God's wrath, and as wielding it (see *v.* 24). Probably the text should be corrected (with Duhm) to *the rod of mine anger, the staff of my indignation* (וּמַטֵּה זַעֲמִי, omitting הוּא בְיָדָם as an ill-considered gloss, based on *v.* 24); for the metaphor cf. Jer. li. 20.

6. *I will send.* Perhaps better, *I send.* The conception of foreign nations as agents for the accomplishment of the Divine purposes recurs in v. 26, xxxvii. 26.

a profane nation. i.e. a people false to their religious obligations: cf. ix. 17.

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[1] Schrader, *COT.*, I. p. 178.

nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a
charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and [1]to tread
them down like the mire of the streets. 7 Howbeit he meaneth
not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to
destroy, and to cut off nations not a few. 8 For he saith, Are
not my princes all of them kings? 9 Is not Calno as Carchemish?
is not Hamath as Arpad? is not Samaria as Damascus? 10 As
my hand hath [2]found the kingdoms of the idols, whose graven
images did excel them of Jerusalem and of Samaria; 11 shall I

[1] Heb. *to make them a treading down.* [2] Or, *reached*

the people of my wrath. i.e. the people against whom my anger is directed (cf. Jer. vii. 29, *the generation of his wrath*).

7. *he meaneth not so.* i.e. he does not deem himself merely empowered by God to inflict a limited chastisement upon offenders but free to pursue his own unrestricted schemes of spoliation and destruction (cf. xlvii. 6, Zech. i. 15).

8. *For he saith.* The subject of the verb is the Assyrian king, as impersonating the spirit and policy of his country.

Are not my princes, etc. His reasons for counting upon a triumph over Jerusalem are the rank and power of his officers (who are vassal kings) and his previous successes over other cities.

9. *Calno.* LXX. Χαλαννή, usually identified with *Kullani,* a country near Arpad and subdued by Tiglath-pileser in 738: cf. Am. vi. 2.

Carchemish. Identical with the Greek Eurōpos and the mod. *Jerâbis,* on the right bank of the upper Euphrates; it was an important Hittite city and was taken by Sargon in 717.

Hamath. The Greek Epiphaneia (now called *Hamah*), on the Orontes, conquered by Tiglath-pileser in 738, and reconquered by Sargon in 720.

Arpad. The mod. *Tell Erpâd,* not far from Aleppo; taken by Tiglath-pileser in 740 and again by Sargon in 720.

Samaria. Subjugated by Sargon in 722.

Damascus. Taken by Tiglath-pileser in 732.

10. *my hand.* The Assyrian speaks in a representative character, since the cities named in *v.* 9 were not all subdued by the same king.

found. Better (as in the mg.), *reached* or *seized* (and so in *v.* 14); cf. Ps. xxi. 8.

the idols. Better, *the non-entities* (cf. on ii. 8), i.e. gods who by the arbitrament of events were proved to be impotent beside those of Assyria (cf. xxxvi. 18, 19, xxxvii. 12). But some (guided by the LXX.) would replace *the kingdoms of the idols* by *these kingdoms* (לְמַמְלְכוֹת הָאֵלֶּה for לְמַמְלְכוֹת הָאֵלִיל).

of Jerusalem and of Samaria. The two cities are here coupled together as though they were both still uncaptured, whereas Samaria

not, as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols?

12 Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion and on Jerusalem, I will [1]punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. 13 For he hath said, By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the peoples, and have robbed their treasures, and I have brought down as a valiant man [2]them that sit *on thrones*: 14 and my hand hath found as a nest the riches of the peoples; and as one gathereth eggs that are forsaken, have I gathered all the earth: and there was none that moved the wing, or that opened the mouth, or chirped.

[1] Heb. *visit upon.* [2] Or, *the inhabitants*

had been already taken (*vv.* 9, 11); and the inconsistency has led to the *v.* being regarded as an insertion. It is certainly superfluous, *v.* 11 connecting naturally with *v.* 9. By Cheyne both *v.* 10 and *v.* 11 (as well as *v.* 12) are considered to be interpolations on the ground that the term *idols* is inappropriate in the mouth of an Assyrian.

12. *Wherefore*, etc. This *v.* (including *For he hath said* in *v.* 13) is in prose, and as it interrupts the Assyrian's soliloquy, may be an insertion.

his whole work. i.e. the correction of His people (xxviii. 21, cf. v. 12, 19).

I will punish. Better (with the LXX.), *he will punish.*

the fruit of the stout heart. i.e. the outcome (the vaunting) of his self-confidence (ix. 9).

13. *By the strength*, etc. Sennacherib and other Assyrian kings in their inscriptions do not, as here represented, arrogate to themselves all their successes, but ascribe them to the favour of the national God Asshur[1].

the bounds of the peoples. The Assyrian policy of obliterating national boundaries by the deportation of subjugated populations (2 Kgs. xvi. 9, xvii. 6, 24) offended Hebrew religious sentiment, for the bounds of nations were thought to have been fixed by the Lord Himself (Deut. xxxii. 8).

as a valiant man. Perhaps better, *as a Mighty One* (i.e. a god, cf. i. 24). But the LXX. seems to have had עָרִים for כַּאֲבִיר and the text, which seems defective, may be corrected (with Mitchell) to *I have brought down cities to the earth* (Duhm, *into the dust*), *and I have made their inhabitants to perish* (reading וָאוֹרִיד לָאֶרֶץ עָרִים וָאֹבִיד יוֹשְׁבֵיהֶן).

[1] Schrader, *COT.*, I. pp. 240, 284.

15 Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? shall the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if a rod should shake them that lift it up, *or* as if a staff should lift up *him that is* not wood.

16 Therefore shall the Lord, the LORD of hosts, send among his fat ones leanness; and [1]under his glory there shall be kindled a burning like the burning of fire. 17 And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame: and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day. 18 And he shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body: and it shall be [2]as when a

[1] Or, *instead of* [2] Or, *as when a sick man pineth away*

15. *Shall the axe*, etc. The Assyrian's speech ends at *v.* 14, and this *v.* is a comment upon it. His independence is imaginary, and his self-assertion is as ridiculous as would be that of a tool or a staff (cf. *v.* 5) seeking to invert relations with a human being who used it; cf. the similar rebuke in xxix. 16, xlv. 9. Cheyne rejects the *v.* as "an ironical insertion like xxix. 16."

16—19. An announcement that the Assyrian's vaunted power will be reduced to impotence.

The predicted disappearance of the martial strength that had fostered the Assyrian's pride is represented under two incongruous figures which are strangely entangled with one another—viz. the wasting of a human body through disease, and the destruction of a forest by fire. The mixture of metaphors has led Cheyne, Duhm, and Marti to regard the section as non-Isaianic and late: cf. Zech. xii. 6.

16. *his fat ones.* i.e. (possibly) his stalwart warriors (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 31). But better (in this connection, see *v.* 18 mg.) *his fat limbs* (cf. Ps. x. 10, *his strong ones*, i.e. his strong limbs or claws), a figure for his prosperous condition: cf. xvii. 4.

leanness. A figure for adversity; cf. xxiv. 10 mg.

his glory. i.e. his nobles (cf. v. 13 mg.), or preferably, his military power and resources (cf. viii. 7, xvii. 4), which will be annihilated: cf. xxxi. 8, xxxiii. 12.

17. *the light of Israel.* A title of the Lord, usually expressive of His power to illuminate and cheer (cf. ii. 5, Ps. xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 9), but (since a source of light is ordinarily a source of heat) suggestive also of His capacity to consume and annihilate (cf. xxx. 27, Deut. ix. 3).

his thorns...briers. Brushwood burns easily, and the Assyrian power will consume with equal rapidity: cf. ix. 18, xxxiii. 12, Ps. lxxxiii. 14.

in one day. Not to be understood literally, but equivalent to "speedily": cf. ix. 14.

18. *his fruitful field.* Better, *his plantation* (or *orchard*). The

standardbearer fainteth. 19 And the remnant of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them.

20 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the remnant of Israel, and they that are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay upon him that smote them; but shall stay upon the LORD, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. 21 [1]A remnant shall return, *even* the remnant of Jacob, unto the mighty God. 22 For though [2]thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, *only* a remnant [3]of them shall return: a consumption *is* determined,

[1] Heb. *shear jashub*. See ch. vii. 3.
[2] Or, *thy people, O Israel* [3] Heb. *in it*.

metaphor of the briers and thorns is here replaced by kindred ones: cf. the similar figures in xxxii. 19, Jer. xxi. 14, xlvi. 23.

soul and body. A phrase expressive of the completeness of the disaster destined to overtake them. There is an abrupt change to the figure of *v.* 16[a]: cf. the combination of metaphors in xxviii. 18.

when a standardbearer, etc. Better (in harmony with the figure of *v.* 16[a]), *when a sick man wastes away* (cf. mg.).

19. *And the remnant*, etc. The writer returns to the metaphor of the forest fire (*vv.* 16[b]—18[a]). So extensive will be the destruction wrought that the trees left standing (i.e. the surviving Assyrian forces) will be few enough for even a child to count.

20—23. The conversion, to the Lord, of the survivors in Judah.

This passage interrupts the connection between *vv.* 19 and 24, for the *therefore* of *v.* 24, which introduces an exhortation to Israel to lay aside its fears is the natural sequence of the encouraging prediction of Assyria's discomfiture in *vv.* 16—19 and not of a reminder that Judah is to be all but completely exterminated (*vv.* 22, 23). It is, moreover, not free from internal difficulty (see on *v.* 20). In view of these facts many critics with some justice regard it as a late interpolation, though reproducing Isaianic expressions (cf. *v.* 20 with iv. 2, *v.* 21 with vii. 3, Heb., *v.* 23 with xxviii. 22).

20. *him that smote them*. i.e. Assyria. Judah relied for support upon Assyria in the reign of Ahaz (2 Kgs. xvi. 7), not in the reign of Hezekiah (when the foreign power from which help was sought was Egypt, xxx. 2, xxxi. 1).

in truth. i.e. sincerely and steadfastly; cf. xlii. 3.

21. *shall return*. i.e. shall reverse the present distrustful attitude of the nation: cf. i. 26, 27, xxx. 15, ix. 13, xxxi. 6.

the mighty God. Or, *the Divine Warrior*: cf. Jer. xxxii. 18, Deut. x. 17.

22. *For though...be*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *For though thy people, O Israel, be*, etc. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 17, xxxii. 12.)

a consumption, etc. Better, *destruction is decided upon*, i.e. the extermination of the sinful majority in Israel is irrevocably fixed: cf. Dan. ix. 27.

overflowing with righteousness. 23 For a consummation, and that determined, shall the Lord, the LORD of hosts, make in the midst of all the [1]earth.

24 Therefore thus saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts, O my people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of [2]the Assyrian: though he smite thee with the rod, and lift up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt. 25 For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall be accomplished, and [3]mine anger, in their destruction. 26 And the LORD of hosts shall stir up against him a scourge, as in the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb: and [4]his rod shall be over the sea, and he shall lift it

[1] Or, *land* [2] Heb. *Asshur.* [3] Or, *mine anger* shall be *to their &c.*
[4] Or, *as his rod was over the sea, so shall he &c.*

overflowing with righteousness. The process of destruction, which is likened to a flood (cf. viii. 8, xxviii. 15, 18), will be an execution of justice (cf. i. 27, v. 16).

The *v.* is used by St Paul in Rom. ix. 27, 28 of the exclusion of the majority of the Jews from the privileges of Christianity.

23. *For a consummation*, etc. Better, *For an end, and that a decisive one, shall*, etc. The words are a citation, slightly modified, of part of xxviii. 22 (which has also influenced Dan. ix. 27).

24—27. An exhortation to the inhabitants of Zion to patience and hope.

24. *Therefore*, etc. This is the sequel of *v.* 15 or 19.

after the manner, etc. i.e. as the Egyptian task-masters were wont to do (Ex. ii. 11, v. 14).

25. *the indignation.* Perhaps better (by a slight addition), *my indignation* (against Judah): cf. *v.* 5 and xxvi. 20.

and mine anger, etc. Better, *and mine anger* shall turn *to their* (the Assyrians') *destruction* (reading עַד (with two MSS.) for עַל).

26. *stir up.* Better, *lift up* or *wield* (2 Sam. xxiii. 18). For the imagery cf. xxx. 30—32.

as in the slaughter of. Better, *like the smiting of.* See Jud. vii. 25; cf. ix. 4 (sup.) and Ps. lxxxiii. 9—11. The *rock of Oreb* may have meant originally "the Raven's rock"[1].

and his rod, etc. The mention of the sea is inappropriate in connection with the impending overthrow of Assyria, and if the text is retained the rendering must be *and his rod* (which was once stretched) *over the sea* (Ex. xiv. 26, 27) *he shall lift up*, etc. (cf. mg.). But this is awkward; and the text should perhaps be corrected, with Winckler (*ap.* Mitchell), to *and his rod over them* (the Assyrians) *he shall lift up* (reading עֲלֵיהֶם יִשָּׂא for עַל־הַיָּם וְנִשָּׂאוֹ).

[1] Cf. *En-hakkore*, "the Partridge's spring" (Jud. xv. 19).

up after the manner of Egypt. 27 And it shall come to pass in that day, that his burden shall depart from off thy shoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck, and the yoke shall be destroyed [1]because of [2]the anointing.

28 He is come to Aiath, he is passed through Migron; at

[1] Or, *by reason of fatness* [2] Heb. *oil.*

after the manner, etc. i.e. as He lifted it over the Egyptians (cf. Am. iv. 10).

27. *his burden.* Although Hezekiah had thrown off the yoke of Assyria before 701, the invasion of that year virtually reimposed it.

because of the anointing. i.e. because of the consecrated character of the Judæan people (cf. Ps. cv. 15); but this is too obscurely expressed to be the true sense. The mg. *by reason of fatness* implies that Judah, like an ox, will wax so lusty and vigorous (cf. Deut. xxxii. 15) as to break its yoke by its restiveness; but the tenor of the whole passage is that deliverance will come to the nation not through its own strength but through the intervention of the Lord. Hence Duhm connects *shall be destroyed* with the previous clause, and emends the remaining words to *He is ascended from Pene Rimmon*, transferring them to the following *v.* (reading יְחֻבָּל: עָלָה מִפְּנֵי רִמּוֹן for וְחֻבַּל עֹל מִפְּנֵי־שָׁמֶן)[1]. *Pene Rimmon* (for this form of name cf. *Peniel*, Gen. xxxii. 30) is a hypothetical locality; but a *rock of Rimmon*[2] is mentioned in Jud. xx. 45, 47, and a place 3½ m. E. of Bethel still bears the name *Rammon.*

28—34. A description of the Assyrian advance towards Jerusalem, and of its sudden frustration.

The places named are, so far as they can be identified, all N. of Jerusalem; so that the Assyrians must be supposed to be advancing from the direction of Samaria. When Sennacherib's army approached Jerusalem in 701 it came from Philistia in the S.W. (see xxxvi. 2), but prophetic descriptions of the future were not so uniformly accurate that the discrepancy necessitates the assignment of this section to another date than 701 (e.g. 722, Cheyne). In the original, assonances occur in connection with some of the place-names (cf. Mic. i.).

28. *He is come.* The perfect tenses are prophetic perfects.

Aiath. i.e. Ai or Ayyah (1 Ch. vii. 28 mg.), 9 m. N.N.E. from Jerusalem and rebuilt since Joshua's time (Josh. viii. 28), the mod. *Tell el Chajar.*

Migron. The mod. *Makrun*, north of Michmash; the Migron of 1 Sam. xiv. 2 was south of the latter place.

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[1] W. R. Smith proposed (*and the yoke from off thy neck*) *shall cease. A destroyer hath ascended from the north* (reading יֶחְדָּל: עָלָה מִצָּפוֹן שֹׁדֵד) which has the advantage of giving a nominative to the verbs that follow in *v.* 28, but departs from the received text further than Duhm's emendation. Duhm in ed. 2 accepts יֶחְדָּל.

[2] Rimmon (Rammân) was a Syrian god (2 Kgs. v. 18).

Michmash he layeth up his baggage: 29 they are gone over the
pass; [1]they have taken up their lodging at Geba: Ramah
trembleth; Gibeah of Saul is fled. 30 Cry aloud with thy
voice, O daughter of Gallim! hearken, O Laishah! [2]O thou
poor Anathoth! 31 Madmenah is a fugitive; the inhabitants
of Gebim [3]gather themselves to flee. 32 This very day shall
he halt at Nob: he shaketh his hand at the mount of the
[4]daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.

[1] Or, *Geba is our lodging*, they cry
[2] Or, as otherwise read, *answer her, O Anathoth!*
[3] Or, *make* their households *flee*
[4] Another reading is, *house*.

Michmash. This, named in 1 Sam. xiii. 2, xiv. 31, etc., is the mod. *Muchmas*, 7 m. from Jerusalem.

layeth up, etc. i.e. to facilitate the ascent of the southern slope of the pass (*v.* 29).

29. *the pass.* i.e. the Wâdy Suweinit, a defile separating Michmash on the N. from Geba on the S. (cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 23, xiv. 4, 5).

they have taken, etc. Better (with the Vulg.), *Geba is our bivouac* (they cry): cf. mg. The place (identified with the mod. *Jeba*) was in Benjamin.

Ramah. A town near the frontier of the Judæan territory (1 Kgs. xv. 17), the mod. *Er-Râm*, S.W. of Geba.

trembleth. The description (from here to the end of *v.* 31) depicts the alarm of the Judæan towns lying near the route followed by the Assyrians.

Gibeah of Saul. Saul's home (1 Sam. x. 26): probably the mod. *Tell-el-Fûl*, a little more than 4 m. from the capital.

30. *Gallim...Laishah.* These (the first is alluded to in 1 Sam. xxv. 44) have not been identified with certainty.

O thou poor Anathoth. The context is in favour of a verb rather than an adjective, and the Syriac supports a different pointing (cf. mg.) *O Anathoth, answer her* (עֲנִיהָ for עֲנִיָּה); but the clause is parallel to the following (not the preceding), and Mitchell suggests *Anathoth cowereth* (עָנְתָה). Anathoth (the birthplace of Jeremiah) is the mod. *Anâta*, 3 m. N.E. of Jerusalem.

31. *Madmenah.* Thought to be the mod. *Shafat.*

Gebim. The site is unknown.

gather themselves, etc. Perhaps better, *make* (their cattle) *to flee into safety* (cf. Ex. ix. 19).

32. *Nob.* A city where, in David's time, a community of priests lived (1 Sam. xxii. 11). The situation is not precisely known, but it is conjectured to have been on Mount Scopus, where preparations would be made for the assault upon Jerusalem.

shaketh, etc. A gesture of menace: cf. xix. 16, xi. 15.

daughter. So the Heb. mg., LXX. and Vulg.: the Heb. text has *house*.

33 Behold, the Lord, the LORD of hosts, shall lop the boughs with terror: and the high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the lofty shall be brought low. 34 And he shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one.

33. *Behold*, etc. The moment the enemy gets within sight of his goal, his career is arrested (cf. xiv. 25, xvii. 14, xviii. 5, xxix. 7, xxxi. 5, xxxvii. 35 f.).

the boughs. The figure of the forest (*v.* 18) is resumed, but it is here represented as destroyed not by burning but by felling.

with terror. Better, *with a shock* (or *crash*), for which Duhm would substitute *with an axe* (reading בַּמַּעֲצָד for בְּמַעֲרָצָה): cf. *with iron* (*v.* 34).

34. *and Lebanon.* Better, *and the Lebanon*, a metaphor, like *the thickets of the forest*, for the Assyrian host.

by a mighty one. i.e. the Lord. Some substitute a tool, to suit the parallelism, but possibly the text should be emended (after the LXX. σὺν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς, Vulg. *cum excelsis*) to *with its mighty ones* (i.e. its cedars) —בְּאַדִּירָיו for בְּאַדִּיר: cf. Zech. xi. 2, Heb.

CHAPTER XI.

This c. consists of two distinct sections (1) *vv.* 1—9, (2) *vv.* 11—16, together with an intervening *v.* (10) designed to unite them. The first section foretells the advent, and describes the equitable and pacific reign, of a gifted king of the family of David; whilst the second predicts a return of Hebrew exiles from various countries, and their future supremacy over neighbouring lands. The two parts are of different origin and date.

XI. 1—9.

This section forms an appropriate sequel to the preceding (x. 5—34), to which it affords an effective contrast, setting over against the arrested violence and arrogance of the Assyrian king the just and tranquil rule of a native prince, and completing the description of Israel's tribulation and rescue with a picture of its final felicity (cf. the relation of xxxii. 1—8 to c. xxxi.). But though the section, in relation to the previous c., is artistically in place, it is probably separate in date, and may be assigned to a time when the Assyrians had completely withdrawn from Judah.

The correspondence in attributes and functions between the child whose birth is predicted in ix. 6, 7 and the ruler here described (*vv.* 1—5) is exceedingly close. As the first is to be entitled *Wonderful Counsellor* and *Divine Warrior*, is to sit on the throne of David, to rule with righteousness, and to establish a reign of peace, so the second is to be endued with the spirit of counsel and might, to spring from the same stock as David, to judge with equity, and to diffuse a peace embracing even the animal creation. The resemblance makes it clear that the writer on both occasions had before him

the same ideal figure, though the description in the present passage is the more elevated and spiritual. There is no sufficient reason to doubt that both passages were composed by Isaiah, and several objections advanced against both in common have already been considered (see p. 62). In addition, it has been urged against the authenticity of the present section that (*a*) it presupposes the fall of the Davidic dynasty (*v.* 1) and so could only have been written after the destruction of Jewish independence; (*b*) that the hope of a universal peace, extending even to the animal creation, is only paralleled in post-Isaianic compositions (lxv. 25, Hab. ii. 14). But (*a*) *v.* 1 does not necessitate the conclusions drawn from it (see note); and (*b*) the hope of a return to the conditions of the Golden Age of the past (Gen. ii. especially *vv.* 19, 20) cannot be deemed more improbable in the eighth than in subsequent centuries.

XI. 1 And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit: 2 and the spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of

XI. 1. *a shoot...a branch.* For the application of the terms to the offshoot of a family see xiv. 19, Dan. xi. 7: cf. ἔρνος and ὄζος in Greek (Hom. *Il.* II. 540, Ἐλεφήνωρ ὄζος Ἄρηος). See also Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15, Zech. iii. 8 (though a different word is used).

It is apparently this prophecy which in St Matthew's Gospel (ii. 23) is regarded as fulfilled by our Lord's residence at Nazareth (the name of which the writer associates with the Heb. for *branch*, נֵצֶר).

the stock of Jesse. It is implied that the coming Ruler is to be of the royal Judæan house (cf. ix. 7), which has suffered severely (in common with the nation, x. 12, 24), but has not been removed from its native soil: contrast Ezek. xvii. 4, 22, 23. The expression *stock of Jesse* is used, instead of the more natural *stock of David* (cf. Rev. v. 5, xxii. 16), the better to suggest that the future Prince is himself to be a second David (cf. Mic. v. 2).

shall bear fruit. The renderings of the LXX., Syr. and Vulg. have suggested the emendation *shall bud* (יִפְרַח for יִפְרֶה).

2. *and the spirit*, etc. The spirit of the Lord was deemed the source of all personal endowments or conditions beyond the ordinary (see Jud. iii. 10, vi. 34, xi. 29, xiii. 25, xiv. 6, 19, Ex. xxxi. 3, Num. xi. 25, 1 Sam. x. 6, xi. 6, xvi. 13, Is. xxviii. 6, xxxii. 15, Joel ii. 28). Here it confers upon the Messiah the highest excellences of mind and character, as estimated by the needs of the times (for the duty of a Hebrew king was to deal justice to his subjects, and to lead them in battle against their foes (see 1 Sam. viii. 5, 20, 1 Kgs. iii. 9: cf. 2 Sam. xv. 2, 4, 2 Kgs. xv. 5, Jer. xxi. 12, Ps. lxxii. 3, 4)). Hence of the three pairs of attributes with which he is to be invested the first are the intellectual faculties of the judge (cf. Deut. i. 13, 1 Kgs. iii. 9, 12), the second the practical qualities of the administrator and warrior (cf. xxxvi. 5), and the third the fundamental principles of all moral life (Prov. ix. 10, Ps. cxi. 10).

knowledge and of the fear of the LORD; 3 and [1]his [2]delight
shall be in the fear of the LORD: and he shall not judge after
the sight of his eyes, neither [3]reprove after the hearing of his
ears: 4 but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and
reprove with equity for the meek of the [4]earth: and he shall
smite the [4]earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath
of his lips shall he slay the wicked. 5 And righteousness shall
be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.
6 And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall

[1] Or, *he shall be of quick understanding* [2] Heb. *scent.*
[3] Or, *decide* [4] Or, *land*

3. *his delight*, etc. Literally, *his smelling* (cf. Gen. viii. 21, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, Am. v. 21). If the clause is genuine, it describes the king's satisfaction in the piety of his subjects. But it is metrically redundant and is probably a corrupt repetition of the last clause of *v.* 2.

he shall not judge, etc. In the dispensing of justice (a function of the Messiah in Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15) he will not be misled by appearances or misrepresentations, but will be empowered to discern the truth with unfailing certainty; cf. xxviii. 6, 2 Sam. xiv. 20.

reprove. Better (as in the mg.), *decide* or *arbitrate* (and so in *v.* 4).

4. *the meek of the earth.* Better (by a slight emendation of one word), *the needy of the land* (עֲנִיֵּי for עָנִוִי, cf. Sym. τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῆς γῆς), since a word denoting not a disposition but a condition is required, and since the sphere of the Messiah's authority is Judah (*v.* 9[a]), not the whole world: cf. the parallelism in x. 2, xxvi. 6.

smite the earth. i.e. the impious inhabitants of the earth (or land): cf. xiii. 11. But in view of the parallelism, better (by a slight correction) *smite the terrible* (or *the tyrant*), reading עָרִיץ for אֶרֶץ (cf. xxix. 20).

the rod of his mouth, etc. His sentences upon offenders will be executed with immediateness and inerrancy, like those of the Lord Himself (cf. Hos. vi. 5, and see 2 Kgs. v. 27; cf. 2 Th. ii. 8, Acts v. 1—10). The *breath of his lips* is a synonym for "his word" (as in Ps. xxxiii. 6). The rule of the Messiah will prevent the recurrence of the wrongs that have previously excited the Divine anger (i. 15, 23, iii. 15, v. 7, x. 2).

5. *righteousness...faithfulness.* The qualities named will be his equipment for the discharge of his duties, a *girdle* (to loop up the flowing Eastern dress) being regularly worn by men engaged in active exertion (see v. 27). For the metaphor cf. the parallel figures in lxi. 3, 10, 1 Sam. ii. 4, Job xxix. 14, Ps. cix. 18, 19: also Eph. vi. 14.

the girdle of his reins. Better (after the Vulg., which renders *girdle* in the two clauses by different words), *the cincture of his reins* (חֲגוֹר for אֵזוֹר).

6. *And the wolf*, etc. The abolition of blood-thirstiness amongst beasts of prey enters into the prophet's description of the conditions prevailing under the Messiah's rule, partly because conceptions of the

lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the
fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. 7 And the
cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down
together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. 8 And the
sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned
child shall put his hand on the [1]basilisk's den. 9 They shall
not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth
shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover
the sea.

[1] Or, *adder's*

Golden Age of the future naturally reproduced those of the past (and myths doubtless survived amongst the Hebrews, as amongst some other nations, of a time when animals were harmless and friendly to man, cf. Gen. ii. 19), and partly because the mischief wrought by savage animals in Palestine (where wolves, bears, leopards and lions were common) was so serious that the removal of it was likely to figure in any picture of a happy era to come (cf. Hos. ii. 18).

and the fatling. The symmetry of the clause is improved by Duhm's emendation *shall be fattened* (יַבְרִיא for וּמְרִיא), which supplies a verb. Other critics would substitute *shall graze* (רֹעִים for וּמְרִיא): LXX. βοσκηθήσονται.

7. *shall feed.* Better, *shall graze.* The LXX. adds *together* (cf. lxv. 25); but possibly the verb should be emended to *shall be friends* (תִּתְרָעֶינָה (cf. Prov. xxii. 24) for תִּרְעֶינָה).

eat straw. This probably reproduces a feature in the legends of the Creation, though of the Biblical records it is only Gen. i. 29, 30 (P) that represents herbs as having once been the meat of all living things.

8. *the asp.* The asp is the *vipera aspis*; but some have thought that the snake meant is the Egyptian cobra (*Naja haje*), cf. Ps. lviii. 4, 5.

the basilisk. The serpent to which the name is applied by naturalists is a native of Africa, and does not occur in Palestine, and the creature here mentioned has been thought to be the yellow viper (*Daboia xanthina*), but see on lix. 5.

den. Or *lair.* This rendering implies an emendation (מְעָרַת for מְאוּרַת; cf. LXX. κοίτη, Vulg. *caverna*): the received text perhaps means *glistening eyeball*, by which the child must be supposed to be attracted as by a flashing gem.

9. *They.* The pronoun refers comprehensively to both mankind and the animal world: men, as well as beasts, will be divested of their evil qualities; cf. iv. 3, lx. 21.

all my holy mountain. i.e. the hill country of Judæa (cf. lvii. 13, Ex. xv. 17, Josh. xi. 21). The phrase (in which the possessive adjective *my* refers to the Lord) is isolated in Isaiah.

the earth. Better (in view of the parallel clause), *the land.*

The authenticity of this *v.* has been suspected, for the first half occurs in lxv. 25 and the second half, slightly varied, in Hab. ii. 14;

and it has been thought that these are the original sources. lxv. 25, however, comprises not only *v.* 9[a] but also fragments of *vv.* 6, 7, and consequently appears to be dependent upon the present passage, which is brought to an appropriate conclusion by this *v.*, and would end abruptly without it.

Additional Note on vv. 1—9.

The resemblance to this prophecy displayed by Vergil's Fourth Eclogue (see especially *vv.* 13, 14, 21, 22, 24, 25)[1] has led some to the conclusion that the Roman writer was acquainted directly or indirectly with Isaiah's prediction or with ideas borrowed from it (see Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, III. p. 247, ed. 1875). To explain the supposed connection, it has been suggested that Vergil in this poem was indebted to some oracle, passing as Sibylline (cf. *v.* 4), which came from the East, and incorporated Hebrew beliefs and expectations (see J. B. Mayor, *Vergil's Messianic Eclogue*, p. 104 f.)[2]. But the points of likeness between the Eclogue and Isaiah are not really so remarkable as to require to be thus accounted for. It is more probable that Vergil, influenced by the hopes raised by the peace of Brundisium (B.C. 40), merely elaborated, and transferred to the future, the description of the Golden Age of the past which was given first by Hesiod (*Op.* 109—119 (120)), and which he has made use of in *Georg.* I. 125—135 (cf. Ovid, *M.* I. 89—112). The abolition of human wickedness and a change in the instincts of savage beasts and deadly serpents are sufficiently natural features in any ideal picture of earthly peace and felicity to have occurred independently to more than one writer[3]; nor is it surprising that both a Hebrew prophet and a Roman poet should have associated the dawn of a new era for their respective countries with the advent of a scion of the ruling house.

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1 *Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,*
Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.
. . . . . .
Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
Ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones.
. . . . . .
Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet.

2 Gesenius quotes from *Oracula Sibyllina*, III. 478 f. (a section supposed to have been written in the second century by an Alexandrian Jew) verses which have obviously been influenced by Is. xi. 6—8.

ἐν δὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ἐν οὔρεσιν ἄμμις ἔδονται
χόρτον, παρδάλιές τ' ἐρίφοις ἅμα βοσκήσονται,
ἄρκτοι σὺν μόσχοις νόμαδές τ' αὐλισθήσονται,
σαρκόβορός τε λέων ἄχυρον φάγεται παρὰ φάτνης,
ὡς βοῦς· καὶ παῖδες μάλα νήπιοι ἐν δεσμοῖσιν
ἄξουσιν· πηρὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ χθονὶ θῆρα πτήξει,
σὺν βρέφεσίν τε δράκοντες ἅμ' ἄσπισι κοιμήσονται
κούκ ἀδικήσουσιν· χεὶρ γὰρ θεοῦ ἔσσετ' ἐπ' αὐτούς.

3 Cf. Hor. *Epodes* XVI. 51, 52 (of the isles of the Blest)

Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
Neque intumescit alta viperis humus.

Cf. also Theoc. *Id.* XXIV. 86, 87.

XI. 10—16.

This section predicts a gathering of the heathen to seek instruction from the Messiah, a restoration of Hebrew exiles, and an extension of Hebrew rule over neighbouring peoples. The passage is linked to the foregoing *vv.* 1—9 by the reference, in *v.* 10, to the *root of Jesse*; but the general tenor alike of this *v.* (which is detached in some measure from the following) and of *vv.* 11—16 is against their being Isaianic in origin. Both (*a*) the contents and (*b*) the phraseology render it probable that the whole section (*vv.* 10—16) proceeds from a later age than Isaiah's. (*a*) The return of exiles predicted in *v.* 11 implies a dispersion of a far more extensive character than is likely to have taken place in the eighth century. In Isaiah's time the country where most Hebrew captives were to be found was Assyria, whither numbers had been deported from both Israel (2 Kgs. xv. 29, xvii. 6) and Judah (see on xxxvi. 1); but here the places whence exiles are represented as about to return include countries as far remote as Elam[1] in the E., Ethiopia in the S., and the Mediterranean coasts in the W. (though see note). So wide-spread a dispersion seems to suit best an exilic or post-exilic date, when, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Babylon, the Jews were naturally distributed over many regions. And it is to the latter period that a prediction like that in *v.* 10 can most plausibly be assigned; for the marvel of the Return in 537 was the event which created the anticipation that the heathen would be attracted to Israel and would seek to know Israel's God (cf. xlv. 22—25). (*b*) The vocabulary, whilst including several expressions which occur in authentic prophecies of Isaiah, comprises many that do not. Even of the Isaianic words employed (*ensign*, *seek unto*, *remnant*, *depart*, *shake his hand*, etc.) two are used in an exceptional way (see notes on *vv.* 10, 11); whilst of the words and expressions that do not occur elsewhere in Isaiah (e.g. *isles* (or *coastlands*) *of the sea*, *outcasts of Israel*, *corners* (or *wings*) *of the earth*), some are found only in exilic or post-exilic writings (see notes). In view of these facts, the passage can scarcely be earlier than the age of the Exile, and is probably post-exilic.

10 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the root of Jesse, which standeth for an ensign of the peoples, unto him shall the nations seek; and his resting place shall be [1]glorious.

[1] Heb. *glory*.

XI. 10. This *v.* possibly proceeds from an editor, who inserted it to unite *vv.* 11—16 with *vv.* 1—9.

the root of Jesse. The term here does not bear the sense it has in *v.* 1, but is equivalent to the branch or shoot (liii. 2) destined to spring from the root, viz. the Messianic King himself. The passage is the original of the figure in Rev. v. 5, xxii. 16.

an ensign. The word here does not denote a signal to convey an announcement (as in v. 26, xviii. 3, xlix. 22), but a standard indicating a rallying point, and is applied figuratively to the Messiah.

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[1] This might possibly be regarded as under Assyrian rule.

11 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord [1]shall set his hand again the second time to [2]recover the remnant of his people, which shall remain, from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the [3]islands of the sea. 12 And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and

[1] Or, *shall again the second time recover with his hand*
[2] Or, *purchase* See Ex. xv. 16. [3] Or, *coastlands*

unto him, etc. To the Jewish Messiah the nations of the earth will have recourse, as to an oracle (viii. 19, xix. 3). Jerusalem is here regarded as the centre of Divine revelations for all nations (as in ii. 2—4) and the Messiah of *vv.* 1—9 as the mouthpiece of them. The *v.* (in the LXX.) is applied by St Paul in Rom. xv. 12 to the conversion of the Gentiles to Christ.

his resting place. Or *his abode* (xxxii. 18, Mic. ii. 10, Gen. xlix. 15, Num. x. 33, Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14), i.e. Zion. The promise resembles lx. 5.

11. *shall set*, etc. The Heb. has no verb, and the text should perhaps be corrected after the LXX. (which has προσθήσει τοῦ δεῖξαι τὴν χεῖρα, κ.τ.λ.) to *shall lift up his hand* (with the omission of *the second time*), reading with Marti שְׁאֵת for שֵׁנִית: cf. xlix. 22.

again. The previous occasion thought of is either the Exodus (cf. *v.* 16), or if the section is post-exilic, the first return of exiles from Babylon in 537.

to recover. Literally, *to purchase*, a word used in connection with the deliverance of the Exodus (Ex. xv. 16, cf. Ps. lxxiv. 2).

the remnant. In vii. 3 mg., x. 20, 21, xxviii. 5 this is used of those who survive a national disaster in their own country, but here is applied to exiles in a foreign land.

Assyria. This may denote Persia, which, through its overthrow of Babylon, the successor of Assyria, had come into possession of the Assyrian dominions: cf. Ezra vi. 22.

Pathros. i.e. Upper Egypt, in the valley of the Nile, S. of Memphis (Jer. xliv. 1, 15), as distinguished from *Mizraim*, or Lower Egypt, in the Delta.

Cush. i.e. Ethiopia (the mod. *Nubia*), lying S. of Syene (*Assouan*) (Ezek. xxix. 10 mg.).

Elam. The country on the N.E. of the Persian Gulf, of which Susa was the capital.

Shinar. i.e. Babylonia. For *Hamath* see on x. 9.

the islands of the sea. i.e. the Mediterranean coasts. The word rendered *islands* (better, as in the mg., *coastlands*) is very frequent in the exilic and post-exilic cc. xl.—lxvi. (see p. xlix, lxvii), but the combination *islands of the sea* only recurs again in xxiv. 15 (non-Isaianic) and Esth. x. 1. The words are omitted by the LXX.

12. *an ensign.* The word here has its ordinary sense of a signal

shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. 13 The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and they that vex [1]Judah shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim. 14 And they shall fly down upon the shoulder of the Philistines on the west; together shall they spoil the children of the east: they shall put forth their hand upon Edom and Moab; and the children of Ammon shall obey them. 15 And the LORD shall [2]utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his [3]scorching wind shall he shake his

[1] Or, *in Judah* [2] Heb. *devote.* According to some ancient versions, *dry up.* [3] According to some ancient versions, *mighty.*

(v. 26, xviii. 3), designed to direct the heathen to restore the Hebrews whom they hold captive (see xiv. 2, xlix. 22, lx. 4, lxii. 10, lxvi. 20).

the outcasts of Israel, etc. Literally, *the outcast men of Israel... the dispersed women of Judah* (the variety of gender being used to render the expression more comprehensive).

13. *The envy*, etc. i.e. the envy (felt by Judah) for Ephraim, corresponding to *they that* (in Ephraim) *vex Judah* (LXX. οἱ ἐχθροὶ Ἰούδα). The re-union of the two branches of the family of Jacob, sundered after the death of Solomon and frequently at war with one another whilst they existed as states (1 Kgs. xii. 19, xiv. 30, xv. 16, 2 Kgs. xiv. 11—12, xvi. 5), was a subject of hope (Hos. i. 11, iii. 15).

14. *And they shall fly*, etc. i.e. like a bird of prey (cf. Hab. i. 8 of the Chaldeans). The schemes of territorial conquest here outlined contrast strikingly with the purely ethical conception of the ideal King in *vv.* 1—9.

the shoulder, etc. The phrase refers to the situation of the Philistine territory on the slopes of the Shephelah; cf. the use of the term in Num. xxxiv. 11, Josh. xv. 8, 11, xviii. 12, and the parallel expression employed in Gen. xlviii. 22 (mg.).

the children of the east. The wandering Arabs of the Syrian desert (see Jud. vi. 3). The Philistines, the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites had all been subdued by David (2 Sam. viii. 1, 2, 14, xii. 26—31), and the re-united branches of the Hebrew people are to subjugate their lands: cf. Am. ix. 12, Ob. *vv.* 18, 19, Zeph. ii. 4—9.

15. *utterly destroy.* The verb, which means literally *devote* or *place under a ban*, and is properly applicable only to the extermination of a people (see on xxxiv. 2), is here inappropriate, and is best corrected (after the LXX.) to *dry up* (וְהֶחֱרִיב for וְהֶחֱרִים; the converse emendation is required in xxxvii. 18). All physical obstacles to the return of the dispersed Israelites will be removed.

the tongue, etc. Perhaps the Gulf of Suez; for *tongue* in the sense of *bay* or *gulf* cf. Josh. xv. 2, 5, xviii. 19.

with his scorching wind. Literally, *with the heat of his wind*, but

hand over the River, and shall smite it into seven streams, and cause men to march over dryshod. 16 And there shall be an high way for the remnant of his people, which shall remain, from Assyria; like as there was for Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.

as the word rendered *heat* does not occur elsewhere, it should perhaps be corrected (after the Vulg. *in fortitudine spiritus sui*, confirmed by the LXX.) to *with the strength of his wind* (בְּעֻצָּם for בַּעֲצָם): cf. mg. The expression is probably misplaced, and should be attached to the preceding clause *dry up*, etc. (cf. Ex. xiv. 21, of the Red Sea).

the River. i.e. the Euphrates (vii. 20, viii. 7, 1 Kgs. iv. 24, etc.). This is to be parted into a number of small water-courses, shallow enough for travellers to ford without removing their sandals[1].

16. *an high way*, etc. i.e. a raised causeway (see on xxxv. 8) constructed across the desert separating Assyria (i.e. Babylonia (cf. Zech. x. 10) or Persia) from Palestine.

Chapter XII.

This c., which forms the conclusion of the collection cc. i.—xii., is a thanksgiving. That Isaiah is not its author is probable from the facts (*a*) that it contains several words and thoughts which are strange to his writings but are common in the Psalms (see notes); (*b*) that it seems to have been composed with the post-Isaianic section xi. 10—16 in view, and if so, cannot be earlier than the latter. It may therefore with some reason be considered to be of post-exilic origin (see p. 86).

The thanksgiving consists in reality not of one song, but of two songs, (1) *vv.* 1ᵇ—2; (2) *vv.* 4ᵇ—6; which are introduced by short prefaces *vv.* 1ᵃ and 3—4ᵃ, distinguished respectively by the use of the 2nd sing. and the 2nd plur.

XII. 1 And in that day thou shalt say, I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord; for though thou wast angry with me, [1]thine

[1] Or, *let thine anger turn away, and comfort thou me*

XII. 1—2. The first song. An expression of gratitude to the Lord for a recent mercy, and of confidence in Him for the future.

1. *in that day*. i.e. the day when the exiles are restored and re-united: cf. xxv. 9, xxvi. 1, xxvii. 2.

thou. i.e. the collective people, who have been rescued.

thou wast angry. The original recurs in Ps. ii. 12, lx. 1, lxxix. 5, lxxxv. 5, etc., but is not found elsewhere in this book.

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[1] Cyrus (Hdt. I. 189) is related to have divided the Euphrates (in which one of his sacred white horses had been drowned) into 360 channels, so that women could ford it without wetting their knees.

anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me. 2 Behold, God
is my salvation; I will trust, and will not be afraid: for [1]the
LORD JEHOVAH is my strength and song; and he is become my
salvation. 3 Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the
wells of salvation. 4 And in that day shall ye say, Give thanks
unto the LORD, [2]call upon his name, declare his doings among
the peoples, make mention that his name is exalted. 5 Sing unto
the LORD; for he hath done [3]excellent things: [4]let this be known
in all the earth. 6 Cry aloud and shout, thou [5]inhabitant of
Zion: for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee.

[1] Heb. *Jah Jehovah.* [2] Or, *proclaim his name* [3] Or, *gloriously*
[4] Or, *this is made known* [5] Heb. *inhabitress.*

is turned away. The rendering implies a slight correction of the Heb. The expression *comfortest* recalls Deutero-Isaiah (xl. 1, xlix. 13): cf. Zech. i. 17.

2. *the LORD JEHOVAH.* Literally, *JAH JEHOVAH*; but one of the names should probably be omitted (with the LXX. and Vulg.). The clause is borrowed from Ex. xv. 2: cf. also Ps. cxviii. 14.

3—6. The second song. An exhortation to declare throughout the world the Lord's great acts.

3. *shall ye draw.* The several units of the community are here addressed, instead of the personified aggregate (as in *v.* 1).

out of the wells of salvation. i.e. from the source of deliverance, viz. the Lord (cf. Jer. ii. 13, xvii. 13, Ps. lxxxvii. 7, Joh. iv. 14).

4. *Give thanks*, etc. For the general tenor of the *v.* cf. Ps. cv. 1—2.

call upon his name. Better (as in the mg.), *proclaim his name*, i.e. celebrate (among the heathen) His character and attributes (cf. Ex. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5).

his doings. The original is used of Divine actions elsewhere only in Ps. ix. 11 (cv. 1, 1 Ch. xvi. 8), lxxvii. 12, lxxviii. 11, ciii. 7.

5. *hath done excellent things.* Better, *hath wrought majestically.*

6. *inhabitant of Zion.* Literally, *inhabitress of Zion* (cf. Jer. li. 35, and the similar expressions in Jer. xlvi. 19, Mic. i. 11), the collective citizens being personified as a woman.

SECOND COLLECTION OF ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES. CHAPTERS XIII.—XXVII.

In this series, forming the second division of Proto-Isaiah, the prophecies comprised in cc. xiii.—xxiii. are, with a few exceptions, described as *burdens* or *oracles.* This general characteristic suggests that these cc. may have once composed an independent collection, a conclusion confirmed by the opening title, in which the addition to Isaiah's name of that of his father (as though the

prophet's writings were introduced to the reader for the first time) seems to imply that the collection was not always preceded by cc. ii.—xii., where Isaiah's name and parentage also occur (ii. 1). The four passages in these cc. lacking titles were perhaps incorporated subsequently. The bulk of the prophecies relate to foreign nations. Their origin is varied, for whilst some (including all those without superscriptions) undoubtedly proceed from Isaiah, others bear manifest traces of another age and origin.

The last four cc., xxiv.—xxvii., constitute a single prophecy of late, though uncertain, date. By some critics this group of cc. is included within the third division of Proto-Isaiah: but there appear to be preponderant reasons for attaching them to the second (see p. iv).

Chapter XIII. 1—XIV. 23.

This section constitutes an oracle relating to Babylon. It consists of two parts, each with a supplement: (i) a prediction in poetic form of the overthrow of Babylon (xiii. 1—22), to which is attached a passage in prose (xiv. 1—4[a]), foretelling the release of the Israelite people held captive there, and introducing the second part; (ii) an ode or triumph-song by Israel over the descent of the king of Babylon into the Under-world (xiv. 4[b]—21), to which is appended an additional prediction respecting the complete destruction of Babylon itself (xiv. 22—23).

This section in the editorial superscription is attributed to Isaiah, who in xxxix. 6 is represented as predicting for Judah a period of captivity in Babylon. A comparison, however, of the historical situation implied in the prophecy and of the peculiarities of its vocabulary with the political conditions of Isaiah's time and the characteristic phraseology of his writings affords good grounds for regarding the statement as an error. (1) The prophecy assumes (*a*) that Babylon is a sovereign power that has long enjoyed supremacy over other peoples (xiii. 11, xiv. 5, 6, 16, 17); (*b*) that its overthrow is imminent (xiii. 3, 4, 22) and that the agents destined to accomplish its destruction are the Medes (xiii. 17); (*c*) that Israel is actually in exile in Babylon and about to be delivered from it (xiv. 1, 2, cf. xiv. 17). But in Isaiah's age a very different state of things existed, and to his contemporaries the foregoing allusions would have been unintelligible. (*a*) It was Assyria, not Babylon, that was then the dominant power in Western Asia, and it was not until 607 that the former was supplanted by the latter; but of the *overthrow* of Assyria by Babylon there is no prediction here, as there is in Nahum and Zephaniah. (*b*) If Isaiah was acquainted with the name of the Medes (as is no doubt possible, cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 6, xviii. 11), he must have known of them as a subject people of the Assyrian empire, whose sympathies were likely to be on the side of Babylon and not against her, and who in 607 united with the Babylonians to destroy Nineveh, the Assyrian capital (p. lii). It was not until the middle of the sixth century, when Cyrus became ruler of Media, that the Medes menaced Babylon itself with destruction. (*c*) Though Isaiah predicted captivity for many of his countrymen (v. 13, 14, cf. xxii. 1—14), it was the Assyrians whom he expected to be the agents of their chastisement (viii. 8, x. 5, 6), and if he

thought of Babylonia as the scene of their exile (xxxix. 6, 7), it could only be because it was often a subject province of Assyria (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 24). The situation presented in these cc. thus does not correspond with any that Isaiah is likely to have foreseen, but with conditions that existed at a much later period; and a prophecy of the termination of a captivity, the beginning of which is not also predicted, is only intelligible on the hypothesis that the prophet was contemporary with that captivity. In agreement with the conclusion that the writer lived in the time of the Babylonian exile are the vindictive satisfaction manifested over Babylon's downfall, which is natural only in one who had actually witnessed her oppression of his countrymen, and the character of some of the ideas and beliefs that here find expression, which include Babylonian conceptions with which a Hebrew would scarcely become acquainted before the exile (see on xiv. 12, 13). (2) The style and vocabulary of the prophecy are to some extent divergent from Isaiah's. Though a certain number of expressions occur which have parallels in Isaiah's writings, there are various words and turns of speech which are foreign to them, and found chiefly in late compositions. The descriptions are more elaborated than is usually the case with Isaiah's; and the writer's qualities are poetical rather than rhetorical.

If for these reasons the origin of the section is rightly assigned to the Exile (587—537)[1], the period within which it must have been written can with some plausibility be still further narrowed, for not only must it have been composed before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538, inasmuch as the fate of both Babylon and its king differed from the anticipations here expressed, but even before 549, since there is no mention of Cyrus, who became king of the Medes (here represented as the agents of Babylon's overthrow) in that year. Hence the date of the prophecy may be fixed at some time between 587 and 549, and probably shortly before the latter year. Whether the two poems of which it consists, and which are both written in the same metre as the elegies in i. 21—26 and cc. xv. and xlvii., were the work of one writer or not there is nothing to determine. The two prose passages, that respectively unite the first poem to the second and conclude the latter, are presumably the composition of the editor. The section manifests a certain likeness in spirit and in tone to Jer. l., li., which were probably written shortly before the fall of Babylon (Driver, *LOT.* pp. 266—268).

Chapter XIII.

XIII. 1 The [1]burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see.

[1] Or, *oracle concerning*

XIII. 1. *The burden of.* Better (as in the mg.), *Oracle concerning* (and so in (xiv. 28), xv. 1, xvii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 1, 11, 13, xxiii. 1). The word, which seems to mean literally *a lifting up* of the voice, is especially

[1] The parallels between these cc. and cc. xl.—lv. (Exilic) are numerous: cf. xiii. 5 with xlvi. 11, xiv. 2 with xlix. 22, xiv. 1 with lv. 5, xiv. 7 (*break forth into singing*) with xliv. 23, xlix. 13, liv. 1, lv. 12.

2 Set ye up an ensign upon the bare mountain, lift up the voice unto them, wave the hand, that they may go into the gates of the nobles. 3 I have commanded my consecrated ones, yea, I have called my mighty men for mine anger, even [1]my proudly exulting ones. 4 The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people! the noise of a tumult of the kingdoms of the nations gathered together! the LORD of hosts mustereth the host for the battle. 5 They come from a far country, from

[1] Or, *them that exult in my majesty*

used of the utterances ascribed to the Lord (Jer. xxiii. 33, Ezek. xii. 10, 2 Kgs. ix. 25, though see Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1).

2—22. An announcement of the Lord's purpose to destroy Babylon through the agency of the Medes.

2. *Set ye up.* The command (spoken by the Lord, *v.* 3) is addressed to all capable of executing it (cf. xl. 1).

the bare mountain. Better, *a bare mountain,* where it would be most conspicuous.

wave the hand. i.e. beckon (contrast Isaiah's use of the phrase in x. 32).

they. i.e. Babylon's distant foes, the Medes (see *v.* 17).

the gates of the nobles. i.e. the gates of the city whose inhabitants are the haughty tyrants of the world (xiv. 5, cf. Job xxi. 28).

3. *my consecrated ones.* The expression (for which cf. Mic. iii. 5, Jer. xxii. 7, li. 27, 28) reflects the religious character which attached in ancient times to soldiers on active service. When the army of a people went on an expedition, its god was thought to accompany it, Nergal (for example) being represented as going before Shalmaneser, whilst the Ark of the Lord accompanied the marches and expeditions of the Israelites (Num. x. 35, 36, cf. 1 Sam. iv. 3, 2 Sam. xi. 11), whose wars were the "wars of the Lord" (Num. xxi. 14, cf. Ex. xvii. 16). Hence precautions had to be taken against provoking the Divine anger by any defilement in the camp or on the march (Deut. xxiii. 9, 1 Sam. xxi. 5), sacrifices were offered before the force started (1 Sam. vii. 9, xiii. 9, cf. Hom. *Il.* II. 400), and probably the soldiers' weapons were hallowed (1 Sam. xxi. 5, where *vessels* = *arms*). Similar ideas probably lie behind the Roman lustration of arms (W. W. Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, p. 58), and perhaps the Homeric phrase ἱερὸς στρατός.

for mine anger. i.e. as agents to execute it; LXX. πληρῶσαι τὸν θυμόν μου. The expression should be transferred to the first clause.

4. *The noise of a multitude,* etc. Better, *Hark!* (xl. 3, lii. 8) *a tumult in the mountains,* etc. The *mountains* are the chain of Mt Zagrus beyond the Tigris where the Medes were mustering.

the noise of a tumult, etc. Better, *hark! the uproar of kingdoms, of nations gathered together* (pointing מַמְלְכוֹת). With the Medes were united the Elamites (xxi. 2).

5. *from a far country.* The same phrase is used in connection

the uttermost part of heaven, even the LORD, and the weapons
of his indignation, to destroy the whole land. 6 Howl ye; for
the day of the LORD is at hand; as destruction from [1]the
Almighty shall it come. 7 Therefore shall all hands be feeble,
and every heart of man shall melt: 8 and they shall be
dismayed; [2]pangs and sorrows shall take hold *of them*; they
shall be in pain as a woman in travail: they shall be amazed
one at another; their faces *shall be* faces of flame. 9 Behold,
the day of the LORD cometh, cruel, with wrath and fierce anger;
to make the land a desolation, and to destroy the sinners thereof
out of it. 10 For the stars of heaven and the constellations

[1] Heb. *Shaddai*. See Gen. xvii. 1.
[2] Or, *they shall take hold of pangs and sorrows*

with Cyrus (xlvi. 11); the unfamiliarity of the invaders increases the dread of them.

the whole land. Perhaps better, *the whole earth* (and so in *v.* 9, cf. *v.* 11; LXX. *τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην*). The chastisement of a world-power like Babylon is described as a universal judgment: cf. xiv. 26.

6. *Howl ye.* Perhaps addressed by the prophet to the Babylonians.

the day of the LORD. The phrase here designates the day of Divine retribution upon Israel's oppressors (cf. Zeph. i. 14 and contrast Is. ii. 12).

destruction from the Almighty. Better, *destruction* (שֹׁד) *from the Destroyer* (שַׁדַּי), there being an alliteration in the Heb. (cf. Joel i. 15). But though it is possible that the name *Shaddai* (Gen. xvii. 1, Ex. vi. 3), here applied to the Almighty, is etymologically connected with שֹׁד and the verb שדד *to lay waste* (xv. 1, xxiii. 1) and describes the activity of God as displayed in destruction or affliction (cf. Ps. lxviii. 14, Ruth i. 20, 21), it is perhaps more likely akin to שדה "to pour out," tempest and hail being especially regarded as manifestations of the Lord's anger (see Josh. x. 11, Ezek. xxxviii. 22, Ps. xi. 6). Others associate it with שֵׁד (Deut. xxxii. 17, Ps. cvi. 37) signifying *demon*, but perhaps originally meaning *protecting spirit*. Another conjecture identifies it with an Assyrian word *shadû* meaning *mountain* and applied to the Assyrian gods Bel and Asshur; cf. the application of the title *rock* to JEHOVAH (xvii. 10, xxx. 29).

7. *melt.* An expression for a condition of terror and consternation (cf. xix. 1, Nah. ii. 10, Ps. xxii. 14, Josh. vii. 5).

8. *faces of flame.* Alarm usually produces pallor or lividness, and not a high colour (Joel ii. 6, Nah. ii. 10); but possibly it is meant that their colour comes and goes: cf. LXX. *τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ὡς φλὸξ μεταβαλοῦσιν.*

10. *the stars*, etc. The horror of the catastrophe is intensified by darkness—a feature which occurs in other descriptions of calamity and

thereof shall not give their light: the sun shall be darkened in
his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine.
11 And I will punish the world for *their* evil, and the wicked for
their iniquity; and I will cause the arrogancy of the proud to
cease, and will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible. 12 I
will make a man more rare than fine gold, even a man than the
pure gold of Ophir. 13 Therefore I will make the heavens to
tremble, and the earth shall be shaken out of her place, in the
wrath of the LORD of hosts, and in the day of his fierce anger.
14 And it shall come to pass, that as the chased [1]roe, and as
sheep that no man gathereth, they shall turn every man to his
own people, and shall flee every man to his own land. 15 Every

[1] Or, *gazelle*

tribulation (v. 30, viii. 22, Mic. iii. 6, Am. v. 18, 20, viii. 9, Zeph. i. 15, Joel ii. 10, 31, Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8, Mk. xiii. 24, Matt. xxiv. 29[1], etc.).

and the constellations thereof. Lit., *and the Orions thereof*, i.e. constellations comparable with Orion. But the LXX. has merely *and Orion.* The identification of the Heb. term (which means literally *fool*) with Orion is made by the LXX. here and in Job xxxviii. 31, and by the Vulg. in Job ix. 9, Am. v. 8: the name is supposed to be a survival of some myth which represented the constellation in question as a foolhardy giant bound in the sky (cf. Job xxxviii. 31).

11. *the arrogancy.* The pride of Babylon is reflected in the language of her king in xiv. 13, 14; cf. also xlvii. 7, 8.

12. *Ophir.* This locality, which was either the source of, or a mart for, gold, gems, and sandal wood (1 Kgs. ix. 28, x. 11), has been variously placed in N.W. India (cf. Jos. *Ant.* VIII. vi. 4), the E. coast of Africa (perhaps Sofala, cf. LXX. Σουφείρ), and the S.E. of Arabia. A situation in Arabia is suggested by the occurrence of Ophir with Sheba in Gen. x. 28, 29.

13. *Therefore I...tremble.* Better (with the LXX.), *Therefore the heavens shall tremble* (יִרְגְּזוּ for אֶרְגִּיז). The Lord's speech is confined to *vv.* 11, 12, and the *therefore* (cf. *v.* 7) introduces the consequences which are anticipated from the Lord's purpose declared in *vv.* 11, 12.

the earth shall, etc. An earthquake will accompany the manifestation of the Lord's wrath (as in xxiv. 19, Jer. x. 10, Joel iii. 16).

14. *the chased roe.* The roe or gazelle was noted for its fleetness (cf. 2 Sam. ii. 19 mg., 1 Ch. xii. 8). With the utmost haste the heterogeneous population that gathered at Babylon from all parts for trade (Ezek. xvii. 4) or other purposes will disperse at the approach of the assailants: cf. Jer. l. 16, li. 6, 9.

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[1] The two N.T. passages have probably been influenced by the present passage.

one that is found shall be thrust through; and every one that
is [1]taken shall fall by the sword. 16 Their infants also shall be
dashed in pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be spoiled,
and their wives ravished. 17 Behold, I will stir up the Medes
against them, which shall not regard silver, and as for gold, they
shall not delight in it. 18 And *their* bows shall dash the young
men in pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the
womb; their eye shall not spare children. 19 And Babylon,
the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldeans' pride, shall
be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. 20 It shall
never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation
to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there;
neither shall shepherds make their flocks to lie down there.
21 But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their

[1] Or, *joined* thereunto

15. *found...taken.* Such will be the fate of the native Babylonians, who will have no place of refuge.

17. *the Medes.* The disclosure of the name of the people who are to execute the Divine vengeance (cf. xxi. 2, Jer. li. 11, 28) is artistically reserved till late. Media lay S.W. of the Caspian Sea: its capital was Ecbatana (the *Achmetha* of Ezra vi. 2). For the events preceding the attack of the Medes on Babylon see p. lvii.

shall not regard, etc. i.e. Babylon's ferocious assailants (Jer. l. 42) cannot be bought off. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* v. i. 20 (Cyrus to his troops) οὐ χρημάτων δεόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐξήλθετε.

18. their *bows*, etc. The phrase, understood literally, makes nonsense, nor is it much more intelligible if *bows* be taken as equivalent to *bowmen* (cf. xxii. 3): the text must be corrupt, and some suggest *They lay hold on bows and spears, they are cruel; they shatter the young men, and the maidens are dashed in pieces* (cf. Jer. l. 42, li. 22).

19. *the glory of kingdoms.* i.e. the most glorious of kingdoms, cf. Ezek. xx. 6, 15 (of Israel).

the Chaldeans' pride. The Chaldeans were a people of S.E. Babylonia from whom came Merodach-baladan, who made several attempts to become master of Babylon (p. 245), and Nabopolassar, who established a dynasty there in 625 B.C.

as when...Gomorrah. The comparison is meant to illustrate the completeness of Babylon's overthrow: cf. Jer. l. 39, 40, Zeph. ii. 9 (of Moab and Ammon).

20. *the Arabian.* Better, *the steppe-dweller.* Even the wandering shepherds of the desert (Jer. iii. 2) will avoid the site of Babylon for fear of the uncanny creatures that will haunt it.

21. *wild beasts of the desert.* A related Arabic term is said to mean *wild cats.*

houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and ostriches shall dwell there, and [1]satyrs shall dance there. 22 And [2]wolves shall [3]cry in their castles, and jackals in the pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged. **XIV.** 1 For the LORD will have compassion on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land: and the stranger shall join himself with them, and they shall cleave

[1] Or, *he-goats* [2] Heb. *howling creatures.* [3] Or, *answer*

doleful creatures. Better, *howling creatures*, such as jackals.

satyrs. i.e. demons (LXX. δαιμόνια) in the shape of he-goats, or (like the classical *Pan* and *Faunus*) of human shape, with the horns and tail and feet of goats: cf. xxxiv. 14. Desert places were regarded as the special haunts of demons (cf. Bar. iv. 35, Rev. xviii. 2, Lev. xvi. 10, Matt. xii. 43 (=Luke xi. 24)); and to the satyrs here mentioned sacrifices (presumably of *aversion*) were sometimes offered, 2 Ch. xi. 15, cf. Lev. xvii. 7. For *dance* cf. Verg. *E.* v. 73, *saltantes satyri.*

22. *wolves...jackals.* Perhaps better reversed, *jackals...wolves.*

cry. Literally, *answer*, i.e. howl to one another. But the LXX. has κατοικήσουσιν.

castles. A necessary correction of the Heb., which by a scribal error has *widows.*

her time...her days. i.e. the hour of her destined punishment shall not be deferred: cf. Jer. l. 27, 31.

Babylon neither experienced the horrors of a sack nor underwent complete destruction when taken in 538 by Cyrus, who obtained possession of it by peaceful surrender (cf. p. lviii). After the suppression of its rebellion in 514 part of its walls was demolished by Darius Hystaspis (cf. Hdt. III. 159), but it was not until the third century, in the time of the Seleucidæ that it sank into decay, Seleucus Nicanor having built near it the town of Seleucia, which drained it of the bulk of its population. In the time of Strabo (XII. i. § 5) and Diodorus Siculus (II. 10) the greater part of it lay waste. Its present desolate site is the mod. *Hillah*, on the E. bank of the Euphrates, S. of Bagdad.

XIV. 1—4[a]. A prediction of Israel's restoration to its own land, and of its lordship over its tyrants.

These *vv.*, which are in prose, contain a brief summary of expectations that likewise find expression in cc. xl.—lxvi., and are probably post-exilic in origin.

1. *For.* The destruction of Babylon is a necessary consequence of the Lord's renewal of His love for Israel, whom Babylon has kept in servitude.

will yet choose. Better, *will again choose* (after His previous rejection of them, Jer. vii. 29), cf. Zech. i. 17, ii. 12, iii. 2.

the stranger, etc. Strictly, *the settler* (Gen. xv. 13, Josh. xx. 9). Heathens, attracted to the Hebrew faith by the evidence of the Divine

to the house of Jacob. 2 And the peoples shall take them, and bring them to their place: and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the LORD for servants and for handmaids: and they shall take them captive, whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors.

3 And it shall come to pass in the day that the LORD shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and from thy trouble, and from the hard service wherein thou wast made to serve, 4 that thou shalt take up this parable against the king of Babylon, and say, How hath the oppressor ceased! the [1]golden city ceased! 5 The LORD hath broken the staff of the wicked, the sceptre of the rulers; 6 [2]that smote the peoples in wrath with a continual stroke, that ruled the nations in anger, with a persecution that

[1] Or, *exactress* [2] Or, *he that smote...is persecuted, and none hindereth*

favour towards Israel which its deliverance afforded (cf. Ps. cxxvi. 2), will attach themselves to it, as proselytes: cf. xliv. 5, lv. 5, lvi. 3, 6, 7, Zech. ii. 11, viii. 23.

2. *And the peoples*, etc. The same thoughts appear in xlix. 22, lx. 10, 12, 14, lxi. 5, Zech. ii. 9.

3. *hard service.* The term used recalls the experience of the bondage in Egypt and the deliverance of the Exodus (Ex. i. 14, vi. 9 (P). Allusion to the rigour of the Babylonian captivity occurs in xlvii. 6, li. 14, Zech. i. 15.

4. *parable.* Better, *taunt-song.* The original term (*mâshâl*), which seems primarily to denote likeness or correspondence (cf. the parallelism exhibited in Prov. xxv. 1 f.), is used indiscriminately of many varieties of composition, including proverbs or proverbial sayings (1 Sam. x. 12, Ezek. xviii. 2, Prov. x. 1 f.), similitudes (Ezek. xvii. 2, xx. 49), satiric songs (Num. xxi. 27, Hab. ii. 6), didactic poems (Ps. xlix. 4, Prov. i. 1), and prophetic utterances (Num. xxiii. 7). The present poem (like c. xiii.) is written in the Heb. elegiac metre, but it is strikingly ironical in spirit and relates to an event still in the future (cf. c. xlvii.). It is divided into five strophes, which begin respectively with *vv.* 4ᵇ, 9, 12, 16 and 20; the last seems to be defective.

4ᵇ—21. A contrast between the proud estate of the king of Babylon in life and his ignominious condition in death.

4. *the golden city.* The rendering assumes a connection between the word here used and the Aramaic term for "gold"; but better (by a slight emendation), *insolence* or *the insolent one* (מַרְהֵבָה for מַרְהֵבָה): cf. the name *Rahab* in xxx. 7, and the corresponding verb in iii. 5. The LXX. has ἐπισπουδαστής (exactor).

5. *the staff.* i.e. the instrument of oppression, as in x. 24, ix. 4.

the wicked...the rulers. For the parallelism cf. liii. 9, Job xxi. 28.

6. *ruled...with a persecution.* Symmetry seems to require the correction, *ruled...with a rule* (רֹדֶה...מִרְדַּת for רֹדֶה...מֻרְדָּף).

none restrained. 7 The whole earth is at rest, *and* is quiet:
they break forth into singing. 8 Yea, the fir trees rejoice at
thee, *and* the cedars of Lebanon, *saying*, Since thou art laid
down, no feller is come up against us. 9 [1]Hell from beneath is
moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up [2]the
dead for thee, even all the [3]chief ones of the earth; it hath
raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. 10 All
they shall answer and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak
as we? art thou become like unto us? 11 Thy pomp is brought
down to [1]hell, *and* the noise of thy viols: the worm is spread

[1] Heb. *Sheol.* [2] Or, *the shades* Heb. *Rephaim.* [3] Heb. *he-goats.*

8. *fir trees.* Or *cypresses.* Even nature suffered from the domination of the Babylonians, who, like the Assyrians (xxxvii. 24), felled quantities of timber, in the forests of Lebanon and elsewhere, for the construction of warlike engines, ships, or edifices (cf. Hab. ii. 17).

9. *Hell.* Heb. *Sheol*, the abode of the spirits of the dead. The locality is here personified, like the earth in *v.* 7. As the world of the living begins to enjoy repose by the departure of the Babylonian king, so the world of the dead is disturbed by his arrival.

the dead. Heb. *Rephaim* (xxvi. 14, Ps. lxxxviii. 10, Prov. ii. 18, ix. 18). The word has been taken to mean primarily *the weak* (from a verb meaning "to droop," or "be relaxed"); cf. *v.* 10, and the Homeric ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα. But as it also designated the pre-historic inhabitants of Canaan (Gen. xiv. 5, Deut. ii. 10, 11) who were believed to be giants (the LXX. here has οἱ γίγαντες), it may have been applied to the dead as a complimentary epithet from motives of fear (cf. the Latin *manes*, from *mānus* "kindly").

chief ones. Literally, *he-goats*, a figure for those who lead the peoples, as the he-goats or bell-wethers do the flocks: cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 17, Jer. l. 8, Zech. x. 3, Ex. xv. 15 mg. and the parallel metaphor in Ps. lxviii. 30.

from their thrones. It is implied that in Sheol the distinctions of rank which prevail on earth still persist. Similarly soldiers in Sheol retain their weapons (Ezek. xxxii. 27). So too in Homer the phantoms of Orion and Heracles in Hades appear equipped with the arms, and engaged in the occupations, which characterised them in life (*Od.* XI. 572—5, 601—608).

10. *Art thou*, etc. The pronoun is emphatic: of the downfall of one so great there was no expectation. It is pre-supposed that the spirits of the dead preserve consciousness and memory.

11. *Thy pomp*, etc. The speech of the dead kings is limited to *v.* 10, and this *v.* proceeds from the poet.

the worm, etc. Better, *the wormlet...and the worm*, etc. The state of the Babylonian king's corpse (left to corruption (cf. *v.* 19) instead of

under thee, and worms cover thee. 12 How art thou fallen from heaven, O day star, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst lay low the nations! 13 And thou saidst in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; and I will sit upon the mount of congregation, in the uttermost parts of the north: 14 I will

being embalmed or otherwise cared for) is thought to affect the condition of his spirit in the under-world.

12. *day star.* Literally, *shining* (or *radiant*) *one*, i.e. (as the following words imply) the planet Venus. Stars were believed to be celestial powers (cf. Job xxxviii. 7), exercising great influence over human fortunes (xxiv. 21), and the metaphor alludes not only to the brilliant estate and dazzling career of the Babylonian king (cf. Num. xxiv. 17, Rev. xxii. 16, Cic. *ad Att.* II. 21 (of Pompey) *quia deciderat ex astris, lapsus potius quam progressus videbatur*) but to his aspirations to equal or surpass these heavenly potentates (*v.* 13). The evil associations of Babylon (cf. Zech. v. 5—11) and the resemblance between this description of the fall of its king and our Lord's words respecting Satan (Luke x. 18) occasioned the use of the name *Lucifer* (by which the Vulg. translates *day star*, cf. LXX. ἑωσφόρος) as an appellation of the devil (cf. Rev. ix. 1).

which...nations. Better (with the LXX.), *which didst lay low* (or *prostrate*) *all the nations* (reading כָּל־ for עַל): cf. Jer. l. 23. But some critics would substitute *prostrated* (Job xiv. 10) *upon corpses* (reading גְּוִיּוֹת for גּוֹיִם).

13. *I will ascend*, etc. It was the Babylonian king's ambition to become superior to the sidereal powers, and equal to Him who is supreme over them: cf. Ezek. xxviii. 2, 6, 9 (of the prince of Tyre). The overweening pride of Babylon itself finds somewhat similar expression in xlvii. 8.

the mount of congregation. This appears to allude to a Babylonian belief that there existed a mountain (called *Aralu*) where the gods dwelt together[1]; see Ezek. xxviii. 14—16, and cf. the association of the Greek gods with Olympus and of JEHOVAH with Horeb (Ex. iii. 1, 1 Kgs. xix. 8). That the Babylonians placed their sacred mountain in the *north* (as this passage implies) was probably due to the fact that it was in that quarter that the chief mountains they knew were situated; and Ezekiel's representation of the Lord as approaching from the north (i. 4) is perhaps due to Babylonian influence (since that prophet was one of the Jewish captives (i. 1))[2].

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[1] See Schrader, *COT.* II. pp. 79, 80.

[2] Burney thinks that the conception was derived from the North Pole of the sky, which, as the highest point, was regarded as the abode of deity (cf. *JTS.* Ap. 1910, p. 446). The Etruscans also considered the dwelling of the gods to be in the northern part of the sky W. W. Fowler in *Companion to Latin Studies*, p. 167).

ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most
High. 15 Yet thou shalt be brought down to [1]hell, to the
uttermost parts of the pit. 16 They that see thee shall narrowly
look upon thee, they shall consider thee, *saying*, Is this the man
that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms;
17 that made the world as a wilderness, and overthrew the
cities thereof; that let not loose his prisoners to their home?
18 All the kings of the nations, all of them, sleep in glory, every
one in his own house. 19 But thou art cast forth away from thy

[1] Heb. *Sheol.*

14. *the Most High.* Heb. *Elyon*, a Divine title used not only by the Hebrews (Gen. xiv. 18, Num. xxiv. 16, Deut. xxxii. 8), but also by the Phoenicians, for Eusebius (*Prep. Ev.* I. 10, 11) quotes Philo of Byblus to the effect that included in the Phoenician theogony was Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος.

15. *the pit.* The word, which sometimes means the grave (Ps. xxviii. 1, xxx. 3), here denotes the depth of Sheol (Ezek. xxvi. 20, xxxi. 14, 16). The contrast between the king's ambition and his real fate is intensified if the entrance to Sheol is here thought to be, as the Babylonians imagined it, under the mount of congregation.

Verses 13—15 seem to have been in the mind of our Lord when He apostrophised Capernaum (Matt. xi. 23, Luke x. 15).

16. *They that see thee*, etc. The speakers in this *v.* are not the spirits of the dead in Sheol (as in *v.* 10), but men upon earth, who look upon the Babylonian king's unburied corpse.

17—18. *that let not loose*, etc. Cf. Jer. l. 33. The pleonasm in *v.* 18, *all the kings...all of them* is avoided by the emendation *that opened not to his prisoners the prison house?* 18 *The kings of the nations, all of them*, etc. (reading לַאֲסִירָיו...בֵּית הַכֶּלֶא׃ for אֲסִירָיו...בָּיְתָה׃ כָּל־).

18. *in his own house.* i.e. in the tombs they constructed for themselves in their lifetime; cf. xxii. 16, 1 Sam. xxv. 1, 1 Kgs. ii. 34, xiii. 30, Matt. xxviii. 60.

19. *But thou art cast*, etc. The general sense of this *v.* is that the king was left on the field of battle, covered with the slain, and did not receive the burial due to his rank; but the text has undergone some corruption. The loss of burial in early ages was accounted a grievous calamity (Jer. xxv. 33, 2 Kgs. ix. 10), perhaps originally because it deprived the dead of the sacrifices ordinarily offered to them, and it is probably here regarded as producing for the king of Babylon humiliation in Sheol. Hence though Divine justice did not punish great offenders after death directly, it might do so indirectly, the dishonour with which their dead bodies were often treated on earth affecting for ill the state of their spirits in the nether world.

sepulchre like an abominable branch, [1]clothed with the slain, that are thrust through with the sword, that go down to the stones of the pit; as a carcase trodden under foot. 20 Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, thou hast slain thy people; the seed of evil-doers shall not be named for ever. 21 Prepare ye [2]slaughter for his children for the iniquity of their fathers; that they rise not up, and possess the earth, and fill the face of the world with

[1] Or, as *the raiment of those that are slain* [2] Or, *a place of slaughter*

like...branch. i.e. as an unworthy scion of the family. But Sym. has ὡς ἔκτρωμα, i.e. *like an abominable abortion* (נֵפֶל for נֵצֶר).

that go...pit. This seems to describe those who are honourably buried in sepulchres of stone; and as the sense is inappropriate here, Kittel transfers the words to the beginning of *v.* 20 (see note). But *pit* in *v.* 15 means Sheol, not the grave, and should here have the same signification; and Gunkel is perhaps right in retaining the words in their position and correcting them to *that go down to the bases of the pit* (reading אַדְנֵי for אַבְנֵי), i.e. are consigned to the lowest parts of Sheol (cf. *v.* 15) because their bodies have not received proper burial (cf. Ezek. xxxii. 18). Sym. has εἰς θεμέλια λακκοῦ, the Vulg. *ad fundamenta laci.*

20. *with them.* A substantive (or some equivalent), to which the pronoun refers, seems to be lost. With Kittel's emendation of *v.* 19, this *v.* will begin, *As for those that go down to the stones of the pit* (i.e. distinguished princes who are buried in state), *thou shalt not be joined with them*, etc. Duhm conjectures the loss, from the beginning of the *v.*, of the words, *As for thy fathers.*

thy land...thy people. i.e. the Babylonian king had sacrificed his people's lives and wealth to his own ambition. But the LXX. has τὴν γῆν μου...τὸν λαόν μου.

the seed of evil-doers. Better (by a slight correction), *the seed of an evil-doer*; see *v.* 21 (*init.*).

shall not be named. i.e. shall cease to exist.

21. *Prepare*, etc. Probably addressed to those to whom the direction in xiii. 2 is given.

slaughter. Better, *a slaughtering-place* (Cheyne, *shambles*).

of their fathers. The context requires (with LXX. B) *of their father.*

with cities. i.e. (if the text is correct) fortresses, to control subject populations. But better (by a slight emendation), *with ruins* (עִיִּים for עָרִים): cf. *v.* 17.

22—23. A renewed declaration of the Lord's purpose to destroy Babylon.

These two *vv.* are a later appendix to the preceding ode, from which they differ both in form and in subject-matter, and relate, like

cities. 22 And I will rise up against them, saith the LORD of hosts, and cut off from Babylon name and remnant, and son and son's son, saith the LORD. 23 I will also make it a possession for the porcupine, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the LORD of hosts.

c. xiii., to Babylon itself, and not to its king. They were probably added in post-exilic times as a further prediction of a destruction which had not been realized in 538 on the scale expected.

22. *against them.* i.e. the Babylonians in general, and not merely the king's offspring (*v.* 21).

son and son's son. There is an alliteration in the original, similar to *chick and child.*

23. *porcupine.* Or *hedgehog.* Others render *bittern,* since the creature meant is here associated with water and in Zeph. ii. 14 with the pelican, a water bird; but the etymology (the cognate verb means *to roll up,* see xxxviii. 12) and the versions (LXX. ἐχῖνος, Vulg. *ericius*) favour the translation of the text.

pools of water. Babylon is represented by Diodorus Siculus (II. 7) as surrounded by marshes; and the country was often inundated by floods, the violence of which was in some measure reduced by a system of canals and ditches (Strabo, XVI. i. § 9). The neglect of these works, after the destruction of the city, would naturally turn the vicinity into a swamp.

the besom, etc. A figure for a clearance that would leave nothing behind (cf. 1 Kgs. xiv. 10, and the parallel figure in 2 Kgs. xxi. 13).

XIV. 24—27.

This short section is an announcement of the Lord's design to shatter the might of Assyria. The oracle doubtless proceeds from Isaiah, whose diction it exhibits; and is probably the complement of some earlier prophecy, since it appears to re-affirm a purpose previously expressed. The most plausible date is Sennacherib's invasion in 701, so that the section will belong to the same period as x. 5 f.; but whether it ever followed upon x. 14 or 15 (as Cheyne thinks) is more doubtful; for *v.* 25[b], which favours such a connection, may be suspected of being an interpolation (see note). The subject-matter has parallels in xvii. 12—14, x. 33, 34, xxx. 27—33, xxxi. 8, 9.

24 The LORD of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand: 25 that I will break the Assyrian in my land, and

24. *as I have thought.* The Lord's thoughts, which are certain of realization, contrast with those of the Assyrian king described in x. 7.

upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulder. 26 This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth: and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations. 27 For the LORD of hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?

25. *my mountains.* The overthrow of the Assyrians in the Lord's land would reveal to the world who was the author of it (cf. xviii. 4, 7, xxix. 7, 8). The actual phrase here used only recurs in exilic and post-exilic writings (xlix. 11, lxv. 9, Ezek. xxxviii. 21, Zech. xiv. 5); but this is insufficient to neutralize the impression of Isaianic authorship produced by other features of the passage.

from off them. The pronoun must relate to the people of Judah. But the abruptness of the reference supports the suggestion that the last half of this *v.* is a marginal insertion, reproducing x. 27 (cf. ix. 4). Apart from it, the section consists of two symmetrical divisions or stanzas.

26. *the whole earth.* The Assyrian empire must have absorbed by 701 the greater part of the world as known to the Hebrews of Isaiah's time (comprising as it did little more than the countries between the Euphrates and the Nile); cf. x. 13, 14, xvii. 12, xxix. 7, xxx. 28.

27. *is stretched out.* i.e. to smite; cf. v. 25, ix. 12, 17, 21.

XIV. 28—32.

This prophecy must have been addressed to the Philistines at a time when the removal or crippling of an oppressor had inspired them with hopes, and had led them to approach Judah with a view to concerted action for their common interests. The writer declares that the hopes of Philistia will be disappointed, but that Judah has in Zion, the Lord's city, an assured defence.

There is no adequate reason for doubting that the section in the main proceeds from Isaiah, or for assigning it (with Duhm and Marti) to the fourth century. Its precise date, however, is difficult to determine with confidence. The superscription assigns it to the year when Ahaz died (which cannot be ascertained with certainty, see p. xl f.), and the writer of it probably identified the *rod* and the *serpent's root* alluded to in *v.* 29 with that king, and the *basilisk* and *fiery flying serpent* with Hezekiah (cf. 2 Kgs. xviii. 8). But there is no evidence that Ahaz was formidable to Philistia (see, on the contrary, 2 Ch. xxviii. 18); and the fact that the people of Judah are represented in the prophecy (*v.* 32) as themselves needing a refuge makes it impossible that any Judæan king can be meant. On the other hand, the supposition that the *rod* represents an Assyrian king finds support in the parallels furnished by x. 5, 24, ix. 4. Of Assyrian kings three died during Isaiah's lifetime, Tiglath-pileser III. in 727, Shalmaneser IV. in 722, and Sargon in 705; and there is evidence that on the occasions of the deaths of the two last-mentioned rulers the Philistines

sought to throw off the Assyrian yoke. In 720, shortly after Sargon had succeeded Shalmaneser, Hanun (Hanno) of Gaza revolted; and some 15 or 18 years later, when Sennacherib had succeeded Sargon, the people of Ekron rebelled, and dethroned the king whom Assyria had imposed upon them (p. xxvi). On the last occasion, which occurred between 705 and 701, the Ekronites must have entered into negotiations with Hezekiah, king of Judah, before their revolt, since they placed in his hands their dethroned king. Consequently this seems the most likely time when the present oracle was delivered, inasmuch as it implies the presence at Jerusalem of Philistine envoys, who had come with overtures for a coalition against Assyria, and is designed to discourage the Jewish statesmen from acceding to their proposals. Cheyne decides for the earlier date 720.

28 In the year that king Ahaz died was this [1]burden.

29 Rejoice not, O Philistia, all of thee, because the rod that smote thee is broken: for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a [2]basilisk, and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent. 30 And the firstborn of the poor shall feed, and the needy shall lie down in safety: and I will kill thy root with famine, and thy remnant shall be slain. 31 Howl, O gate; cry, O city; thou art

[1] Or, *oracle* [2] Or, *adder*

28. *In the year*, etc. The heading probably proceeds from an editor: cf. xx. 1.

29. *all of thee.* i.e. all the five cities (Josh. xiii. 3, Jud. iii. 3) of which the Philistine confederation consisted.

the serpent's root. The figure is a blend of the metaphors that precede and follow. The two symbols of the *rod* (cf. x. 5, 15, 24) and the *serpent's root* both represent Sargon.

a basilisk...serpent. These two symbols likewise represent a single king, viz. Sargon's successor Sennacherib. For *basilisk* see on xi. 8. The idea of a *flying serpent* is perhaps based on accounts of an arboreal lizard (such as is found in the East Indies), having the lower ribs extended and connected by folds of skin which look like wings (cf. on xxx. 6). *Fiery* probably means *venomous* (cf. Num. xxi. 6).

30. *the firstborn of the poor.* i.e. the poorest (cf. Job xviii. 13, *the firstborn of death*, i.e. the deadliest disease). Some critics substitute *in my meadows* or *on my mountains* (בְּכָרֵי or בְּהָרֵי for בְּכוֹרֵי) and connect them with *the poor shall feed*: otherwise *feed* must be qualified by *in safety* (from the following clause).

The terms *poor* and *needy* must denote the Jewish people, impoverished by a foreign oppressor; but the terms are more natural in exilic or post-exilic times, after the loss of national independence (cf. xxv. 4, xli. 17, Ps. lxxiv. 21), and in consequence the Isaianic origin of the section has been denied. But the *v.* interrupts the sequence between *vv.* 29 and 31, and may be a later insertion.

thy root. Better (with the LXX.), *thy seed.*

melted away, O Philistia, all of thee; for there cometh a smoke out of the north, and [1]none standeth aloof at his appointed times. 32 What then shall one answer the messengers of the nation? That the LORD hath founded Zion, and in her shall the afflicted of his people take refuge.

[1] Or, *there is no straggler in his ranks*

31. *art melted away.* Better, as an imperative, *melt away*, i.e. collapse through fear (Ex. xv. 15, Josh. ii. 9, Jer. xlix. 23).

a smoke. i.e. a cloud of dust raised by the advancing host (cf. Verg. *A.* XI. 908, *fumantes pulvere campos*), or perhaps a figure, like our "war-cloud."

none standeth aloof, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *there is no straggler in his ranks* (or *at his musters*).

32. *What then shall one*, etc. Perhaps better (with Duhm), *What shall my people answer* (inserting עַמִּי).

That the LORD...Zion. Isaiah believed that, though Judah would be devastated, its capital would survive any assault made upon it by the Assyrians: see xxix. 7, xxxi. 5, xxxiii. 20.

the afflicted of his people. The genitive is appositional—*the afflicted, who are His people.*

Isaiah in 705 was unsuccessful in his efforts to keep Judah from entanglements with the Philistine cities, for Hezekiah undertook to keep under arrest the philo-Assyrian king of Ekron whom his subjects dethroned; and the prophet's predictions of evil for Philistia were verified by Sennacherib's capture of both Ekron and Ashkelon. Hezekiah's policy brought upon Judah also the horrors of an invasion (see xxxvi. 1), but Jerusalem itself escaped capture, as Isaiah had foretold.

CHAPTERS XV.—XVI.

These two cc. contain (1) an elegy over a hostile invasion of Moab in the past (xv. 1—9[a], xvi. 7—11); (2) a prophecy, embedded in the elegy, predicting another similar calamity for Moab in the future, from which it will vainly seek protection from Judah (xv. 9[b]—xvi. 6, xvi. 12); (3) an epilogue re-affirming the prophecy and declaring that the predicted disaster will befall Moab in the *near* future (xvi. 13, 14).

(1) The elegiac part is characterised by a sympathetic feeling for Moab (xv. 5, xvi. 9, 11), and is not likely to be the production of Isaiah, from whom its writer differs greatly in manner, diction, and local knowledge. (*a*) His style is plaintive and monotonous, and is remarkable for the regularity with which successive sentences are introduced by the same or similar connecting particles (*for*, *therefore* (or *wherefore*)); whereas Isaiah's writings are distinguished by unusual vigour and variety. (*b*) His vocabulary is unlike Isaiah's, and contains a number of peculiar forms. (*c*) He shews great familiarity with the land E. of the Dead Sea, a district which never belonged

to Isaiah's native country Judah, but was alternately in possession of the Ephraimite kingdom and of Moab. This acquaintance with the trans-Jordanic region suggests that the author was a native of it and a subject of the northern kingdom. Hitzig, who treated the whole section xv. 1—xvi. 12 as relating to the future, inferred from the fact that the Moabites are represented as fleeing southward (xv. 7) that their foe came from the north, and conjectured that the prophecy was the work of Jonah, the son of Amittai, from Gath Hepher on the borders of Zebulun, in which he predicted the success of Jeroboam II. of Israel (*circ.* 781—740), who recovered the territory lost by his predecessors, and extended his conquests to the Dead Sea (2 Kgs. xiv. 25). The contemporary king of Judah was Uzziah (or Azariah, 2 Kgs. xv. 1), who asserted his authority over Edom (2 Kgs. xiv. 22), and who, on this view, is the sovereign to whom the Moabites appealed (xvi. 1). But it is scarcely likely that a prophet of Northern Israel would sympathize with Moab when invaded by his own countrymen; and the poem (in xv. 1—9[a], xvi. 7—11) seems to relate to a disaster that has already occurred, not to one still to come. Moreover, the attack here described cannot come from the north, since the southern towns of Ar and Kir are assaulted before the more northerly places like Nebo, Medeba, and Heshbon, whereas the latter would have been the first to suffer from an Israelite invasion. The inroad seems really to have come from the east, and the assailants to have been Arab tribes (cf. Jud. vi. 3 f., Ezek. xxv. 8—11).

(2) The prophecy in xv. 9[b]—xvi. 6, 12, which breaks up the elegy into two parts, seems to be by a different writer, who has used an earlier poem as a frame for his own composition. Though it reproduces some Isaianic expressions (cf. xvi. 1 with i. 8, x. 32, xvi. 2 with x. 14), it does not resemble Isaiah's work; and like (1), it may proceed from an Ephraimite prophet. The answer represented as returned by Judah to the Moabites' appeal seems to betray an *animus* against Moab; and the view of Hitzig described above may be the true account of the origin of this part of the composite oracle.

(3) The epilogue (xvi. 13, 14), for a passage of such small compass, contains a large proportion of Isaianic words. It is scarcely probable, however, that a prophet of such power and originality as Isaiah would himself append an epilogue to the composition of an earlier writer or writers (if xv. 1—xvi. 12 is correctly regarded as such). Possibly *v.* 14 is an Isaianic fragment (predicting an overthrow for Moab, perhaps from Sargon, see p. 108) which has been attached to the foregoing section by an editor: for a plausible date see note on xvi. 13.

A large portion of these two cc. occurs also in Jer. xlviii., though the succession of the *vv.* (which are much modified) is different (Is. xv. 2—7 = Jer. xlviii. 37, 38, 34, 35, 34, 5, 34, 36, Is. xvi. 6—11 = Jer. xlviii. 29—33, 36).

The Moabites, who by race were akin to Israel (Gen. xix. 30 f.), occupied at an early period the country E. of the Dead Sea by the expulsion of the Emim (Deut. ii. 9—11); but were themselves afterwards driven out of the district N. of the Arnon by the Amorites (Num. xxi. 26). This region was taken from the Amorites by the Israelites (Num. xxi. 24); but in the time of Ehud was regained by the Moabites, who even crossed the Jordan and for a time occupied Jericho (Jud. iii. 12, 13). Saul fought successfully against them (1 Sam. xiv. 47), and David made them tributary (2 Sam. viii. 2). After the Disruption they

presumably passed under the suzerainty of Ephraim, but seem to have revolted. They were reconquered by Omri (see Mesha's inscription), but shook off the Israelite yoke in the time of Ahab and Joram (2 Kgs. i. 1, iii. 5); and the attempt of Joram to re-assert his authority ended in failure (2 Kgs. iii. 27). By Jeroboam II., however (as has been said), they must have been re-subdued; though they recovered their independence under his feeble successors. Like the other Palestinian states they suffered from Assyrian aggression. In 711 they were among those who are described by Sargon as "plotting treason" against their Assyrian suzerain; but on the occasion of the wide-spread Palestinian revolt in 701 their submission is expressly recorded by Sennacherib (see p. xxvi).

Chapter XV.

XV. 1 The [1]burden of Moab.

For [2]in a night Ar of Moab is laid waste, *and* brought to nought; for [2]in a night Kir of Moab is laid waste, *and* brought to nought. 2 [3]He is gone up to [4]Bayith, and to Dibon, to the high places, to weep: Moab howleth [5]over Nebo, and [5]over

[1] Or, *oracle concerning* [2] Or, *in the night*
[3] Or, *Bayith and Dibon are gone up to the high places*
[4] Or, *the temple* [5] Or, *upon*

XV. 1—9. A description of the consternation and distress in Moab when its chief cities were suddenly stormed by an enemy.

1. *For.* This particle (which occurs in xv. 5, 6, 8, 9, xvi. 8, 9) is perhaps elliptical: *Alas! for* (or *that*). But it may possibly mean *surely* (cf. vii. 9).

Ar...Kir. Both places were Moabite strongholds lying S. of the Arnon, *Ar* being on the left bank of the river, and *Kir* (probably identical with *Kir-hareseth* (xvi. 7) and the mod. *Kerak*) being 17 m. further south.

2. *He is gone up.* Better (if the text is retained), *Bayith and Dibon* (i.e. their inhabitants) *are gone up.* But *Bayith* ("house") as the name of a place without any qualifying genitive (such as appears in *Beth-diblathaim* or *Beth-baal-meon*, cf. Jer. xlviii. 22, 23) is strange; and it has been proposed to read, *The daughter of Dibon* (cf. on i. 8) *has gone up* (עָלְתָה בַּת דִּיבֹן for עָלָה הַבַּיִת וְדִיבֹן): cf. Jer. xlviii. 18. Dibon (mod. *Dhibân*) was 6 m. N. of the Arnon, not far from Ar.

the high places. These were sites of religious worship, generally on the summits of hills (1 Sam. ix. 12, 13, 1 Kgs. xi. 7), furnished with altars for sacrifice (1 Kgs. iii. 4, 2 Kgs. xxiii. 15) and sometimes with buildings (1 Kgs. xii. 31, xiii. 32, 2 Kgs. xvii. 29). Examples of Canaanite high places have recently been found at Gezer, and elsewhere; and an Edomite high place is situated on the hills above Petra (see Driver, *Mod. Research as Illustrating the Bible*, pp. 60 f.). Mesha, the king of Moab, records in his inscription the erection of a high place to

Medeba: on all their heads is baldness, every beard is cut off.
3 In their streets they gird themselves with sackcloth: on their
housetops, and in their broad places, every one howleth, weeping
abundantly. 4 And Heshbon crieth out, and Elealeh; their
voice is heard even unto Jahaz: therefore the armed men of
Moab cry aloud; his soul trembleth within him. 5 My heart
crieth out for Moab; her [1]nobles *flee* unto Zoar, [2]to Eglath-
shelishiyah: for by the ascent of Luhith with weeping they go

[1] Or, as otherwise read, *fugitives* [2] Or, as *an heifer of three years old*

the national god Chemosh: cf. Jer. xlviii. 35. On Mount Hermon, near the highest summit, are the remains of more than one temple; and sacrifices are said to be still offered on Mount Sinai and Mount Serbal (Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, p. 142).

over Nebo, and over Medeba. Better, *upon Nebo and Medeba*, which are the mod. *Jebel Nebû* and *Mâdebâ* respectively, the former being near the northern end of the Dead Sea, and the latter some 12 m. to the S.E.

3. *on their housetops*, etc. Better (supplying a word (מִסְפֵּד) with the LXX.), *on their housetops there is lamentation, and in their broad places every one howleth, weeping abundantly*: cf. Jer. xlviii. 38. The housetops, which were flat, served as places of concourse and converse (cf. xxii. 1, Jud. xvi. 27, 1 Sam. ix. 25, Neh. viii. 16, Acts x. 9), and the *broad places* of the cities were similarly centres of meeting (Zech. viii. 4, Heb., Am. v. 16, 2 Ch. xxix. 4, xxxii. 6).

4. *Heshbon...Elealeh.* The mod. *Hesbân* and *Khirbet el Al*, towns lying close together N. or N.E. of Medeba, some 16 m. E. of the Jordan.

Jahaz. The site of this place (mentioned in Num. xxi. 23 and described by Eusebius as between Dibon and Medeba) has not been identified.

therefore the armed men. Cf. Jer. xlviii. 41. But better (after the LXX.), for the sake of the parallelism, *therefore the loins of Moab cry out*, reading חֲלָצֵי for חֲלֻצֵי. The particle of inference connects the thought with *v.* 1, and so probably in *v.* 7, xvi. 7, 9, 11. Its recurrence is regular enough to suggest that it marks the division of the poem into strophes.

5. *My heart.* Cf. xvi. 9, 11. But perhaps better, *His* (Moab's) *heart* (לִבּוֹ? for לִבִּי): LXX. ἡ καρδία τῆς Μωαβίτιδος.

her nobles. Literally, *her bars*, i.e. her chief defenders (cf. Hos. xi. 6). The word, differently pointed, means *her fugitives* (בְּרִיחֶהָ for בְּרִיחֶהָ), but the true reading is probably *his fugitives* (בְּרִיחֹה, a collective singular).

Zoar. Perhaps *Khirbet es Sâfia*, near the south-eastern corner of the Dead Sea (see *DB.* IV. p. 985).

Eglath-shelishiyah. Probably the name of another locality—"the

up; for in the way of Horonaim they raise up a cry of destruction. 6 For the waters of Nimrim shall be [1]desolate: for the grass is withered away, the tender grass faileth, there is no green thing. 7 Therefore the abundance they have gotten, and that which they have laid up, shall they carry away [2]to the brook of the willows. 8 For the cry is gone round about the borders of Moab; the howling thereof unto Eglaim, and the howling thereof unto Beer-elim. 9 For the waters of Dimon are full of

[1] Heb. *desolations.* [2] Or, *over*

third Eglath" (cf. the dual *Eglaim* in *v.* 8), though nothing is known of it. The LXX. and Vulg. render *a heifer three years old* (cf. mg.): if the translation be adopted, the words are best applied to Moab (cf. Jer. xxxi. 18, Hos. x. 11) which is so described because it was now brought under the yoke (kine being broken in when three years old, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VIII. 70 (45)).

Luhith. Described by Eusebius as being between Zoar (see on *v.* 5) and Rabbath Moab S. of the Arnon and called in his time *Loueitha* (see Driver, *Exp. Times*, Aug. 1910).

Horonaim. Since in Jer. xlviii. 5 mention is made of the *going down of Horonaim*, the place may have been at the foot of the slope on which Luhith stood.

a cry of destruction. i.e. a lament for the destruction caused by the invaders.

6. *Nimrim.* Perhaps *Wâdy Numeire*, at the S.E. corner of the Dead Sea.

shall be desolate. Better, *become desolate.* The desolation described is due to the invaders, whose practice it was to stop the springs, fell the trees, and deface the fields by casting stones upon them (see 2 Kgs. iii. 19, 25).

7. *the abundance*, etc. i.e. their possessions and savings.

shall they carry. Better, *they carry.*

brook of the willows. Or *torrent of the poplars* (see on xliv. 4). It is generally thought to be the same as the *brook of the Arabah* (Am. vi. 14), and has been identified with the mod. *Wâdy el Ahsa*, which flows into the southern end of the Dead Sea, and was probably the boundary between Moab and Edom.

8. *Eglaim.* Identified with a locality of the same name mentioned by Eusebius as situated 8 m. S. of Rabbath Moab.

Beer-elim. Perhaps the *Beer* of Num. xxi. 16. This and the preceding place may have been situated near the southern and northern borders of Moab respectively.

9. *Dimon.* Perhaps an intentional substitute for *Dibon* (which the Vulg. reads) to produce an assonance with the following word *blood* (דָּם). Its waters are represented as coloured by the blood of Moab's slaughtered people (cf. 2 Kgs. iii. 22).

blood: for I will bring yet more upon Dimon, a lion upon him that escapeth of Moab, and upon the remnant of the land.

I will bring. The speaker must be the Lord. The passage here passes from lament to menace, predicting for Moab the occurrence of another calamity in addition to the one already sustained. The clause is probably the beginning of an insertion conveying a prophecy and extending to xvi. 6.

a lion. Probably a figure for a desolating conqueror (cf. v. 29, Jer. iv. 7).

Chapter XVI.

XVI. 1 [1]Send ye the lambs for the ruler of the land from [2]Sela [3]*which is* toward the wilderness, unto the mount of the daughter of Zion. 2 For it shall be that, as wandering birds,

[1] See 2 Kings iii. 4. [2] Or, *Petra* [3] Or, *to*

XVI. 1—6. An appeal from the Moabites to the people of Judah for protection, and a disheartening response.

The occasion is not the past overthrow described in xv. 1—9[a], but the coming overthrow predicted in xv. 9[b]. The scene is apparently placed in Edom, into which country it is assumed that the Moabites will have been driven (as had been the case previously, xv. 7), and whence they will petition Judah to give them succour.

1. This *v.* and the next should be transposed (see *v.* 2, note).

Send ye. If the text is sound, the imperative must be regarded as a direction from the Edomites to the Moabites, or from the Moabite leaders to their followers, to despatch to the ruler of Zion a present to reinforce their appeal for succour; but the connection is much improved by the emendation *And they shall send* (וְשָׁלְחוּ for שִׁלְחוּ).

the lambs. Moab was a pastoral country, and sheep constituted the tribute which was paid when Moab was subject to the kingdom of Ephraim (2 Kgs. iii. 4). In place of *lambs* Grätz suggests *a gift* (or *tribute*) (אֶשְׁכַּר for כַּר). The *ruler of the land* (i.e. of Judah), if the date suggested for the prophecy (p. 107) be correct, must be Uzziah.

from Sela which, etc. Better, *from Sela toward the wilderness*, describing the starting-point and the direction of the proposed mission to the Jewish capital. *Sela* is mentioned as a city of Edom in 2 Kgs. xiv. 7, and is usually identified with Petra (see mg.); but Petra seems too far S., and the word is possibly employed in the sense of *the rock*, and intended to describe the rocky region of Edom in general (cf. xlii. 11, Ob. *v.* 3 = Jer. xlix. 16). The *wilderness* is the barren district in the south of Judah, across which the envoys, with their present, would have to travel (Josh. xv. 61).

2. *For it shall be*, etc. Better, *And it shall be.* This *v.* is a prediction like xv. 9[b], and describes the defenceless condition in which

as a scattered nest, so shall the daughters of Moab be at the
fords of Arnon. 3 Give counsel, execute judgement; make thy
shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday: hide the
outcasts; bewray not the wanderer. 4 [1]Let mine outcasts
dwell with thee; as for Moab, be thou a covert to him from the
face of the spoiler: for [2]the extortioner is brought to nought,
spoiling ceaseth, [3]the oppressors are consumed out of the land.
5 And a throne shall be established in mercy, and one shall sit

[1] According to many ancient versions, *Let the outcasts of Moab dwell with thee; be thou &c.* [2] Or, *extortion* [3] Heb. *the treaders down.*

the Moabites will find themselves when the invasion there announced occurs. The verse in its present position interrupts the connection between *vv.* 1 and 3, and would be more appropriately placed before *v.* 1, and attached to c. xv. The view that the occasion to which xv. 9[b]—xvi. 6 refers is distinct from that which is the subject of xv. 1—9[a] is confirmed by the fact that the Moabite fugitives are here represented as gathered at the Arnon, whereas in xv. 7 the flight described has reached a stream much further south (see note there).

nest. i.e. nestlings: cf. Deut. xxxii. 11, Verg. *A.* XII. 475, *nidi loquaces.*

the daughters of Moab. i.e. the Moabite communities (cf. Ps. xlviii. 11).

3. *Give counsel*, etc. The speakers are the Moabite envoys addressing Zion.

execute judgement. Better, *deliver* (as mediator) *a judgment* between the pursuer and the pursued.

thy shadow...noonday. Figures for relief or shelter in oppressive circumstances: cf. iv. 6, xxx. 2, xxxii. 2, Livy, VIII. 30, *umbra vestri auxilii, Romani, tegi possumus.*

4. *Let mine outcasts*, etc. If the text is retained, the rendering must be, *Let mine outcasts, even Moab's, dwell with thee.* But better, after the LXX. and Syr. (see mg.), *Let the outcasts of Moab dwell with thee* (נִדְּחֵי for נִדְּחֵי). For *be thou* there is employed an unusual form of the verb, occurring in both early and late writings (Gen. xxvii. 29, Neh. vi. 6, Eccles. ii. 22, xi. 3), which here may be a dialectic (Ephraimite) peculiarity.

for the extortioner. Probably a word (עֹד) is lost, and the rendering should be *until the extortioner is brought to nought*, etc. (the perfects being equivalent to future perfects, as in 2 Kgs. vii. 3). Marti emends *spoiling* to *the spoiler* (שֹׁדֵד for שֹׁד).

5. *And a throne*, etc. Better, *Then a throne*, etc. The words explain the advantages which will accrue to the Judæan king, if he will interpose to protect the fugitives: the authority of himself and his dynasty (instead of Ephraim's) will be established over Moab (which was once subject to David, 2 Sam. viii. 2) by ties of gratitude for mercy and justice.

thereon in truth, in the tent of David; judging, and seeking judgement, and swift to do righteousness.

6 We have heard of the pride of Moab, *that* he is very proud; even of his arrogancy, and his pride, and his wrath; his boastings are nought. 7 Therefore shall Moab howl for Moab, every one shall howl: for the [1]raisin-cakes of Kir-hareseth shall ye mourn, utterly stricken. 8 For the fields of Heshbon languish, *and* the vine of Sibmah; [2]the lords of the nations have broken down the choice plants thereof; they reached even unto Jazer, they wandered into the wilderness; her branches

[1] Or, *foundations* [2] Or, *her choice plants did break down the lords of nations*

in truth. Equivalent to *permanently* (cf. xxxix. 8, Jer. xiv. 13).

in the tent of David. Implying the continuance of the Davidic dynasty. The phrase (like Am. ix. 11) is a survival from the nomadic life of early Israel: cf. 2 Sam. xx. 1, 1 Kgs. xii. 16.

6. *We have heard,* etc. These words are Judah's answer to Moab's plea.

the pride of Moab. Reference to this feature in the Moabite character occurs in xxv. 11, Zeph. ii. 10, Jer. xlviii. 26, 42.

his boastings are nought. Or, (*we have heard*) *of the insincerity of his boastings* (i.e. his professions, *v.* 5).

7—11. A wail over the desolation of the Moabite vineyards.

7. *shall Moab...for Moab.* Perhaps better, *Moab howls to Moab.* In the present connection the lament appears to be renewed in consequence of the repulse received from Judah; but probably originally the passage was a continuation of xv. 1—9[a].

the raisin-cakes. These were not only favourite dainties (Cant. ii. 5), but were also presented as offerings to the national god (Chemosh). They are mentioned in connection with the feasts of false gods in Hos. iii. 1, and with a feast of the Lord in 2 Sam. vi. 19.

Kir-hareseth. See on xv. 1. Vineyards are said still to abound near Kerak.

shall ye mourn. The context requires *they mourn* (הָגוּ for תֶּהְגּוּ).

8. *the fields.* Used here of vineyards, as in Deut. xxxii. 32.

languish. i.e. wither from want of irrigation (see xv. 6).

Sibmah. The mod. *Sûmia* (near Heshbon, Nebo and Elealeh, Num. xxxii. 37, 38), where there are ruined vineyard towers.

the lords of the nations. These words should be taken as the object, not the subject, of the verb: hence better, *her choice plants* (or *clusters*) *did break down* (i.e. intoxicate, cf. xxviii. 1) *the lords of nations* (the wine of Sibmah being exported abroad).

they reached, etc. i.e. the cultivation of the Sibmah vine extended northward, eastward, and westward to the places named.

Jazer. Perhaps the mod. *Khirbet Sar,* 10 m. N. of Heshbon.

the wilderness. i.e. the Syrian desert.

were spread abroad, they passed over the sea. 9 Therefore I will weep with the weeping of Jazer for the vine of Sibmah: I will water thee with my tears, O Heshbon, and Elealeh: for upon thy summer fruits and upon thy harvest the *battle* shout is fallen. 10 And gladness is taken away, and joy out of the fruitful field; and in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither joyful noise: no treader shall tread out wine in the presses; I have made the *vintage* shout to cease. 11 Wherefore my bowels sound like an harp for Moab, and mine inward parts for Kir-heres. 12 And it shall come to pass, when Moab presenteth himself, when he wearieth himself upon the high place, and shall come to his sanctuary to pray, that he shall not prevail.

passed over the sea. Better, *passed to the sea* (i.e. the Dead Sea). For the construction cf. Am. v. 5, vi. 2.

9. *I will weep.* Better, *I weep* (cf. *v.* 11).

upon thy summer fruits. i.e. the sudden calamity of which xv. 1 speaks took place in the summer, when the vintage was ripe.

thy harvest. i.e. thy grape harvest, the word *harvest* (קָצִיר) being substituted in place of the proper term *vintage* (בָּצִיר) for the sake of the assonance with the neighbouring word *summer fruits* (קַיִץ). But בָּצִיר occurs in the LXX. and the parallel passage Jer. xlviii. 32.

the battle *shout.* Literally, *the shout,* the same term being used for the fierce war-cry of an invader (see Jer. li. 14) and for the cheerful shouting of vintagers (*v.* 10, Jer. xxv. 30): the former will now replace the latter (cf. Jer. xlviii. 33).

10. *in the presses.* Better, *into the vats* (LXX. τὰ ὑπολήνια); see on v. 2.

I have made...to cease. The pronoun must refer to the Lord (as in xv. 9), but better (with the LXX.), *the vintage shout has been made to cease* (הִשְׁבַּתִּי for הִשְׁבַּח).

11. *my bowels,* etc. i.e. my emotions are touched and find expression. Among the Hebrews the bowels were regarded as the seat of tender feeling (see lxiii. 15, 1 Kgs. iii. 26, Jer. iv. 19, xxxi. 20, Cant. v. 4 mg.): cf. the Greek σπλάγχνα (Col. iii. 12, Phil. i. 8, ii. 1).

Kir-heres. Probably an accidental error for *Kir-hareseth* (*v.* 7).

12. *And it shall come,* etc. This *v.* is a prediction, and like xv. 9ᵇ—xvi. 6 is part of an insertion in the original elegy.

presenteth himself, etc. i.e. resorts to the sanctuaries (i. 12) for purposes of intercession (cf. xv. 2).

when he wearieth himself. Cf. 1 Kgs. xviii. 26. But the clause is out of place before the mention of the act of prayer, and is probably to be omitted as an accidental duplicate of the preceding word (which it closely resembles).

13 This is the word that the LORD spake concerning Moab
in time past. 14 But now the LORD hath spoken, saying, Within
three years, as the years of an hireling, and the glory of Moab
shall be brought into contempt, with all his great multitude;
and the remnant shall be very small and of no account.

13—14. A prediction that a calamity of a crushing character will befall Moab within a very brief interval.

The oracle in *v.* 14 may possibly be Isaianic (Driver suggesting as its date some year shortly before 711 when Moab was intriguing against Assyria, cf. on c. xx.). If it is really Isaiah's, the editor (from whom *v.* 13 proceeds) has used it to affirm that the prediction of renewed woe for Moab, contained in xv. 9[b]—xvi. 6, 12, will be fulfilled very shortly through an Assyrian invasion. But the close resemblance between this and the similar epilogue (xxi. 16, 17) attached to xxi. 13—15 throws some doubt upon the Isaianic origin of both.

14. *as the years of an hireling.* i.e. the period named is not likely to be exceeded (a hireling only working for the stipulated time): cf. xxi. 16.

the glory. Probably (in view of the parallel clause) a collective expression for *the honourable men*: cf. v. 13, Heb.

CHAPTER XVII. 1—11.

This section, described as *the burden of* (better, *oracle concerning*) *Damascus*, predicts not only the utter destruction of that city, but also an overwhelming disaster for Ephraim, which only a small remnant will survive. It appears to assume the existence of the confederacy between Rezin and Pekah (vii. 1, cf. *vv.* 3, 10), and hence may be dated about 735, being probably later than ix. 8—21 and v. 25—30 and earlier than the prophecies in cc. vii., viii.

Damascus, whose people were immigrants from Kir (Am. ix. 7), was conquered by David (2 Sam. viii. 3—6), but revolted under Solomon (1 Kgs. xi. 23, 24), and after the secession of the northern tribes from Judah was engaged in a series of wars with the Ephraimite kingdom, in which it met with varying fortune (1 Kgs. xv. 20, xx., xxii. 1 f., 2 Kgs. vi. 8—vii. 20, viii. 28, 29, x. 32, xiii. 3). By Jeroboam II. it seems to have been subjugated (2 Kgs. xiv. 28), but under his successors it regained its independence. In the time of Pekah, it formed with Ephraim the alliance alluded to, in order to oppose Assyria; but the resistance offered proved futile, and Damascus was taken in 732, and its people deported and replaced by Assyrian colonists (Jos. *Ant.* IX. xii. 3). It was an important place in Babylonian, Persian, and Greek times, and is still the chief city of Syria, with a population of 150,000.

XVII. 1 The [1]burden of Damascus.

Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap. 2 The cities of Aroer are forsaken: they shall be for flocks, which shall lie down, and none shall make them afraid. 3 The fortress also shall cease from Ephraim, and the kingdom [2]from Damascus, and the remnant of Syria; they shall be as the glory of the children of Israel, saith the LORD of hosts.

4 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the glory of Jacob shall be made thin, and the fatness of his flesh shall wax

[1] Or, *oracle concerning*
[2] Or, *from Damascus; and the remnant of Syria shall &c.*

XVII. 1—3. A prediction of the extinction of Damascus.

1. *Damascus.* The city is situated E. of Hermon, in a fertile vale watered by the two rivers Abana (mod. *Barada*) and Pharpar (mod. *Awaj*), which flow into some neighbouring swamps, now called the Meadow Lakes.

a ruinous heap. Better (omitting a word with the LXX.), *a ruin.*

2. *The cities of Aroer.* Of the three Aroers named in the O.T. one was in Judah (1 Sam. xxx. 28) and the others in Reuben and Gad respectively (Josh. xiii. 16, 25). If the text is retained the last must be alluded to, and taken to represent Gilead, which was ravaged by Tiglath-pileser in 734 (2 Kgs. xv. 29). But the prediction in *vv.* 1—3 seems to relate to Damascus alone, not to the kingdom of Ephraim; and since the LXX. has εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (עָדֵי עַד for עָרֵי עֲרֹעֵר) the true reading is probably *Her* (Damascus') *cities for ever are forsaken.*

they...for flocks. i.e. their sites shall be unoccupied and turned into pasture grounds (cf. v. 17, xxvii. 10, xxxii. 14).

3. *The fortress.* Probably not Samaria, or the Ephraimite fortresses collectively, but Damascus, which appeared to be a bulwark to Ephraim against the Assyrians.

and the kingdom, etc. Better (with the LXX. א, A), *and the kingdom* (i.e. its independence) shall cease *from Damascus, and the remnant of Syria shall perish* (inserting יאבד). The same fate is here predicted for the nation as in vii. 16, viii. 4.

as the glory, etc. The phrase is meant ironically: the people of Damascus shall resemble the pitiful remnant to which the once glorious kingdom of Israel is destined to be reduced. The clause anticipates awkwardly the following *v.*, and is perhaps an insertion based on it.

4—11. A prediction of loss and humiliation for Israel, and an explanation of the cause of its calamities.

4. *the glory of Jacob.* i.e. the population and wealth of the kingdom of Ephraim, the diminution of which is likened to the ravages of illness (cf. x. 16).

lean. 5 And it shall be as when the harvestman gathereth the standing corn, and his arm reapeth the ears; yea, it shall be as when one gleaneth ears in the valley of Rephaim. 6 Yet there shall be left therein gleanings, as the [1]shaking of an olive tree, two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost branches of a fruitful tree, saith the LORD, the God of Israel. 7 In that day shall a man look unto his Maker, and his eyes shall have respect to the Holy One of Israel. 8 And he shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands, neither shall he have respect to that which his fingers have made, either the [2]Asherim, or the sun-images. 9 In that

[1] Heb. *beating.* [2] See Ex. xxxiv. 13.

5—6. The figure of bodily decay is here replaced by others. Israel is to be denuded of its people and possessions as completely as a corn field or olive yard is stripped by the reapers or gatherers, who leave little behind.

5. *the harvestman.* The rendering involves a slight emendation of the original (קָצִיר for קָצִיר), which is required by the words *his arm.* Amongst the Hebrews corn was cut close to the ears, the straw being regarded as of small value.

the valley of Rephaim. A vale or perhaps a series of vales, S.W. of Jerusalem (Josh. xv. 8), and hence a familiar locality to the prophet and his countrymen. Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xii. 4) describes it as extending to Bethlehem: cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 13, 14.

6. *Yet there shall be left*, etc. Better, *And there shall be left therein* (i.e. in Jacob, *v.* 4) *only gleanings*, etc.

shaking. Better (as in the mg.), *beating.* Olive trees were regularly beaten to dislodge the fruit: cf. xxiv. 13, Deut. xxiv. 20.

a fruitful tree. In the Heb. there is a play upon the name *Ephraim* which is connected in Gen. xli. 52 with the verb *pārah* "to be fruitful" (cf. Gen. xlix. 22, Hos. xiii. 15).

7—8. These two *vv.* which predict Ephraim's conversion, have been suspected to be a late insertion (of consolatory purport) because the context on both sides is exclusively concerned with the *desolation* of Ephraim. The passage resembles xxx. 22, cf. also xxvii. 9.

7. *shall a man look unto*, etc. i.e. the survivors shall repose confidence in the Lord (cf. xxxi. 1, xxii. 11).

his Maker. The expression is not found elsewhere in Isaiah, but occurs in Deutero-Isaiah (li. 13, liv. 5).

8. *the altars.* i.e. such as had been constructed for idolatrous rites (cf. Hos. viii. 11, x. 1, xii. 11). But since the following phrase *the work of his hands* usually means idols (ii. 8, 20, xxxvii. 19) not altars, some critics reject the word here as a mistaken gloss.

Asherim. These were wooden poles (Ex. xxxiv. 13, Jud. vi. 26), designed to symbolize the presence of a divinity or to mark the

day shall his strong cities be as the forsaken places [1]in the wood and on the mountain top, which were forsaken from before the children of Israel: and it shall be a desolation. 10 For thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and hast not been

[1] The Sept. reads, *of the Amorites and the Hivites.*

precincts of a sanctuary (a Phoenician inscription speaking of "the Ashtoreth in the asherah, the god of Hammôn," Cooke, *NSI.* p. 50). They were probably originally emblems of a goddess of fertility called *Asherah*, who is mentioned together with Baal in Jud. iii. 7, who had prophets (1 Kgs. xviii. 19), graven images, and sacred vessels (2 Kgs. xxi. 7, xxiii. 4), and whose worship seems attested by the personal name *Abd-Ashratum* ("Servant of Asherah," cf. *Obadiah*, "Servant of JEHOVAH") in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets. Subsequently, however, such poles appear to have been used for religious purposes in connection with other gods (Jud. vi. 25), and were even sometimes erected near the altar of the Lord (2 Kgs. xxiii. 6, cf. the prohibition in Deut. xvi. 21).

sun-images. Heb. *hammânim* (xxvii. 9, Lev. xxvi. 30, Ezek. vi. 4, 6). These were probably obelisks representing a Phoenician deity, *Baal Hamman*, "the glowing Baal," who was perhaps associated with the sun. Such a deity is mentioned in inscriptions found at Carthage, Malta, and elsewhere; and a trace of his worship in Palestine occurs in the name of the locality *Hammon* in Asher (Josh. xix. 28). Both of the words *Asherim* and *sun-images* have been suspected to be glosses, as they injure the correspondence between *vv.* 7 and 8.

9. *In that day.* i.e. in the day of vengeance (*v.* 4).

his strong cities, etc. i.e. the fortresses of Ephraim will become as depopulated through foreign invasion as were the woods and hills of Canaan through the Israelite conquests under Joshua. But woods and hills are not naturally populous places, and the text has been plausibly corrected (in the main after the LXX.) to *thy cities shall be forsaken like the deserted places of the Hivite and the Amorite which they forsook before the children of Israel, and there shall be desolation* (reading עָרֶיךָ כַּעֲזוּבוֹת הַחִוִּי וְהָאֱמֹרִי for עָרֵי מָעוּזּוֹ כַּעֲזוּבַת הַחֹרֶשׁ וְהָאָמִיר). The concluding words *which they forsook*, etc., are redundant and rejected by Cheyne as a gloss. The name *Amorite* is sometimes employed to designate the pre-Israelite population of Canaan generally (Gen. xv. 16, xlviii. 22, Am. ii. 9, 10); but is also used, in distinction from other local Canaanite names, to denote the inhabitants of the hill-country as contrasted with those of the coast or the Jordan valley (see Num. xiii. 29). The *Hivites* seem to have dwelt in central Palestine, being particularly associated with Shechem and Gibeon (Gen. xxxiv. 2, Josh. ix. 7, etc.).

10. *For thou hast forgotten*, etc. The reliance upon foreign aid (*v.* 3) had been accompanied by the adoption of heathen religious rites (cf. the conduct of Ahaz, 2 Kgs. xvi. 10 f.).

mindful of the rock of thy [1]strength; therefore thou plantest [2]pleasant plants, and settest it with [3]strange slips: 11 in the day of thy planting thou hedgest it in, and in the morning thou

[1] Or, *stronghold* [2] Or, *plantings of Adonis*
[3] Or, *vine slips of a strange* god

the rock. A common appellation of the Lord (xxx. 29, xliv. 8, Deut. xxxii. 4, Hab. i. 12, Ps. xix. 14, xxxi. 2, xcii. 15), as affording protection and security like a mountain fastness (cf. the parallelism in xxx. 29, Ps. xviii. 2, lxxi. 3). It is also applied to heathen gods in Deut. xxxii. 4, and "great rock" is said to be a common title of Asshur and Bel in Assyrian.

pleasant plants. Better, *plants of Naaman.* Though there is no actual evidence, there is a certain presumption that *Naaman* ("darling") was a title of a heathen (presumably Syrian) deity. Kindred forms of the word occur in proper names like *Abinoam, Ahinoam*, which are analogous to theophoric appellations such as *Abijah, Ahijah;* and *Naaman* itself is a proper name (Gen. xlvi. 21, 2 Kgs. v. 1). The god or demi-god most likely to be so designated is *Tammuz*, of whose worship among the Hebrews in the sixth century Ezek. viii. 14 affords evidence. Tammuz was the Babylonian *Dumuzi*, beloved by the goddess Ishtar: he was a god of vegetation and especially corn; and spent half the year in the upper world, and half in the lower. His worship no doubt extended to Syria, and in the time of Isaiah the relations between N. Israel and Syria would conduce to the introduction into the former of the rites of a Syrian deity. Through the common Semitic title *Adonai*, "my lord," Tammuz came to be known to the Greeks as *Adonis*; and to the "gardens of Adonis" (κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος) the *plants of Naaman* were probably parallel in character and significance. The κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος (Plato, *Phaedr.* 276) were shallow pots of earth in which plants were set that grew and faded with equal rapidity. They symbolized the life and death of Adonis, with whose image they were carried out and flung into the sea or some spring. The rite was perhaps originally a piece of sympathetic magic, the rapid cultivation of the plants in the shallow earth being designed to promote the growth of the corn. The name *Naaman* occurs in the Arabic title (*Nahr Na'aman*) of the Syrian river Belus[1], and is probably preserved in that of the flower *Anemone* (though a popular etymology of the latter connected it with ἄνεμος, see Ovid, *Met.* x. 735).

settest it. The pronoun refers to "the garden" which is implied in the previous clause.

strange slips. Better (cf. the mg.), *slips of* (i.e. dedicated to) *a strange god* (Deut. xxxii. 16, Jer. ii. 25, iii. 13, v. 19).

11. *thou hedgest it in.* Perhaps better, *thou makest it grow.*

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[1] This is also a divine name, derived from *Baal* ("Lord").

makest thy seed to blossom: but the harvest [1]fleeth away in the day of grief and of desperate sorrow.

[1] Or, *shall be a heap*

the harvest fleeth, etc. The prophet takes the quickly-fading Adonis-gardens as emblematic of the hopes which the Ephraimites, in the time of Pekah, based on the alliance with Damascus and the adoption of Syrian rites, and which would never come to anything. The word rendered *fleeth away* may be a noun (Ex. xv. 8, Josh. iii. 13) and the passage translated: *but the harvest heap shall be in a day*, etc.

XVII. 12—14.

This short section foretells the sudden discomfiture by the Almighty of a combination of hostile peoples, and must be quite distinct from the preceding, with which its tone is in marked contrast. Though the passage contains no names, there can be little doubt that the threatening hosts are those of the Assyrians, and that the people against whom they are gathered is Judah (note *us* in *v.* 14). The occasion when the prophecy was composed is more uncertain; but the most plausible date for it is 701, when Sennacherib threatened Jerusalem. The consternation that then prevailed in the Jewish capital is attested by x. 24, and the historical account in cc. xxxvi., xxxvii.; and the suddenness of the catastrophe here predicted can be illustrated by xxxvii. 36. The present oracle is probably a little later than x. 5—34, and written when the Assyrians were actually in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

Another view (advanced by Cheyne) is that the section was added by Isaiah as a supplement to the preceding xvii. 1—11 in 723, during the time when Sargon was besieging Samaria, and when the people of Judah might dread an Assyrian inroad into their own territory; but there are no internal links between the sections, and too little is known about the relations of Assyria to Judah in 723—2 to render this view as likely as the preceding. Some critics have thought that the passage forms a unity with c. xviii.; but *v.* 14 here is as clearly the end of one oracle as xviii. 1 is the beginning of another.

12 Ah, the [1]uproar of many peoples, which roar like the roaring of the seas; and the rushing of nations, that rush like

[1] Or, *multitude*

12. *many peoples.* i.e. the various subject nations that constituted part of the Assyrian forces (see xxii. 6, cf. xxix. 7, viii. 9). For the comparison of the noise of armed men to the roar of the sea cf. Jer. vi. 23.

rushing. Better, *crashing* or *thundering.* The epithet *mighty* should be transferred (with the LXX.) to *nations.*

the rushing of mighty waters! 13 The nations shall rush like
the rushing of many waters: but he shall rebuke [1]them, and
[2]they shall flee far off, and shall be chased as the chaff of the
mountains before the wind, and like the whirling dust before
the storm. 14 At eventide behold terror; *and* before the
morning [3]they are not. This is the portion of them that spoil
us, and the lot of them that rob us.

[1] Heb. *him.* [2] Heb. *he.* [3] Heb. *he is.*

13. *The nations...waters.* The opening words of this *v.* are an accidental repetition of the last clause of *v.* 12, and are omitted by some Heb. MSS. and by the Syriac.

but he shall rebuke. Better, *but he* (the Lord) *checks them* (cf. Ps. ix. 5, xviii. 15, lxviii. 30, Job xxvi. 11).

as the chaff of the mountains. The comparison recurs in xxix. 5, xli. 15. Threshing-floors were generally placed on elevated positions exposed to the wind (see 2 Ch. iii. 1). But the LXX. has the *chaff of winnowers* (זֹרִים for הָרִים).

14. *At eventide...before the morning.* The words are not to be taken literally, and are only intended to suggest the swiftness with which relief will come to the panic-stricken city (cf. xxix. 5, Ps. xxx. 5).

Chapter XVIII.

This c. consists of a message addressed by Isaiah to certain envoys from Cush, or Ethiopia, predicting the overthrow of an unnamed power by the Lord, independently of any human agency. The situation implies that Judah is confronted by an invading force, to oppose which the Ethiopians have offered assistance. The oracle probably relates to the Assyrians; and the conviction which is here expressed that the enemy's projects will meet with a check when it is least expected so closely resembles xvii. 12—14 as to make it likely that the date is approximately the same. Negotiations between Judah and *Egypt* where Shabaka, who belonged to an Ethiopian dynasty, was the reigning Pharaoh, were set on foot in the course of the years 705—702 (see xxx. 12, xxxi. 1), with a view to united action against Assyria; and it is probably to these negotiations that the oracle refers. An alternative date (favoured by Marti) is 728, if the *So*, who about that time encouraged Hoshea of Israel to revolt from Assyria (2 Kgs. xvii. 4), is really identical with Shabaka; but the identification is questioned.

Duhm thinks that the section is connected with xvii. 12—14; but see p. 120.

The substance of the oracle is contained in *vv.* 4—6, the opening *vv.* 1—3 being an impressive introduction to it, while *v.* 7 is an epilogue.

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XVIII. 1 Ah, the land [1]of the rustling of wings, which is beyond the rivers of [2]Ethiopia: 2 that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, [3]even in vessels of papyrus upon the waters, *saying*, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation [4]tall and smooth, to a people

[1] Or, *shadowing with wings*
[2] Heb. *Cush.*
[3] Or, *and*
[4] Or, *dragged away and peeled*

XVIII. 1—3. A direction to the envoys of Ethiopia to return to their countrymen and bid them and others watch for an impending event.

The speech was probably not actually delivered by Isaiah in person to the Ethiopian ambassadors, but was designed to influence Hezekiah's response to their overtures. The difference in tone between the prophet's courteous language here respecting the power which the envoys represented and the contemptuous description of Egypt in xxx. 5—7 (cf. also c. xx.) is best accounted for by the fact that in the present case he is in the situation of one addressing the ambassadors of a friendly nation, whereas in the other he is speaking his mind to his own countrymen.

1. *Ah, the land...wings.* Or, *Ho, land of the buzzing of wings.* This rendering, which is supported by Sym. (who has οὐαὶ γῆς ὁ ἦχος πτερωτός) and virtually by the Vulg., describes Ethiopia (or Egypt) as abounding in swarms of flies and other insects. Of the other renderings given by the versions the most interesting is that of Aq., who has οὐαὶ γῆς σκιὰ σκιὰ πτερύγων, reading צֵל צֵל for צִלְצַל, and probably taking the Heb. to mean *Ah! land of shadow on both wings* (or *sides*), i.e. a country within the tropics, where the shadows fall alternately N. and S. at different seasons.

the rivers, etc. As a Jewish writer is not likely to have known of the Blue and White Niles or the Atbara the plural is probably "amplificative." The clause *which...Ethiopia* (cf. Zeph. iii. 10) is regarded by Cheyne as a prosaic geographical gloss.

2. *the sea.* i.e. the Nile (xix. 5, Nah. iii. 8, Job xli. 31).

vessels of papyrus. Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XIII. 22, *Ex ipso quidem papyro navigia texunt, et e libro vela*; Lucan, *Phars.* IV. 136, *Conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro.*

saying. This should be omitted. Its insertion assumes that the direction that follows is given to the messengers by Ethiopia, on despatching them to the Jews; but *v.* 7 shews that the people to whom they are sent can only be the Ethiopians, so that the direction *Go*, etc. must be given by the prophet, who dismisses the messengers on their return journey. (The mg. in *v.* 2 assumes that *nation* means the Jews.)

tall. Cf. xlv. 14. Herodotus describes Ethiopia as producing ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους (III. 114).

smooth. Herodotus speaks of the Egyptians as shaving off the hair which other nations allow to grow (II. 36); but the epithet here may allude to the shining skins characteristic of the Nubians.

terrible from their beginning onward; a nation [1]that meteth
out and treadeth down, whose land the rivers [2]divide! 3 All
ye inhabitants of the world, and ye dwellers on the earth, when
an ensign is lifted up on the mountains, see ye; and when the
trumpet is blown, hear ye. 4 For thus hath the LORD said unto
me, I will be still, and I will behold in my dwelling place; [3]like
clear heat in sunshine, like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest.
5 For afore the harvest, when the blossom is over, and the flower
becometh a ripening grape, he shall cut off the sprigs with

[1] Or, *meted out and trodden down* Heb. *of line, line, and of treading down.*
[2] Or, *have spoiled* [3] Or, *when there is*

from...onward. i.e. throughout its whole extent. But some take it to mean, throughout its whole history.

that meteth out, etc. The text, as ordinarily read, means literally (as in the mg.) *a nation of line, line, and of treading down*, and if correct describes the Egyptians or Ethiopians as a nation that subjugates other peoples and apportions by line their territories. But the terms used are then in an unnatural order, and probably the words rendered *line, line* should be combined into one, and the passage translated *a nation of might and of treading down*, i.e. a strong and conquering nation.

whose...divide. This is an indirect allusion to Ethiopia's fertility and wealth, the prophet's own land of Judah being comparatively waterless and unproductive.

3. *All ye inhabitants*, etc. These words begin the message (extending to *v.* 6) which Isaiah gives to the Ethiopian envoys to convey home. The attention of all the world is called to the overthrow impending over Assyria.

when an ensign, etc. The *ensign* and *trumpet* are the Lord's signals, which will inform the nations when the time for His decisive intervention has arrived.

4—6. An oracle from the Lord, declaring that He will await patiently the ripening of the Assyrians' plans and then frustrate them just as they mature.

The oracle is meant to inform the Egyptians that no political compact such as they propose is required to meet a danger which the Lord will deal with at the right moment.

4. *in my dwelling place.* Possibly Zion (cf. LXX. ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ πόλει), but more probably heaven.

like clear heat, etc. The Lord's attitude will seem for a while as favourable to Assyria's plans as the sunshine and dewy mists of summer are to the vintage, *harvest* here meaning the season of the ingathering of the grapes (see *v.* 5 and cf. xvi. 9).

in the heat of harvest. The LXX. and Vulg. have *in the day of harvest*, reading בְּיוֹם for בְּחֹם.

5. *the flower.* Better, *the berry.*

pruning-hooks, and the spreading branches shall he take away
and cut down. 6 They shall be left together unto the ravenous
birds of the mountains, and to the beasts of the earth: and the
ravenous birds shall summer upon them, and all the beasts of
the earth shall winter upon them. 7 In that time shall a present
be brought unto the LORD of hosts of a people [1]tall and smooth,
and from a people terrible from their beginning onward; a
nation that meteth out and treadeth down, whose land the rivers
divide, to the place of the name of the LORD of hosts, the mount
Zion.

[1] See ver. 2.

6. *They shall be left.* The figurative description of the termination of Assyria's enterprise is replaced by a matter-of-fact announcement of the fate of its numerous soldiers (cf. Jer. vii. 33, Rev. xix. 17, 18).

7. A prediction of homage rendered by the Ethiopians to the Lord at Zion.

This *v.* is probably a later (post-exilic) addition. The prediction is of a tenor that is isolated in the genuine writings of Isaiah, but resembles xlv. 14, lx. 6, 7; the repetition of the terms applied to the Ethiopians in *v.* 2 is not what might be expected of that prophet; and the expression *the place of the name of the Lord* seems to be post-Deuteronomic.

a present...of a people. Better (after the LXX. and Vulg.), *a present...from a people* (reading מִעַם for עַם).

the place of the name of the LORD. i.e. the place of the Lord's self-revelation, viz. the Temple; cf. Jer. iii. 17 and see Deut. xii. 5, 1 Kgs. viii. 16.

CHAPTER XIX.

This oracle concerning Egypt falls naturally into two halves. The first (*vv.* 1—15), which presents indications of a poetical structure, is a prediction of calamities destined to be brought by the Lord upon Egypt—calamities which include internal anarchy, cruel oppression, and severe drought. The second (*vv.* 16—25), which is written in prose, is characterised in the main by a tone of sympathy with Egypt, predicts its conversion to the Lord, its use of the Jewish tongue, and its union with "Assyria" and Israel in the worship of the Lord.

Between the age of Moses and the age of Isaiah Egypt figures little in Hebrew history, though Solomon is stated to have married an Egyptian princess (1 Kgs. iii. 1), and Judah was invaded in the reign of Rehoboam by Shishak (1 Kgs. xiv. 25) and possibly again in the reign of Asa by Zerah (perhaps Osorkon I.) (2 Ch. xiv. 9—15). But in the eighth century the activity of Assyria alarmed Egypt, and she encouraged both Hoshea of Israel and Hezekiah of Judah to rebel against their Assyrian suzerain. In the

seventh century Egypt was invaded by the Assyrian kings Esar-haddon (about 670) and Asshurbanipal (662); but when towards the close of the century the Assyrian empire came to an end, the Egyptian king Necho advanced into Asia, slew Josiah at Megiddo, and made Judah tributary (see p. liii). Necho, however, was defeated by the Babylonians at Carchemish (605), and in 567 the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar penetrated into Egypt. In 525 it was conquered by the Persian Cambyses, and its subjugation was completed by Darius Hystaspis. Other Persian kings who made expeditions into it to suppress revolts were Xerxes, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Artaxerxes Ochus. After the fall of Persia and the death of its conqueror Alexander, Egypt passed in 322 to Ptolemy Soter and the dynasty which he founded.

This c. is of uncertain date and seems to be of composite origin. Viewed as a whole it exhibits many features unfavourable to Isaiah's authorship. (*a*) In Isaiah's visions of Judah's future there is nothing suggestive of any occasion calculated to lead to the establishment in Egypt of Jewish communities from which the Egyptians could learn the Jewish language: such settlements on any scale presumably first originated after the overthrow of the Judæan kingdom by the Babylonians (Jer. xlii. 14, xliv. 1). (*b*) The circumstantial allusion to a particular Egyptian city (*v.* 18, see note) is unlikely in an Isaianic prophecy. (*c*) The style is dissimilar to Isaiah's, being prolix, and marked by the reiteration of particular words (Egypt (Heb. *Mizraim*), for instance, occurring five times in the first two verses and twenty-five times in the course of the c.). And although there are a certain number of Isaianic phrases, many expressions are alien to Isaiah's vocabulary, and the forms of one or two are late (see *vv.* 6, 17).

The objections to an Isaianic origin are strongest in the case of the second half of the c.; but some of those noticed occur in the first half also. Some critics, who agree that the two halves proceed from different authors, think that the first part (where the resemblances to Isaiah's diction are most numerous) proceeds from that prophet and refers to a prospective invasion of Egypt by Sargon in 720 or 711, or by Sennacherib in 701. But on the whole the earliest date that has much likelihood is the first half of the sixth century, when Pharaoh Necho invaded Judah (p. liii) and evoked Jewish hate. Several critics, however, place the oracle later than this, in the Persian age, Cheyne deciding for the period between 528 (Cambyses) and 485 (Xerxes), and Duhm for the middle of the fourth century (Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus). The knowledge displayed in it of Egyptian conditions (*vv.* 2, 6, 7) suggests that the writer had some acquaintance with the country.

The latter half of the c. contains a series of separate oracles, some of which seem certainly to belong to the Greek period (i.e. after 323), since in *v.* 18 there appears to be an allusion to the Greek name of the city of On (Heliopolis), and probably all are to be assigned to this date. Assyria (mentioned in *vv.* 23, 24) had, it is true, come to an end long before this; but the name (which is used of Persia in Ezra vi. 22) was applied about this time to Syria (which is called *Asharu* in hieroglyphic inscriptions, see Cheyne, *Int.* p. 107). This part of the c., which is of the nature of an epilogue to the earlier portion, seems most likely to have been composed at the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century—perhaps in Egypt.

XIX. 1 The [1]burden of Egypt.

Behold, the LORD rideth upon a swift cloud, and cometh unto Egypt: and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it. 2 And I will [2]stir up the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city, *and* kingdom against kingdom. 3 And the spirit of Egypt shall be made void in the midst of it; and I will [3]destroy the counsel thereof: and they shall seek unto the idols, and to the [4]charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards. 4 And I will [5]give over

[1] Or, *oracle concerning* [2] Or, *join together* Or, *arm* [3] Heb. *swallow up.* [4] Or, *whisperers* [5] Or, *shut up*

XIX. 1—4. An announcement of a judgment to be brought upon Egypt by the Lord through intestine strife and foreign tyranny.

1. *the LORD rideth*, etc. The Lord is similarly represented as riding on a cloud in Ps. xviii. 10, civ. 3, cf. also Nah. i. 3. The place whence He is supposed to come may be either Zion (cf. *v.* 17) or heaven (cf. xxvi. 21, Mic. i. 3), though the expression is perhaps a mere imitation of passages like Deut. xxxiii. 1, Jud. v. 4, implying that the Lord journeyed from a distant earthly sanctuary, such as Horeb.

the idols. Literally, *nonentities* (as in ii. 8). The false gods, as well as the inhabitants, of Egypt will quake before the Lord; cf. Ex. xii. 12, Num. xxxiii. 4, Jer. xlvi. 25. The passage is quoted in Pseudo-Matt. xxiii., which relates that, when our Lord was taken by Joseph into Egypt, and was carried by Mary into a temple, all the idols there prostrated themselves before Him. Cf. also the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, x.

2. *I will stir up*, etc. Cf. ix. 11. The Lord Himself is the speaker, His speech extending to *v.* 4.

kingdom, etc. In the seventh century Egypt was governed by 12 local kings under Assyrian suzerainty, of whom one, Psammetichus (663—610), made himself master of the whole country (Hdt. ii. 147, 151); but the partition of the country among several rulers was probably not confined to this period. The passage has perhaps suggested Mk. xiii. 8 (= Matt. xxiii. 7, Luke xxi. 10).

3. *the spirit of Egypt.* i.e. its intelligence and resourcefulness.

shall be made void. Cf. Jer. xix. 7. The LXX. has *shall be confounded* (נְבוֹכָה for נְבֻקָה): cf. Esth. iii. 15 Heb.

destroy. Better, *distract*; cf. iii. 12, ix. 16.

charmers. Literally, *whisperers*, who supported their pretensions by ventriloquism (see viii. 19).

to them that...wizards. Better, *to the ghosts and the knowing people* (i.e. the spirits of the dead): see on viii. 19.

the Egyptians into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king
shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts. 5 And
the waters shall fail from the sea, and the river shall be wasted
and become dry. 6 And the rivers shall stink; the [1]streams of
[2]Egypt shall be minished and dried up: the reeds and flags
shall wither away. 7 The meadows by the Nile, by the brink of
the Nile, and all that is sown by the Nile, shall become dry, be
driven away, and be no more. 8 The fishers also shall lament,
and all they that cast angle into the Nile shall mourn, and they
that spread nets upon the waters shall languish. 9 Moreover
they that work in combed flax, and they that weave [3]white

[1] Or, *canals* [2] Heb. *Mazor.* [3] Or, *cotton*

4. *a cruel lord.* A foreign oppressor, not a native ruler (like Psammetichus), must be meant. The prophecy may be regarded as having been fulfilled by some one of the invasions mentioned on p. 125. The LXX. takes the sing. as a collective and has *κύριοι σκληροὶ...βασιλεῖς σκληροί*: cf. the plural *oppressors* in *v.* 20.

5—10. Egypt's calamities will be augmented by the drying up of the Nile, and the consequent decay of the industries that depend upon it.

These *vv.*, describing a physical disaster, are considered by some critics to be an insertion, interrupting the account of the political ruin of Egypt, which occupies *vv.* 1—4 and 11—15. In them another word is used for *Egypt—Mazor* (*v.* 6), which occurs elsewhere only in xxxvii. 25 (=2 Kgs. xix. 24) and Mic. vii. 12.

5. *the sea.* i.e. the Nile (cf. xviii. 2, Nah. iii. 8: cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 35, 11, *Nili aqua mari similis est*). Similarly Herodotus states that when the Nile inundates the land "the cities alone appear above the surface, just like the islands in the Aegean, for the rest of Egypt becomes a sea" (II. 97), and Diodorus (I. 96) asserts that the name *Ocean* was popularly applied to the Nile by the Egyptians. A similar prediction is found in Ezek. xxx. 12.

6. *the streams.* Better, *the Nile arms*, i.e. the channels which border and intersect the Delta.

7. *The meadows by the Nile*, etc. The text, if retained, must mean *Bare places are by the Nile, by the brink of the Nile*; but it is better emended (partly after the LXX.) to *All the reed-grass* (Gen. xli. 2, 18) *by the brink* (Ps. cxxxiii. 2 Heb.) *of the Nile shall pass away* (reading וְעָבַר כָּל־אָחוּ for עָרֹת עַל־יְאוֹר).

all that is sown. i.e. (in view of the verb *driven away*) sown seed rather than sown ground.

8. *The fishers.* Diodorus (I. 36) describes the Nile as abounding with an incredible quantity of fish of all kinds, and Herodotus (II. 92) states that some of the Egyptians live entirely on fish.

9. *they that work*, etc. The Vulg. implies the reading, *Ashamed*

cloth, shall be ashamed. 10 And her [1]pillars shall be broken
in pieces, all they [2]that work for hire *shall be* grieved in soul.
11 The princes of Zoan are utterly foolish; the counsel of the
wisest counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish: how say ye
unto Pharaoh, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient
kings? 12 Where then are thy wise men? and let them tell
thee now; and let them know what the LORD of hosts hath
purposed concerning Egypt. 13 The princes of Zoan are become
fools, the princes of [3]Noph are deceived; they have caused
Egypt to go astray, that are the corner stone of her tribes.

[1] Or, *foundations* [2] Or, *that make dams*
[3] Or, *Memphis*

shall be they that work in flax, and the women that card, and they that weave white stuff (i.e. cotton), reading שֹׁרְקוֹת for שְׂרִיקוֹת.

10. *her pillars.* i.e. the principal men of the state; cf. *v.* 13 and the similar metaphors in Zech. x. 4, Gal. ii. 9. But the parallelism requires a word designating a class of craftsmen, and favours the reading of certain cursive MSS. of the LXX. οἱ διαζόμενοι αὐτά, *the weavers of it* (שֹׁתֶיהָ for שָׁתֹתֶיהָ).

broken in pieces. Better, *crushed* (in spirit).

11—15. In the presence of the predicted disasters the wisest statesmen of Egypt will be helpless.

A return is here made to the political troubles described in *vv.* 1—4.

11. *Zoan.* LXX. *Tanis* (cf. Hdt. II. 166), the mod. *Sân*, an ancient city (Num. xiii. 22) situated in the N.E. of the Delta, on one of the Nile channels, to which it gave its name.

the counsel of the, etc. Better, *the wisest counsellors of Pharaoh are a stupid council*, the abstract עֵצָה being used in a concrete sense.

how say ye. i.e. with what right, in view of your helplessness, can ye, Pharaoh's counsellors, lay claim to inherited statecraft? For Egypt's reputation for wisdom cf. 1 Kgs. iv. 30, Acts vii. 22, Hdt. II. 160, τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους.

12. *Where then are thy wise men*, etc. The question is addressed to Pharaoh, who has with him no one capable of explaining the origin or the issue of the national troubles. The challenge resembles that in xlvii. 12, 13.

let them know. Better (with the LXX. and Vulg.), *let them make known* (וְיוֹדִיעוּ for וְיֵדְעוּ).

13. *Noph.* i.e. Memphis, situated at the S. angle of the Delta, 10 m. S. of the mod. Cairo. The name appears in Hos. ix. 6 as *Moph*: the ancient Egyptian is said to be Mennufer.

the corner stone. Better, *the pinnacles*, a metaphor for the upper classes (cf. Jud. xx. 2, 1 Sam. xiv. 38, Zech. x. 4).

her tribes. i.e. the local divisions or petty kingdoms (*v.* 2).

14 The LORD hath mingled a spirit of perverseness in the midst
of her: and they have caused Egypt to go astray in every work
thereof, as a drunken man [1]staggereth in his vomit. 15 Neither
shall there be for Egypt any work, which head or tail, palm-
branch or rush, may do.

16 In that day shall Egypt be like unto women: and it shall
tremble and fear because of the shaking of the hand of the LORD
of hosts, which he shaketh over it. 17 And the land of Judah
shall become a terror unto Egypt, [2]every one to whom mention
is made thereof shall be afraid, because of the purpose of the
LORD of hosts, which he purposeth against it.

18 In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt

[1] Or, *goeth astray*
[2] Or, *every one that maketh mention thereof, to him shall they turn in fear*

14. *The LORD hath*, etc. Though the rulers of the nation are the immediate cause of the country's ruin (*v.* 13), the Lord is its ultimate Author (cf. xxix. 10, 1 Kgs. xxii. 22, 1 Sam. xvi. 14).

in the midst of her. The LXX. seems to have had *in the midst of them*, which suits best the following plural, *they have caused*, etc.

to go astray. Better (to correspond to the next clause), *to stagger.*

15. *which head or tail*, etc. Better, *which head and tail, palm-branch and rush* (ix. 14) *may do*, i.e. no united action on the part of the discordant ranks in the state will be possible.

16—25. The terror inspired in Egypt by the Lord will bring about its conversion and eventual participation in the religious privileges of Israel.

This section, which probably originated with a later writer, seems to have been composed as an appendix to the preceding, *v.* 17 expanding the thought of *v.* 12, and *v.* 20 (*oppressors*) alluding to *v.* 4.

16. *the shaking*, etc. i.e. the Lord's infliction of chastisement, cf. x. 32, xi. 15, Zech. ii. 9.

17. *shall become a terror.* i.e. because it is the abode of the Lord, the Author of Egypt's calamities. The word *terror* is Aramaic in form, and suggests a late date for the passage.

18. *there shall be five cities*, etc. The conversion of Egypt will begin with the adoption of the Hebrew faith and language by a few cities (*five* being a conventional figure for a small number, cf. xvii. 6, xxx. 17, 1 Sam. xvii. 40, xxi. 3, Lev. xxvi. 8). For the diffusion of the Hebrew religion in Egypt means existed (probably as early as the end of the seventh century) in the Jewish colonies there. In 609 Pharaoh Necho must have carried some Jewish captives to Egypt with king Jehoahaz (2 Kgs. xxiii. 34); and after the fall of Jerusalem in 587 many of its citizens took refuge in that country (Jer. xlii. 14), three towns, Migdol (near Pelusium), Tahpanhes (Daphnae) and Noph (Memphis) being named as localities where they settled (cf. Jer. xliv. 1, xlvi. 14). In

that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the LORD of hosts; one shall be called The city of [1]destruction.

19 In that day shall there be an altar to the LORD in the

[1] Or, *Heres* Or, according to another reading, *the sun*

the sixth century (as recently discovered papyri[1] shew) Jewish colonies also existed at Syene (Assouan) and Yeb (Elephantine). At a still later date Ptolemy Soter (322—285) further increased the Jewish population in Egypt by forcibly transporting many Jews thither, whilst others settled there voluntarily (Jos. *Ant.* XII. i.).

one shall be called, etc. i.e. one of the cities will receive a new name, descriptive of a change of character (see on i. 26). The new name, *city of destruction*, though naturally meaning "a city that is, or is to be, destroyed" (cf. xxiv. 10, *city of wasteness*, i.e. city destined to be wasted, Zech. xi. 4, Ps. xliv. 22, Heb. *flock of slaughter*), here signifies a city wherein idolatrous symbols are to be demolished (in consequence of its conversion to the true God). The city designated is probably On or Heliopolis, the Heb. for *city of destruction* (עִיר הַהֶרֶס) being a play upon the Heb. equivalent for Heliopolis (עִיר הַחֶרֶס). On (a little S. of the apex of the Delta, about 6 m. from Cairo) was famous for its temple of the Sun ("Cleopatra's needle" was one of a number of obelisks that once stood in front of it); and it is perhaps the destruction of this temple that the passage especially contemplates (cf. Jer. xliii. 13). In place of עִיר הַהֶרֶס, some Heb. MSS., Sym., and the Vulg. have עִיר הַחֶרֶס, the Heb. equivalent of Heliopolis; but with this reading the words *one shall be called The city of the sun* must mean *one named The city of the sun shall be included*, which is against usage. The LXX. A. B, have *the city of righteousness* (עִיר הַצֶּדֶק) and LXX. א has *the city of graciousness* (עִיר הַחֶסֶד), readings which look like alterations to avoid the ill-omened meaning which might be attached to the name *city of destruction*.

19. *shall there be an altar*, etc. The altar meant is obviously an altar for sacrifice (*v.* 21), and its erection would constitute a breach of the command in Deuteronomy limiting sacrifice to the central sanctuary at Jerusalem (Deut. xvi. 5, 6, 15). The fact that the writer thus contemplates the construction of an altar or altars to the Lord elsewhere than in Jerusalem has been urged in favour of the Isaianic or at least of the pre-Deuteronomic origin of this section. But some post-Deuteronomic prophets seem, in their anticipations respecting the extension of the religion of the Lord among foreign peoples, to ignore the restriction which the letter of the legal codes imposed under different circumstances (see Mal. i. 11); and the papyri recently found at Assouan (see on *v.* 18) shew that the Jewish community at Yeb actually had a temple of JEHOVAH (*Yahu*) built previous to 528, in which was an

[1] See Sachau, *Drei Aram. Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine* (Berlin 1907). A translation by Driver appeared in the *Guardian* for Nov. 6, 1907.

midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof
to the LORD. 20 And it shall be for a sign and for a witness
unto the LORD of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry
unto the LORD because of the oppressors, and he shall send them
a saviour, and [1]a defender, and he shall deliver them. 21 And
the LORD shall [2]be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall
know the LORD in that day; yea, they shall worship with sacrifice
and oblation, and shall vow a vow unto the LORD, and shall per-
form it. 22 And the LORD shall smite Egypt, smiting and

[1] Or, *a mighty one* [2] Or, *make himself known*

altar whereon sacrifices were offered as late as 411. It was to this *v.* that Onias IV., who took refuge in Egypt about 170 B.C. appealed when applying to Ptolemy Philometor (181—146) for leave to build a temple to the Lord at Leontopolis (Jos. *Ant.* XII. ix. 7, XIII. iii. 1, *Wars*, VII. x. 2, 3).

a pillar. A pillar that had religious significance (and such must be meant here) was usually an unhewn stone, which was probably in primitive times considered to be the abode of a divinity, offerings being placed or poured upon it in order to be conveyed to the indwelling spirit (see Gen. xxviii. 17, 18), but which eventually became a mere symbol and was set up beside an altar (cf. Ex. xxiii. 24, Deut. vii. 5). Rows of such monoliths have been found in Palestine at Gezer and Taanach, in some of which holes are cut, either at the top or at the sides, presumably as receptacles for libations. That pillars were once associated with the worship of the Lord appears from Ex. xxiv. 4, Josh. xxiv. 26, 27, 1 Sam. vii. 12, as well as Gen. *l.c.*; but the use of them was rendered illegitimate by the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. xvi. 22), which here seems to be disregarded.

20. *for they shall cry*, etc. Better, *for when they shall cry...he will send*, etc.

the oppressors. Probably the Persians, especially Artaxerxes Ochus.

a saviour. Better, *a deliverer* (such as had been sent to the Jews themselves in the past, Jud. iii. 9, 15). The name *Soter* became the appellation of Ptolemy Lagi (322—285) who seized Egypt after the death of Alexander.

21. *shall be known.* Better (as in the mg.), *shall make himself known.* Egypt's conversion to the Lord, initiated in a few places (*v.* 18), will be promoted by experience of His power both to chasten and to befriend.

oblation. Better, *meal offering* (see on i. 13).

a vow. i.e. such as were made in time of need or distress (Gen. xxviii. 20, 21, Num. xxi. 2, Jud. xi. 30, Ps. lxv. 1), to secure Divine aid.

22. *shall smite.* i.e. to correct faults committed after its conversion to the true religion.

healing; and they shall return unto the LORD, and he shall be intreated of them, and shall heal them.

23 In that day shall there be a high way out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria; and the Egyptians shall worship with the Assyrians.

24 In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: 25 for that the LORD of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.

and they, etc. Better, *when they...the Lord, he shall*, etc.: their sufferings will be mitigated as soon as the reformation they are designed to secure is effected (cf. Jer. xlvi. 26, Zeph. iii. 8, 9).

23. *Assyria.* If the author of the section is not Isaiah, the name *Assyria* must represent one of the powers that succeeded to Assyria's empire, e.g. Babylon, Persia (cf. Ezra vi. 22), or Syria. The last is the most probable (the name *Syria* being derived from *Assyria*, cf. Verg. *G.* II. 465, *Assyrium venenum*, i.e. Phoenician purple), and the term probably has this significance in Zech. x. 10. The writer anticipates that in consequence of the conversion of Egypt the knowledge and worship of the Lord will extend to Syria, which Ptolemy Lagi had partly subdued (Jos. *Ant.* XII. vii.).

The *highway* is designed to protect travellers between Egypt and Palestine from the dangers of the desert separating the two countries (xxx. 6); cf. xxxv. 9.

worship. Literally, *serve* (i.e. the Lord), cf. Job xxxvi. 11.

24. *the third.* Israel will no longer be unique in respect of its spiritual privileges (Ex. xix. 5), for these will henceforth be shared by the two other nations named. Cf. Ps. lxxxvii.

a blessing. i.e. an embodiment of blessedness, so that happiness comparable to Israel's will be the utmost that men can invoke upon themselves or others (cf. Gen. xii. 2, Ps. xxi. 6 (mg.), Zech. viii. 13).

25. *for that...blessed them.* Better (after the LXX. and Vulg.), (*in the midst of the earth*) *which the Lord hath blessed*, reading בֵּרְכָה for בֵּרְכוֹ. The blessing conferred on the earth is illustrated by the blessing bestowed on so many of its peoples.

my people...the work of my hands. Titles hitherto belonging exclusively to Israel (x. 24, lx. 21 (xxix. 23), lxiv. 8) are henceforth to be applicable to others.

mine inheritance. Israel is so designated in xlvii. 6, lxiii. 17, Deut. xxxii. 9, 1 Kgs. viii. 53, Ps. cvi. 5.

Chapter XX.

The occasion of the prophecy comprised in this c. (which looks like an extract from a biography of Isaiah) is explained in the opening *vv.*; and the date is determined by an inscription of Sargon's, which alludes to the siege therein mentioned. Ashdod was besieged and taken by Sargon in 711, in consequence of a revolt. The Assyrian king had dethroned Azuri, the king of Ashdod, on account of his anti-Assyrian sympathies, and had substituted his brother Ahimit; but the latter was deposed by the citizens, and a certain Yaman or Yatnan was raised to the throne. Sargon sent his commander-in-chief to put down the insurrection; and Ashdod, Gath, and a place called *Ashdudimmu* (Ashdod-on-Sea) were captured, and their inhabitants deported. Yaman fled to *Meluhhi* (supposed to be a country in N. Arabia), whose king, however, was forced to surrender him to avoid invasion (see Schrader, *COT.* II. p. 91).

The interest which the fortunes of Ashdod had for Isaiah arose from the inclination shewn by Judah (a vassal, like Ashdod, of Assyria, see 2 Kgs. xvi. 7, 8) to pursue the same policy as the Philistines. Sargon expressly names Judah, together with the people of Philistia, Edom and Moab, as engaged in hostile designs against their Assyrian over-lord, and as appealing for assistance to *Pirú, king of Muzri.* This last expression has generally been thought equivalent to "Pharaoh, king of Egypt." But several scholars entertain the view that *Muzri* was in N. Arabia (see on *v.* 3); and it is possible (as Winckler, Cheyne, and some others think) that the name has here been confused with *Mizraim*, the Heb. term for Egypt, and that the same confusion has occurred in other passages in the O.T. where *Egypt*, or *Egyptian*, appears in the Heb. text (see *Encyc. Bib. s. Mizraim*). However this may be, the disaffected Philistines on this occasion relied for aid upon some external power, Egyptian or Arabian; and Isaiah, knowing that his countrymen were disposed to make common cause with them, sought by this prophecy to disabuse them of their hopes of obtaining from the power in question any effective support.

XX. 1 In the year that [1]Tartan came unto Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him, and he fought against Ashdod and took it; 2 at that time the Lord spake by Isaiah

[1] The title of the Assyrian commander in chief.

XX. 1. *In the year*, etc. i.e. 711 B.C.

Tartan. Better, *the Tartan*, since the word is a title (not a proper name) designating the officer who ranked next to the king.

Ashdod. The later *Azotus* (1 Mac. viii. 18, Acts viii. 40), and the mod. *Esdud*, one of the five confederate Philistine cities, situated 3 m. from the Mediterranean coast.

2. *at that time.* The words are used loosely (*v.* 2 being a parenthetical statement, needed to explain *v.* 3, which, in the Heb., is the natural sequel of *v.* 1): the prophet's symbolic action, presaging the fate of Ashdod, would naturally take place about the time of the revolt there (*v.* 3).

the son of Amoz, saying, Go, and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put thy shoe from off thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot. 3 And the LORD said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot [1]three years for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and upon [2]Ethiopia; 4 so shall the king of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt, and the exiles of Ethiopia, young and old, naked and barefoot, and

[1] Or, *to be for three years a sign &c.* [2] Heb. *Cush.*

spake by Isaiah. Literally, *spake by the hand of Isaiah.* The Heb. phrase, which is specially common in the post-exilic Priestly code and the books of Chron., is here used inappropriately for *spake to Isaiah.*

Go, and loose. i.e. assume the garb of a deported captive (see *v.* 4, and cf. 2 Ch. xxviii. 15). The *sackcloth* was possibly the hairy mantle which prophets were accustomed to wear (Zech. xiii. 4, 2 Kgs. i. 8 mg.: cf. Mk. i. 6)[1].

naked. Better, *unclad*, the prophet retaining an under-garment only (cf. 2 Sam. vi. 20 and 14).

3. *three years.* It is not necessary to suppose that Isaiah acted as described for three years uninterruptedly: he may have done so at intervals. The period is probably the space included between the first symptoms of revolt (perhaps in 713[2]) and the capture of Ashdod in 711.

wonder. Better, *premonition.* For similar symbolic acts on the part of Hebrew prophets see Jer. xxvii. 2 f., Ezek. xii. 1—7, xxiv. 15—24, Zech. iii. 4—8, and the conduct recorded of Samuel and Ahijah (1 Sam. xv. 27, 28, 1 Kgs. xi. 30 f.): cf. also Acts xxi. 10, 11.

upon. Better, *concerning.*

Egypt. Heb. *Mizraim.* In favour of regarding the Heb. word as here representing an Arabian *Muzri* is the fact that Sargon associates Pirú king of Muzri, Samse queen of Aribi (N. Arabia), and Itamara of Sabæa together as paying tribute to him (Schrader, *COT.* II. p. 88).

Ethiopia. Heb. *Cush.* Those scholars who here identify *Mizraim* with a district in Arabia hold that there was likewise an Arabian Cush, whence came the Cushites who are represented as neighbours of the Arabians in 2 Ch. xxi. 16: cf. also *Cushan* in Hab. iii. 7.

4. *lead away...Ethiopia.* If *Mizraim* and *Cush* really represent Egypt and Ethiopia, the prophecy was not literally fulfilled by Sargon, who, though he took Ashdod, did not invade Egypt; but the fact that Ashdod was not saved from capture vindicated Isaiah's estimate of the power in which the Philistines and their Judæan sympathizers placed such confidence.

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[1] The apparition of Samuel, raised by the witch of Endor, was recognized by the robe worn (1 Sam. xxviii. 14); and the casting of Elijah's mantle upon Elisha was equivalent to a summons to the latter to become a prophet (1 Kgs. xix. 19, cf. 2 Kgs. ii. 13).

[2] In one of the Assyrian inscriptions relating to the overthrow of Ashdod, the date is given as the ninth year of Sargon (i.e. 713 B.C.).

with buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt. 5 And they shall be dismayed and ashamed, because of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory. 6 And the inhabitant of this coastland shall say in that day, Behold, such is our expectation, whither we fled for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria: and we, how shall we escape?

to the shame, etc. Better, *the nakedness of Egypt*, probably a gloss on the preceding words.

5. *ashamed.* i.e. disappointed (i. 29, xix. 22, Jer. viii. 9, xvii. 18).

6. *the inhabitant*, etc. i.e. the people of the smaller Palestinian states, including Judah, Philistia, Moab and Edom.

how shall we escape? There is no evidence that in 711 Judah suffered invasion, so that it is probable that Hezekiah did not become seriously involved in the revolt of Ashdod, or else escaped by submission.

Chapter XXI. 1—10.

This section is a prediction of a successful assault upon Babylon; but the *data* for determining which of the city's many sieges is meant are conflicting. Babylon entered into diplomatic relations with Judah in the reign of Hezekiah (see c. xxxix.), when the king's welcome of the Babylonian envoys met with the disapproval of Isaiah. This occasion would both furnish a motive for the delivery of the prophecy (Isaiah seeking to discourage Judah from entering into an alliance with Babylon by predicting the capture of the latter, which occurred in 710 and again in 704—703) and would account in some degree for the feeling of distress manifested in the passage (for though Isaiah was opposed to foreign alliances, Babylon was a friendly power). But this view is confronted by some serious difficulties. (*a*) No mention is made of Assyria; (*b*) among the assailants of Babylon is Elam, whose king in Isaiah's time was in alliance with Merodach-baladan, the king of Babylon[1], though part of Elam had been conquered by Assyria (cf. xxii. 6); (*c*) Judah is represented as crushed (*v.* 10), which is not an appropriate description of its state in 710 or 704; (*d*) the phraseology, though reproducing certain Isaianic expressions (*vv.* 2, 6, 10), is in several respects unlike Isaiah's. In view of these facts it is more probable that the prophecy is exilic in origin, written between 549 and 538, and that the siege of Babylon described in it is the successful attack of Cyrus in the last-mentioned year (cf. xiii. 1—xiv. 23). In Cyrus' expedition Elamites and Medes, who are named together here, were united (for Cyrus was prince of Anshan, a part of Elam, and became king of Media in 549); and at the time Babylon was the oppressor of W. Asia, and held a large body of Jews in captivity (cf. xiv. 4—6). The motive of the writer is thus the desire to comfort his countrymen in Babylon with the hope of release through the overthrow of their captor (see *v.* 10). The principal objection to this conclusion is the feeling of painful emotion excited in the prophet by the vision of the city's

[1] Rogers, *HBA.* II. p. 153.

downfall, in place of the satisfaction which might be expected of a Jewish writer living about the middle of the sixth century (see xiii. 15—19, c. xlvii., Jer. l., li., Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9). To account for this, it must be assumed that the author was a man of acute sensibility, in whom the thought of the horrors inseparable from the storm and sack of a great city containing a number of his own countrymen overpowered for a time the joy which the prospect of his nation's deliverance would otherwise have inspired (similar emotions over the fate of a foreign nation are displayed by the writer of xv. 1—9[a], xvi. 7—11). If this view of the origin of the section is correct, its date is probably rather later than that of xiii. 1—xiv. 23.

The prophecy is marked by an abruptness of style verging on obscurity, and presents rapid changes of situation. The prophet in vision first sees and hears the assault delivered by the foes outside the walls (*vv.* 1—4); next, he is transported to the interior of the city, where the inhabitants are taken by surprise (*v.* 5); then he watches for, and finally observes, a body of the enemy's troops on their homeward march, and recognizes that Babylon has fallen (*vv.* 6—10).

XXI. 1 The [1] burden of the wilderness of the sea.
As whirlwinds in the South sweep through, it cometh from
the wilderness, from a terrible land. 2 A [2] grievous vision is

[1] Or, *oracle concerning* [2] Or, *hard*

XXI. 1. *the wilderness of the sea.* The title of the c. seems to be based upon an expression in the contents, viz. *the wilderness* mentioned in *v.* 1[b] (cf. *vv.* 11, 13, xxii. 1, xxx. 6, 2 Sam. i. 18). This naturally refers to the direction whence the vision comes, and so probably denotes the desert separating Palestine from Babylonia (see below), though the meaning of the phrase (*wilderness*) *of the sea* is obscure. Perhaps *the sea* is an allusion to the Euphrates (as in Jer. li. 36), whose waters frequently inundated the neighbouring country (Hdt. I. 184); others, who consider the *wilderness* to be the desert between Babylonia and Elam, think the Persian Gulf to be meant. Some critics would substitute *deserts* (מִדְבָּרִים for מִדְבַּר־יָם), for the LXX. has only τὸ ὅραμα τῆς ἐρήμου. Possibly, however, the phrase should be emended to *the wilderness of the south* (reading יָמִין for יָם, cf. the mistake in Ps. cvii. 3), or *the wilderness of mountains* (reading הָרִים, cf. Ps. lxxv. 6, mg.).

the South. Heb. *the Negeb,* the appellation given to the parched region south of Judah, between Hebron and Kadesh, cf. xxx. 6, Gen. xii. 9, xx. 1, xxiv. 62, Josh. xv. 21. The comparison to the whirlwinds prevalent in this district (cf. Zech. ix. 14, Jer. xiii. 24) seems intended to express the suddenness of the catastrophe announced, and the choice of such a comparison points to the writer being a resident in Palestine.

it cometh. i.e. the disclosure conveyed in the vision described in *v.* 2.

a terrible land. The desert was viewed by the Hebrews with much horror (see xxx. 6, Deut. i. 19, viii. 15, Jer. ii. 6).

declared unto me; the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously,
and the spoiler spoileth. Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media;
all the sighing thereof [1]have I made to cease. 3 Therefore
are my loins filled with anguish; pangs have taken hold upon
me, as the pangs of a woman in travail: I am [2]pained so that
I cannot hear; I am dismayed so that I cannot see. 4 My
heart [3]panteth, horror hath affrighted me: the twilight that
I desired hath been turned into trembling unto me. 5 They
prepare the table, they [4]set the watch, they eat, they drink:

[1] Or, *will I make*
[2] Heb. *bent.*
[3] Heb. *wandereth.*
[4] Or, *spread the carpets*

2. *grievous.* i.e. because of the distressing sights and sounds involved in the vision of Babylon's overthrow.

the treacherous dealer. Better (in this context), *the barbarous dealer dealeth barbarously.* The terms (which recur in xxiv. 16, xxxiii. 1) must be understood of the butchery which the prophet's imagination conjures up in connection with the storming of Babylon by Cyrus. In point of fact, Cyrus' entry into Babylon appears to have been peaceful (see p. lviii).

Go up. The term is appropriate to attacks on fortresses generally (1 Kgs. xxii. 6, 2 Kgs. vi. 24), though Babylon lay in a plain. The speaker (to the end of *v.* 2) is the Lord, Who is thought of as bidding Babylon's enemies advance against it. There is an assonance in the Heb. between this word and *Elam.*

Elam. Situated on the east of the lower Tigris. The name here represents Anshan (the country of Cyrus) which was part of Elam. On *Media* see xiii. 17, and p. lii.

all the sighing thereof. i.e. the groaning of all the peoples oppressed by Babylon. But the expression is unnatural, and perhaps corrupt.

3. *my loins.* The loins were regarded as the seat of painful emotions (cf. Jer. xxx. 6, Ezek. xxi. 6, Nah. ii. 10). The prophet's distress at the vision is suggestive of the fearful character of Babylon's impending overthrow.

4. *My heart panteth.* Better, *My senses reel.*

5. *They prepare,* etc. The scene shifts to the heart of the luxurious city (cf. xiv. 11), where the principal inhabitants are at a feast which is interrupted by a sudden call to arms (cf. Jer. li. 39). The storming of Babylon whilst the king and his nobles were banqueting, which appears here in a vision of the future, is represented as an historic fact in Dan. v., Hdt. I. 191, Xen. *Cyr.* VII. 5; but this is not supported by the evidence of contemporary inscriptions.

set the watch. Better (in view of the preceding and following expressions), *spread the coverlets,* i.e. of the lounges upon which the feasters reclined. For the practice of reclining at meals (cf. Lat. *accumbere, accubitio*) see Am. iii. 12, vi. 4, Joh. xiii. 23.

rise up, ye princes, anoint the shield. 6 For thus hath the
Lord said unto me, Go, set a watchman; let him declare what
he seeth: 7 [1]and when he seeth [2]a troop, [3]horsemen in pairs,
[2]a troop of asses, [2]a troop of camels, he shall hearken diligently
with much heed. 8 And he cried as a lion: O Lord, I stand
continually upon the watchtower in the day-time, and am set
in my ward [4]whole nights: 9 and, behold, here [5]cometh a
troop of men, [3]horsemen in pairs. And he answered and
said, Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images

[1] Or, *and he saw...and he hearkened* [2] Or, *a chariot* Or, *chariots*
[3] Or, *a pair of horsemen* [4] Or, *every night* [5] Or, *come chariots of men*

rise up. This is the cry of the sentinels on discovering that the city is surprised.

anoint the shield. i.e. either for the purpose of polishing the surface that blows might glance off it (cf. 2 Sam. i. 21, Verg. *A.* VII. 626 *leves clipeos...tergent arvina pingui*) or (more probably) as a religious rite. Some critics substitute *draw forth* (from its cover), reading מִשְׁכוּ for מִשְׁחוּ; cf. xxii. 6.

6. *For.* The causal particle introduces the grounds for the prediction implied in *v.* 2.

set a watchman. It is scarcely likely (as has been suggested) that the act of setting the watchman is meant to represent the prophet's entry into the clairvoyant state, in which he could discern events passing at a distance (cf. Ezek. viii. 3); for if this were intended, it should have been described earlier (the sounds and sights of *vv.* 2 and 5 being part of the vision). Probably the reference to the watchman is merely a literary artifice, modelled on descriptions like 2 Sam. xviii. 24, 2 Kgs. ix. 17, and designed to render the prophet's final announcement the more impressive.

7. *a troop,* etc. Better, *a mounted troop, horsemen in pairs, a troop mounted on asses, a troop mounted on camels.* The Persians, who were skilful horsemen (Hdt. I. 136), employed camels and asses chiefly for carrying baggage (Hdt. I. 80, VII. 83), but Cyrus mounted some of his troops on camels in a battle against the Lydians (Hdt. I. 80).

8. *he cried as a lion.* If the text is sound, cf. Rev. x. 3; but it is better corrected to *the seer cried* (reading הָרֹאֶה for אַרְיֵה), or *he cried, See* (רְאֵה).

O Lord. Perhaps better, *O my lord* (pointing אֲדֹנִי), the watchman addressing the prophet as his master.

whole nights. Better (as in the mg.), *every night.*

9. *a troop of men.* Better, *mounted men.* The expected cavalcade appears, and the watchman recognizes that what he sees is the victorious Persian army returning from the overthrow of Babylon.

Babylon is fallen. The words are quoted in Rev. xiv. 8, xviii. 2, and applied to imperial Rome.

of her gods are broken unto the ground. 10 O thou my threshing, and the [1]corn of my floor: that which I have heard from the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, have I declared unto you.

[1] Heb. *son*.

all the graven images, etc. The overthrow of Babylon was thought to involve the overthrow of its deities (cf. xlvi. 1, 2, Jer. l. 2, li. 47, 52); but Cyrus, in his inscription relating his success, attributes it to the favour of Bel Merodach, the chief Babylonian divinity (see Sayce, *HCM*. p. 504 f.).

10. *O thou my threshing*. An address to the writer's countrymen. The epithets are appropriate to the humiliation undergone by the Jewish people in 587 at the hands of Babylon. Some kinds of corn were threshed by being trodden underfoot by oxen (Deut. xxv. 4, cf. Hom. *Il*. xx. 496, ὡς δ' ὅτε τις ζεύξῃ βόας...τριβέμεναι κρῖ λευκόν) or pressed beneath cart wheels (xxviii. 28); and the figure is employed for the harsh treatment of a vanquished enemy, not only by Heb. writers (cf. xli. 15, Jer. li. 33, Am. i. 3, Hab. iii. 12, Mic. iv. 13, 2 Kgs. xiii. 7), but also by the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser III., who, in one of his inscriptions, speaks of "treading down" a hostile country "as in threshing" (see Schrader, *COT*. I. p. 225).

the corn of my floor. Literally (as in the mg.), *the son of my floor*. So arrows are called *sons of the bow* and *sons of the quiver* (Job xli. 28, Lam. iii. 13).

XXI. 11, 12.

This brief section consists of a question which reaches the prophet from Seir or Edom, and of the answer which he returns. Like the preceding oracle, it was probably written in Palestine, with the south-east of which Edom marches; but it is so short that its date is difficult to determine. In Isaiah's time Edom chafed under the yoke of Assyria; and such may be the situation which the oracle reflects. But the presence in the passage of some words which are found chiefly in later writings is against its having originated with Isaiah; and the oppression from which relief is longed for is probably the Babylonian. Cheyne assigns the section to 593, prior to the fall of Jerusalem, when the king of Edom, together with the kings of Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, concerted with Zedekiah, king of Judah, an uprising against Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. xxvii. 3); and certainly the absence of bitterness in the prophet's tone is rather against a date subsequent to 587 (when the exultation of the Edomites over the fall of Jerusalem excited in the Jews the intensest resentment (see Ps. cxxxvii. 7)). This, however, may be due to the writer's temperament; and Duhm and Marti assign it to the same exilic date (549—538) and origin as xxi. 1—10, on the ground that it is marked by similar conciseness and obscurity. In any case, the writer of this, like the writer of the preceding oracle (see on xxi. 1), must have resided in the south of Palestine.

11 The [1]burden of Dumah.

One calleth unto me out of Seir, Watchman, [2]what of the night? Watchman, [2]what of the night? 12 The watchman said, The morning [3]cometh, and also the night: if ye will inquire, inquire ye: [4]turn ye, come.

[1] Or, *oracle concerning* [2] Or, *what* hour [3] Or, *is come* [4] Or, *come ye again*

11. *Dumah.* Of the Dumahs mentioned in the O.T. one is the name of an Arab tribe (Gen. xxv. 14), the other of a place in Judah (Josh. xv. 52), and neither is associated with Edom. Gesenius thinks that the locality meant is "Dumah of the rock," between Arabia and the Syrian desert, but this also seems too remote from Edom. Probably the name is either a textual corruption of *Edom* (read by the LXX.) or (since the word means "silence") an intentional modification of it, suggestive of the stillness of death (cf. Ps. xciv. 17, cxv. 17), which Jewish animosity (after 587) desired for that country[1].

One calleth. The consultation of a Jewish prophet by a foreign people is paralleled by the deputation sent to Elisha by the king of Damascus (2 Kgs. viii. 7 f.).

Seir. i.e. Edom (see Gen. xxxii. 3, xxxvi. 8, Ezek. xxxv. 15).

Watchman. Literally, *Guardian* (Ps. cxxx. 6, cxxvii. 1).

what of the night? i.e. what portion of the night is past? By the Hebrews the interval between sunset and sunrise was divided into three watches (see Lam. ii. 19, Jud. vii. 19, Ex. xiv. 24), and the question may have been one commonly addressed to city watchmen (Cant. iii. 3). But here the *night* is only emblematic of a period of depression or distress (Job xxxv. 10, xxxvi. 20).

12. *The morning*, etc. i.e. relief is approaching, but it will not be permanent.

turn ye, come. Better (as in the mg.), *come ye again.* The answer implies that the prophet, at the time, had no clear revelation respecting the future, but hoped to receive one.

XXI. 13—17.

This section consists of two parts. The first (*vv.* 13—15) is an oracle addressed to the Dedanites, a tribe of Arabian caravan traders, and announcing that they will be driven to flight through the pressure of war. The writer shews some sympathy with the needs of the fugitives. In Isaiah's lifetime N. Arabia, within which Dedan was included, felt the weight of Assyrian oppression (the Arabian queens Zabibiye and Samse being made tributary): but the phraseology is unfavourable to Isaiah's authorship of the section, and the oracle is probably contemporaneous with the preceding. Cheyne places it in the time of Nebuchadrezzar *circ.* 590 (when Jeremiah predicted evil for Dedan, Jer. xxv. 23, cf. xlix. 8), whilst Duhm and Marti assign it to an exilic date, suggesting

[1] The heading presumably proceeds from a post-exilic editor.

that the Dedanites, who were perhaps among those that traded with Babylon (xiii. 14), were in danger from the Persians, the assailants of Babylon. The second part (*vv.* 16, 17) is a fragment appended to the original oracle, and predicting a disaster, not to Dedan, but to Kedar. It lacks the sympathetic tone of the preceding, and its phraseology resembles that of xvi. 13, 14, and recalls that of Isaiah. If it really proceeds from him, it must be a fragment (referring to the conquest of Kedar by an Assyrian king) which has been attached by an editor to a later passage; but see on xvi. 13, 14.

13 The [1] burden upon Arabia.
In the [2] forest [3] in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling
companies of Dedanites. 14 Unto him that [4] was thirsty they
brought water; [5] the inhabitants of the land of Tema did
meet the fugitives with their bread. 15 For they fled away
from the swords, from the drawn sword, and from the bent bow,
and from the grievousness of war. 16 For thus hath the Lord

[1] Or, *oracle* [2] Or, *thickets*
[3] Or, according to the ancient versions, *at evening* [4] Or, *is thirsty bring ye*
[5] Or, as otherwise read, *ye inhabitants of the land of Tema, meet*

13. *The burden upon Arabia.* Better, *The oracle, In Arabia.* The title, like that of xxi. 1—10, is obviously taken from a word in the oracle itself, which may, however, have been misunderstood (see below). Arabia (עֲרָב) in the O.T. means the N. part of the modern Arabian peninsula (2 Ch. ix. 14, Ezek. xxvii. 21).

the forest. Better (as in the mg.), *the thickets* (or *the bush*). In this inhospitable region the Dedanites, leaving the regular caravan route, with its oases and wells, which the pursuit of their enemies rendered unsafe (*v.* 15), will have to seek shelter.

in Arabia. Better, *in the steppe* (עֲרָבָה). The LXX., Syr. and Vulg. (pointing differently) have *in the evening* (עֶרֶב), influenced perhaps by the verb *lodge* (literally, *pass the night*; cf. Ps. xxx. 5).

Dedanites. These were Arab traders (Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20) whose country lay S.E. of Edom (Jer. xlix. 8, Ezek. xxv. 13).

14. *Unto him that was,* etc. Better (after the LXX. and Vulg., pointing קֹדְמוּ for קִדְמוּ), *Unto him that is thirsty bring water; O inhabitants of the land of Tema, meet the fugitives* (who in their place of refuge will be in great straits).

Tema. A country S. of Dedan and E. of the Aelanitic Gulf (Gulf of Akaba).

their bread. i.e. the bread needed by the refugees.

15. *the drawn sword.* Literally, *a sword let go,* for which some critics substitute *the whetted sword* (לטושה for נטושה), after Ps. vii. 12.

16. *For.* The conjunction implies that, by the editor who united this prophecy to the preceding, Dedan was reckoned a part of the region denoted by Kedar, upon which the disaster previously predicted was shortly expected to fall: cf. Jer. xlix. 28, 29.

said unto me, Within a year, according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of Kedar shall fail: 17 and the residue of the number of the archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar, shall be few: for the LORD, the God of Israel, hath spoken it.

Within a year. In view of the following comparison (*years*), Duhm conjectures that some numeral has been lost (the Heb. rendered *year* being used with numerals above 10); cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 1.

the glory. i.e. the wealth and resources (viii. 7, x. 16, xvii. 3).

Kedar. A pastoral district of Arabia, whose inhabitants were rich in flocks (lx. 7, Ezek. xxvii. 21, Jer. xlix. 28, 29).

17. *the residue...Kedar.* Literally, *the residue of the number of the bow* (xxii. 3) *of the mighty men*, etc. Cheyne and others (after the Vulg.) would transpose and read *the residue of the number of Kedar's mighty men of the bow.* In Gen. xxv. 13 Kedar is accounted a son of Ishmael, who is represented as an archer (Gen. xxi. 20).

CHAPTER XXII. 1—14.

This section, of which the Isaianic origin is beyond doubt, consists of a denunciation of the irreligious spirit in which the inhabitants of Jerusalem faced a situation fraught with peril. The reference to an impending siege of the city (*vv.* 5—7) suggests that the oracle was delivered shortly before or during the invasion of Sennacherib in 701; and the self-confidence of the population is similar to that described in xxviii. 15 (which belongs to that period); but the precise circumstances which it has in view have been variously understood. Many critics connect it with some incident after the invasion had begun. W. R. Smith (*Prophets*, p. 346) suggests the time when the Assyrian forces first approached the capital, and when some of the defenders fled (*vv.* 2, 3), whilst others took refuge from despair in debauchery (*vv.* 12, 13); and Cheyne thinks of the occasion when the Assyrians withdrew from the city after Hezekiah's submission (as related in 2 Kgs. xviii. 14), and when the people abandoned themselves to joy on the enemy's retirement. But the defensive preparations described in *vv.* 8—11 (or 8, 9[a]) seem most appropriate to the very beginning of the war; so that the occasion which appears to explain best the language of the passage is the moment when Hezekiah first asserted his independence of Assyria, and when the citizens of Jerusalem went wild with excitement at the outbreak of hostilities which they confronted with a confidence and light-heartedness which Isaiah knew to be ill-justified. The prophet's tone in this section differs from that which marks most of the other prophecies which were delivered in connection with the invasion of 701 (e.g. x. 5 f.), and which are probably later: his menaces are here unqualified by any promise, and for the citizens of the capital nothing but destruction is predicted.

The whole of the section seems to proceed from the same date (*vv.* 12, 13 obviously referring to the same situation as *vv.* 1, 2), though the transitions of thought are abrupt.

XXII. 1 The [1] burden of the valley of vision.

What aileth thee now, that thou art wholly gone up to the housetops? 2 O thou that art full of shoutings, a tumultuous city, a joyous town; thy slain are not slain with the sword, neither are they dead in battle. 3 All thy rulers fled away together, they were bound [2] by the archers: all that were found of thee were bound together, [3] they fled afar off. 4 Therefore said I, Look away from me, I will weep bitterly; [4] labour not to comfort me, for the spoiling of the daughter

[1] Or, *oracle concerning*
[2] Or, *without the bow*
[3] Or, *which had fled from far*
[4] Or, *hasten*

XXII. 1. *The burden of the valley of vision.* The title of the oracle is taken (as in other cases, xxi. 1, 13) from a phrase occurring in it (see *v.* 5). The expression presumably refers to one of the valleys surrounding Jerusalem (see *v.* 7), and as the word (גֵּיא) is not the one used to designate the ravine of the Kidron, but the valley of Hinnom (which is sometimes called without any qualification *the valley*, see 2 Ch. xxvi. 9, Neh. ii. 13), this is probably the locality meant. It is generally identified with the mod. *Wâdy er Rabâbi*, on the W. and S. of the city. The designation of it as the *valley of vision* perhaps comes from the traditional association of a site in it with a vision of God: cf. the local name *Jehovah-jireh* or *Jehovah jeraeh* (Gen. xxii. 14 and mg.) and 2 Ch. iii. 1 (*mount Moriah where the Lord appeared unto David*).

What aileth thee. Better, *What meanest thou* (cf. iii. 15). The prophet's question was prompted by the crowds that on the flat housetops (see xv. 3) watched the preparations for the city's defence and discussed the prospects of success.

2. *thy slain.* The past tenses, here and in *v.* 3, probably have in view, not something that has already occurred, but something that will occur. The prophet projects himself into the future and sees mentally a very different scene from the one actually before him; those that have died have perished miserably by famine or pestilence (not honourably in battle, cf. Lam. iv. 9), and those that have fled (the leaders) have been overtaken and are prisoners.

3. *by the archers.* Literally, *by the bow*, cf. xxi. 17. But better (as in the mg.), *without the bow*, i.e. unresisting. The text, however, seems in some disorder, and is possibly corrupt. Duhm (partly after the LXX.) corrects the *v.* to *All thy rulers have fled, that grasp the bow; all thy strong ones have been bound, that fled far off* (reading אֹחֲזִים קֶשֶׁת for יַחַד מִקֶּשֶׁת, and אַמִּיצַיִךְ for נִמְצָאַיִךְ, and omitting אֻסְּרוּ יַחְדָּו).

4. *Therefore said I.* Better, *Therefore say I.* The prophet, deeply moved by his vision of the country's doom (cf. Mic. i. 8, 9, Jer. xiii. 19), attracts, by his distress amid the general cheerfulness, the notice of the bystanders; but he refuses to be comforted.

the daughter of my people. A personification of Israel, cf. Jer. iv. 11, viii. 19, xiv. 17, Am. v. 2.

of my people. 5 For it is a day of discomfiture, and of
treading down, and of perplexity, from the Lord, the LORD
of hosts, in the valley of vision; a breaking down of the
walls, and a crying to the [1]mountains. 6 And Elam bare
the quiver, with [2]chariots of men *and* horsemen; and Kir
uncovered the shield. 7 And it came to pass, that thy choicest
valleys were full of chariots, and the horsemen set themselves
in array at the gate. 8 And he took away the covering of
Judah; and thou didst look in that day to the armour in the
house of the forest. 9 And ye saw the breaches of the city

[1] Or, *mountain* [2] Or, *troops*

5. *For it is a day*, etc. Better, *For a day of discomfiture, and of treading down, and of confusion hath the Lord*, etc. (cf. ii. 12). Isaiah's sadness is due to his foreknowledge of an impending disaster in the approaching war, whereby the Lord will execute judgment upon the self-confident city.

a breaking down, etc. The prophet mentally sees the breaching of the walls by the foe, and hears the cries of their wounded or dying defenders.

6. *And Elam*, etc. The *v.* describes prophetically the advance of two of the contingents of the Assyrian army. The king of Elam was hostile to Sennacherib (see on c. xxi.), but part of the country had been conquered by Sargon, and some of its people (who were famed for archery, Jer. xlix. 35) may have served with their conquerors, as a body of Philistines served with David (2 Sam. xv. 18).

with chariots of men, etc. Better, *with chariots and horsemen* (omitting (*of*) *men* as a gloss on פָּרָשִׁים, which means both horses and horsemen). Winckler has proposed *and Aram* (i.e. Syria) *rode on horses* (reading וְרָכַב אֲרָם עָל־פָּרָשִׁים).

Kir. The original home of the Syrians of Damascus (Am. ix. 7), and the place to which they were deported in 732 (2 Kgs. xvi. 9): its situation is unknown, but it has been conjecturally identified by some with Cyrrhestica near Mt. Amanus.

uncovered the shield. For the protection of shields when not in use, cf. Caesar, *B.G.* II. 21, *ad scutis tegimenta detrahenda tempus.*

8. *And he took*, etc. The vision of the future ends with the previous *v.*, and the prophet here reverts to the recent past, when the defects in Judah's defence became apparent. The subject of the verb is the Lord, Who was the cause of the country's critical position (*v.* 11).

thou didst look. The 2nd sing. should probably be replaced by the 2nd plur. (as in the following *vv.*).

the house of the forest. i.e. the armoury, which was constructed with columns of cedar brought from Lebanon. It stood S. of the Temple and palace, and was the largest of Solomon's buildings (1 Kgs. vii. 2, x. 17).

of David, that they were many: and ye gathered together
the waters of the lower pool. 10 And ye numbered the
houses of Jerusalem, and ye brake down the houses to fortify
the wall. 11 Ye made also a reservoir between the two walls
for the water of the old pool: but ye looked not unto [1] him
that had done this, neither had ye respect unto him that
fashioned it long ago. 12 And in that day did the Lord, the

[1] Or, *the maker thereof*

9. *And ye saw*, etc. i.e. a survey of the walls was made, with a view to their repair (cf. 2 Ch. xxxii. 5).

the city of David. i.e. the citadel (2 Sam. v. 7) on the eastern of the two hills upon which modern Jerusalem stands.

gathered. i.e. stopped. The passage beginning here (*v.* 9[b]) and extending to *v.* 11[a] is considered by Duhm and Cheyne to be a prosaic insertion, introducing unnecessary details between *vv.* 9[a] and 11[b], which should be closely connected; but some mention of the measures taken to repair the breaches of the wall (*v.* 9[a]) seems to be required.

the lower pool. Probably the mod. *Birket el Hamrâ*, which was the first receptacle for the waters of Gihon (see on vii. 3). The waters were now diverted to a new reservoir (*v.* 11).

10. *ye numbered*, etc. The houses were examined, and those that could be dispensed with were demolished, either to leave space for additional fortifications, or to furnish materials for them (Jer. xxxiii. 4): cf. 2 Ch. xxxii. 5.

11. *a reservoir*, etc. This was probably the pool of Siloam (the mod. *Birket Silwân*), constructed to receive the waters which had hitherto flowed into the *old pool*, which is presumably identical with the *lower pool* of *v.* 9. The water of the Gihon spring was conveyed to the pool of Siloam by a subterranean tunnel (2 Kgs. xx. 20, 2 Ch. xxxii. 2—4, Ecclus. xlviii. 17), on the walls of which there was discovered in 1880 an inscription, probably cut by some of the workmen, giving an account of the meeting of the two parties who had begun the excavation from opposite ends (see Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. xv.—xvii.).

the two walls. Of these (which are mentioned in Jer. xxxix. 4, lii. 7) one probably ran up the Tyropœon valley at the edge of the western hill (constructed when that was fortified independently of the eastern hill), whilst the other ran across the entrance of the valley between the two hills. Traces of walls in these positions have been discovered by Dr Bliss (see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, I. pp. 220, 222, 225).

ye looked not...done this. i.e. no account was taken of the Lord, Who was really the dominant factor in the situation (see *v.* 8).

12. *in that day.* i.e. when the judgment for their offences (cf. xxix. 2, xxx. 20), of which Assyria was the destined agent, was imminent (see *v.* 5).

LORD of hosts, call to weeping, and to mourning, and to baldness,
and to girding with sackcloth: 13 and behold, joy and gladness,
slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine:
let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die. 14 And the
LORD of hosts revealed himself in mine ears, Surely this iniquity
shall not be [1] purged from you till ye die, saith the Lord, the
LORD of hosts.

[1] Or, *expiated by*

to baldness...sackcloth. Cf. xxxii. 11, and see on iii. 24.

13. *let us eat*, etc. The words (perhaps overheard by the prophet) were presumably uttered in mockery of his predictions of ill: they are here the language not of despair (as they are in St Paul's application, 1 Cor. xv. 32) but of irreligion.

14. *revealed...ears.* i.e. through the spiritual perceptions (cf. v. 9).

Surely this iniquity, etc. Such contempt for the Lord's warnings would have to be expiated by the violent death which they fancied they had little reason to fear.

XXII. 15—25.

This section is a denunciation of a minister named Shebna, and a prediction of his downfall and replacement by a more deserving successor called Eliakim. Shebna's name, here and in cc. xxxvi., xxxvii., is Aramaic in form; and from this it may be inferred that he was a Syrian—a conclusion confirmed by the question addressed to him in *v.* 16 and by the absence of any mention of his father in xxxvi. 3, 22. He may possibly have accompanied Ahaz on his return from the visit to Damascus related in 2 Kgs. xvi. 10. The hostility which Isaiah felt for him on account of his ambitious character was perhaps increased by political antagonism; for it is a reasonable conjecture that he was a supporter of the policy of resisting Assyria in reliance upon the help of Egypt, a policy to which the prophet was vehemently opposed (xxx. 1 f., xxxi. 1 f., cf. also xxviii. 14 f.). If so, the section, or at least the main portion of it, dates from about the same time as the preceding (*circ.* 703—701), when the philo-Egyptian party in Judah had succeeded in inducing Hezekiah to renounce his vassalage to Assyria. The oracle perhaps contributed to Shebna's deposition from the office which he is here described as holding and from which he was dismissed before the Assyrians' demand for the surrender of Jerusalem (see xxxvi. 3).

The genuineness of the two concluding *vv.* is open to grave suspicion in consequence of the unlikelihood that Isaiah, after predicting Eliakim's promotion, eulogizing his character, and promising him a permanent tenure of office (*vv.* 20—23), would go on to assert that he would be eventually degraded, with calamitous consequences to his relations who had profited by his advancement (*vv.* 24, 25). Hence it is probable that these *vv.* are a later addition. The Isaianic origin of *vv.* 19—23 has also been suspected, but on less adequate grounds (see note).

15 Thus saith the Lord, the LORD of hosts, Go, get thee
unto this [1]treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the house,
and say, 16 What doest thou here? and whom hast thou here,
that thou hast hewed thee out here a sepulchre? hewing him out
a sepulchre on high, graving an habitation for himself in the
rock! 17 Behold, the LORD will hurl thee away violently [2]as
a *strong* man; yea, he will [3]wrap thee up closely. 18 He will
surely [4]turn and toss thee like a ball into a large country; there

[1] Or, *steward* [2] Or, *O thou* strong *man* [3] Or, *lay fast hold on thee*
[4] Or, *wind thee round and round like a ball* and toss thee

15—23. An announcement to Shebna of his impending deposition from office, and of his expulsion from the country; and a declaration that his place will be filled by Eliakim.

15. *this treasurer.* Perhaps better, *this* (viii. 11) *administrator.* The word which seems to mean literally *servitor* does not designate a particular official, for the corresponding fem. is used of Abishag (the nurse of David in his old age) in 1 Kgs. i. 2, 4; and in a Cyprian inscription (Cooke, *NSI.*, p. 52) the masc. is employed of the governor of a city. The title of Shebna's actual office follows.

Shebna. The Vulg. has *Sobna*, cf. LXX. Σόμνα. The words *unto Shebna...house*, by their position, look like an explanatory gloss.

over the house. i.e. steward of the royal household (1 Kgs. iv. 6). This position, like that of the *Mayor of the Palace* under the Frankish kings, was a high one, and sometimes filled by relatives of the sovereign (see 2 Kgs. xv. 5, 2 Ch. xxvi. 21).

16. *What doest thou*, etc. Or, *What meanest thou* (cf. *v.* 1). It may be assumed that Isaiah had encountered Shebna on that part of mount Zion where only distinguished persons of Jewish race were wont to be buried (see 1 Kgs. xi. 43, xiv. 31, xv. 24, and cf. Ezek. xliii. 7), and where Shebna, as a foreigner, had none of his kin interred, to justify his construction of a burial place for himself (cf. Matt. xxvii. 60) in such a spot.

hewing him out, etc. This clause, marked by the 3rd pers., should perhaps be transposed to the end of *v.* 15. If it is kept here, the 3rd pers. should be changed, with the LXX. and Vulg., to the 2nd pers.

an habitation. For the use of this expression to describe a grave, see Ps. xlix. 11 (LXX.), and cf. xiv. 18 (*supra*), Eccles. xii. 5.

17. *as a* strong *man.* Better (as in the mg.), *O thou* strong *man* (reading טַלְטֵל הַגֶּבֶר for טַלְטֵלָה גֶּבֶר), the expression being designedly ironical.

will wrap thee up. i.e. (if the rendering is correct) will roll thee up in thy garments conveniently for throwing away. But the verb in this sense is elsewhere intransitive or reflexive, and some render *will grasp thee forcibly* (cf. mg.).

18. *surely turn and toss thee.* Better (cf. mg.), *surely wind thee round and round like a ball.*

shalt thou die, and there shall be the chariots of thy glory, thou
shame of thy lord's house. 19 And I will thrust thee from
thine office, and from thy station shall he pull thee down.
20 And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my
servant Eliakim the son of Hilkiah: 21 and I will clothe him
with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will
commit thy government into his hand: and he shall be a father
to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah.
22 And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his
shoulder; and he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall

into a large country. The words are perhaps to be connected with *hurl thee away* in *v.* 17[a], the intervening clauses being parenthetic. Shebna's fate is to be banishment to a distance.

the chariots of thy glory. The possession of these is another indication of Shebna's pride, chariots, in time of peace, being a mark of dignity and luxury (see 2 Sam. xv. 1, 1 Kgs. i. 5, Jer. xvii. 25, cf. also Gen. xli. 43).

19. *I will thrust thee.* The Lord is the speaker: for the change of person cf. iii. 4, xxxiv. 16. Shebna's degradation from office, implied in the prediction of his banishment, is re-stated in connection with Eliakim's advancement, and it is not necessary to suppose that *vv.* 19—23 are a later supplement, added to qualify the previous prediction because Shebna was only reduced in rank and not exiled (see xxxvi. 2, 22, xxxvii. 2).

shall he pull, etc. Better (with the Vulg. and Syr.), *will I pull thee down.*

20. *my servant.* The term (for which cf. xx. 3) suggests that Eliakim, like Isaiah, advocated a policy of dependence upon the Lord instead of upon political alliances.

21. *thy robe.* Probably court officials had a distinctive dress: cf. 1 Kgs. x. 5.

thy girdle. Perhaps better, *thy sash,* the original not being the usual term for *girdle*: cf. Ex. xxviii. 4 (of the high priest).

a father. His government will be marked by paternal care for those whom he rules (see on ix. 5).

22. *the key.* This at first may have designated the official in question as responsible for the safety of the palace or the city; but afterwards it became merely a symbol of authority in general: cf. Rev. iii. 7, i. 18, Matt. xvi. 19.

upon his shoulder. Cheyne (*Pol. Bible,* p. 160) gives a picture of a Cairene merchant carrying on his shoulder keys 12 or 14 inches long.

he shall open, etc. i.e. his office will be the highest in the state and his acts will not be liable to be reversed by a superior minister (cf. LXX. ἄρξει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντιλέγων). Eliakim's promotion to Shebna's position is attested by xxxvi. 3, xxxvii. 2.

shut, and none shall open. 23 And I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and he shall be for a throne of glory to his father's house. 24 And they shall hang upon him all the glory of his father's house, the offspring and the issue, every small vessel, from the vessels of cups even to all the vessels of flagons. 25 In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, shall the nail that was fastened in a sure place give way; and it shall be hewn down, and fall, and the burden that was upon it shall be cut off; for the LORD hath spoken it.

23. *I will fasten*, etc. The permanence of Eliakim's authority and the distinction which he will confer upon his kindred are symbolized by two figures—a nail or peg (cf. Zech. x. 4, Ezra ix. 8) fastened securely enough to sustain whatever is suspended upon it, and a seat of honour which dignifies everyone who rests upon it.

24—25. It is unnatural to regard (with Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 147) these *vv.* as a *warning* to Eliakim against allowing his promotion to be abused for the benefit of his relatives, and to render *Should they hang...in that day shall*, etc. They are obviously a *prediction* that advantage will be taken of his position by his kindred to further their own interests, and that eventual disgrace will befall both him and them. The *vv.* seem to be a supplement by a later writer who knew of Eliakim's failure to justify the prophecy contained in *vv.* 15—23, and accordingly qualified Isaiah's oracle.

24. *they shall hang*, etc. The words suggest that Eliakim will be guilty, if not of nepotism, at least of culpable weakness in connection with the advancement of his kinsfolk (who are designated by figurative terms).

all the glory. Perhaps better, *all the weight.*

vessels of cups. i.e. basin-shaped vessels (cf. Ex. xxiv. 6, Heb.).

vessels of flagons. i.e. jar-shaped vessels (cf. xxx. 14, Heb.). Both expressions are probably meant to be contemptuous.

25. *the nail.* i.e. Eliakim (*v.* 23).

CHAPTER XXIII.

This c. consists of two parts, (*a*) *vv.* 1—14, (*b*) *vv.* 15—18, which are probably of distinct origin. The first, though primarily a prediction of the overthrow of Tyre (*vv.* 5, 8), also anticipates calamity for Zidon and the Phoenician seaboard generally (*vv.* 2, 4). The second part is an appendix foretelling an eventual revival for Tyre, to which alone the passage alludes.

Tyre and Zidon in the course of their history sustained numerous invasions and sieges, one or other of which must be the event which the first part of the c. has in view. In the eighth century, within the life-time of Isaiah, Tyre was attacked by the Assyrian Shalmaneser IV. (Jos. *Ant.* IX. xiv. 2) and Zidon by

Sennacherib (see p. xxvi)[1], and in the next century Tyre was again invaded by Esar-haddon and Asshurbanipal; and though it more than once escaped actual capture by assault, it was repeatedly forced to submit to Assyrian supremacy. When after the fall of Nineveh the Babylonians became the dominant power in Asia, Tyre and Zidon concerted against them an alliance which included Judah, and the former city again underwent a siege. Under the Persians, the Phoenician cities enjoyed a long period of tranquillity; but in 350 Zidon revolted and was in consequence reduced to ashes by Artaxerxes Ochus. When the Persian empire was assailed by Alexander, Tyre experienced its most signal overthrow, for after Alexander's victory over Darius at Issus the city refused to admit the conqueror, and was thereupon besieged and captured, most of the surviving inhabitants being sold into slavery.

If the prophecy can be plausibly ascribed to Isaiah, the attack delivered by Shalmaneser or by Sennacherib affords an adequate occasion for it. There are, however, reasons for doubting Isaiah's authorship. (*a*) There is no evidence that the Phoenician cities were sufficiently closely involved in the politics of Judah in the time of Isaiah to make their fate a matter of interest to the prophet (like that of Damascus and Ashdod). (*b*) The vocabulary, though in part having parallels in Isaiah's writings, presents certain features that are unfavourable to an Isaianic origin (see on *vv.* 3, 8, 11). Some critics, while agreeing that the oracle is not by Isaiah, still take the subject of it to be an overthrow of the Phoenician cities by the Assyrians, viz. in the time of Esar-haddon[2] and his successor Asshurbanipal (672—668). But the contents seem best explained by the coalition of Tyre and Zidon with Judah, Edom, Moab, and Ammon against Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon in the reign of the Judæan king Zedekiah (597—587). This view accounts for (*a*) the interest shewn by a Hebrew prophet in an invasion of Phoenicia, (*b*) the combined allusions to both Tyre and Zidon. The overthrow of the nations that leagued themselves against Nebuchadrezzar is predicted by Jeremiah (xxvii. 1—6); and the impending destruction of Tyre is the subject of a prophecy by Ezekiel (cc. xxvi.—xxviii.). The last-named city was besieged by the Babylonians in 586—5, and the siege (which lasted 13 years, see Jos. *Ant.* x. xi. 1, *c. Ap.* i. 21), was probably not crowned with complete success (see Ezek. xxix. 18); but this is not a serious objection to the explanation, for Hebrew prophecies were seldom verified to the letter. Duhm and Marti think that the oracle has in view the almost total destruction of *Zidon* by the Persian Artaxerxes Ochus in 346, and get rid of the references to Tyre in *vv.* 5 and 8 by treating *v.* 5 as a gloss and emending *v.* 8.

The epilogue (*vv.* 15—18), which is in prose, is difficult to date with exactness. But the announcement that Tyre's gains, after its restoration, are to be brought to Jerusalem resembles the predictions of exilic and post-exilic writers respecting the enrichment of the latter with the wealth of the nations (xlv. 14, lx. 6, 11,

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[1] Since Menander, who is Josephus' authority, styles the king of Tyre *Elulæus*, a name apparently identical with that of the king of Zidon expelled by Sennacherib, many critics suspect confusion, and think that the invasion attributed to Shalmaneser was really conducted by Sennacherib, see McCurdy, *HPM.* ii. p. 282, Rogers, *HBA.* ii. p. 146.

[2] Rogers, *HBA.* ii. pp. 223—227.

lxi. 6, Hag. ii. 7); and the condition of the Jews is represented as one of poverty, as was the case in early post-exilic times (Hag. i. 9—11, Zech. viii. 10). Hence it seems probable that its origin should be placed *after* the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar, and within the Persian period.

XXIII. 1 The [1]burden of Tyre.

Howl, ye ships of Tarshish; for it is laid waste, so that there is no house, no entering in: from the land of Kittim it is revealed to them. 2 Be still, ye inhabitants of the [2]isle; thou whom the merchants of Zidon, that pass over the sea, have replenished. 3 And on great waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the

[1] Or, *oracle concerning* [2] Or, *coastland*

XXIII. 1—14. An announcement to the Phoenician traders of the destined overthrow of Zidon and Tyre, and of the dispersal of their inhabitants to their colonies, where calamity will again dog them.

1. *Howl*, etc. The imperative is equivalent to a prediction, foretelling the grief in store for the Phoenician seamen.

ships of Tarshish. The expression is here used of vessels actually voyaging to Tartessus (contrast ii. 16).

it is laid waste. The resemblance between this clause and *v.* 14 has suggested that it is a refrain (at the beginning and end of the oracle, cf. Ps. viii. 1, 9) and that it should be emended to *your stronghold is laid waste* (by the substitution of מָעֻזֶּכֶן for מִבַּיִת).

no entering in. Duhm connects this with the following clause, and renders, *At the entering in* (i.e. on the homeward voyage) *from the land of Kittim* (i.e. Cyprus (named in Hebrew from its chief town Κίτιον) where they have touched on the way from Tarshish) *it is revealed to them* (perhaps by the smoke of the burning town).

2. *Be still*, etc. i.e. Be stupefied with alarm and grief (cf. Ex. xv. 16, Lam. ii. 10), in consequence of the fall of Tyre (cf. Ezek. xxvi. 18). Others render, *Wail* (which suits better the parallel in *v.* 1).

thou whom, etc. The Heb. is not quite grammatical, and Duhm and Cheyne (who assume that the prophecy relates to the destruction of *Zidon* exclusively) connect with this *v.* the opening words of *v.* 3, and emend the whole passage to *Perished are the inhabitants of the isle* (or *coastland*), *the merchants of Zidon, that passed over the sea, whose messengers were on great* (or *many*) *waters* (reading נִדְמוּ (or נָדַמּוּ) for דֹּמּוּ and מַלְאָכָו בְּמַיִם רַבִּים for מִלְאוּךְ׃ וּבְמַיִם רַבִּים).

3. *the seed of Shihor.* Duhm (guided by some omissions in the LXX.) corrects to *whose harvest was the seed of Shihor, whose revenue was the traffic* (or *merchandise, v.* 18) *of the nations* (reading קְצִירוֹ...תְּבוּאָתֹה for קְצִיר and תְּבוּאָתָהּ, and omitting יְאוֹר as a gloss on *Shihor* and וַתְּהִי as perhaps a dittograph of the last part of the preceding word). Shihor (which occurs elsewhere only in post-Isaianic writings) here stands for the Nile, as in Jer. ii. 18, though strictly it is said to designate the easternmost (Pelusiac) channel, and in Josh. xiii. 3, 1 Ch. xiii. 5 seems to mean

Nile, was her revenue; and she was the mart of nations. 4 Be thou ashamed, O Zidon: for the sea hath spoken, the strong hold of the sea, saying, I have not travailed, nor brought forth, neither have I nourished young men, nor brought up virgins. 5 [1]When the report cometh to Egypt, they shall be sorely pained at the report of Tyre. 6 Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl, ye inhabitants of the [2]isle. 7 Is this your joyous *city*, whose antiquity is [3]of ancient days, whose feet carried her afar off to sojourn? 8 Who hath purposed this against Tyre, [4]the crowning

[1] Or, *As at the report concerning Egypt, so &c.*
[2] Or, *coastland*
[3] Or, *of ancient days? her own feet shall carry &c.*
[4] Or, *that giveth crowns*

the *Wâdy el Arish.* The Phoenicians, cut off from the interior of Syria by the range of Lebanon, were forced to become a mercantile people, depending for their corn-supplies upon Egypt (one of the chief granaries of the ancient world, cf. Gen. xii. 10, xli. 54), and drawing their revenue from their carrying trade.

4. *Be thou ashamed.* i.e. be confounded (the imperative being again equivalent to a future, cf. *v.* 1). Zidon has reason for alarm, because the sea (represented as the mother of a maritime, as the soil is of an agricultural, people, liv. 1) mourns over the overthrow and depopulation of Tyre, whereby it has become as childless as if it had never borne offspring. The words *the stronghold of the sea* are probably a gloss, changing the subject from the *sea* to Tyre itself (cf. Ezek. xxvii. 4).

5. *When the report*, etc. Or (by a slight correction), *When it is heard in Egypt* (יִשָּׁמַע for שָׁמַע, LXX. ὅταν ἀκουστὸν γένηται). Probably Egypt had encouraged Phoenicia (as it had encouraged Judah, Jer. xxxvii. 5) against Nebuchadrezzar, and so would see in the disaster to Tyre a presage of its own overthrow. Duhm and Marti, who consider that the prophecy relates to Zidon alone, reject the *v.* as alien to the context, and supplied by a reader.

6. *Pass ye over*, etc. The Phoenicians, on the destruction of their principal city, will have to take refuge in their own colonies.

7. *Is this*, etc. The ruined condition of Tyre, as the prophet foresees it, is contrasted with the prosperity for which it was famed.

whose antiquity, etc. i.e. whose origin, etc. Strabo (XVI. 2) describes Tyre as μεγίστη τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη πόλις, and Herodotus, when at Tyre, was informed that it had been built 2300 years previously, i.e. *circ.* 2750 (Hdt. II. 44). Zidon claimed a still greater antiquity (cf. Gen. x. 15), and styled itself the mother city of Tyre, and is the only one of the two mentioned in Homer (*Od.* XV. 425).

whose feet carried her, etc. i.e. in pursuit of her commercial and colonizing enterprises. Phoenician colonies and trading stations were planted all over the coasts of the Mediterranean (including Greece, Sicily, Corsica, Spain, and Africa).

8. *Tyre.* Duhm here emends the text to *Zidon* (צִדֹן for צוֹר).

city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the
honourable of the earth? 9 The LORD of hosts hath purposed
it, to [1]stain the pride of all glory, to bring into contempt all
the honourable of the earth. 10 [2]Pass through thy land as the
Nile, O daughter of Tarshish; there is no girdle *about thee* any
more. 11 He hath stretched out his hand over the sea, he hath
shaken the kingdoms: the LORD hath given commandment
concerning [3]Canaan, to destroy the strong holds thereof. 12 And

[1] Heb. *profane*. [2] Or, *Overflow* [3] Or, *the merchant* people

the crowning city. i.e. the bestower of crowns, the expression alluding to the kingdoms into which some of the Phoenician colonies developed (e.g. Tartessus (Hdt. I. 163) and Carthage (under Dido)). Cheyne emends to *the crowned city* (הַמְּעֻטָּרָה for הַמַּעֲטִירָה), cf. Vulg. *coronatam*.

traffickers. The word, which in form is identical with *Canaanite*, occurs in this sense in Job xli. 6, Prov. xxxi. 24, Zech. xiv. 21. The close of this description of Tyre is applied in Rev. xviii. 23 to Babylon (symbolizing Rome).

9. *to stain*. Duhm by transposition obtains *to profane pride, to bring into contempt all glory, even all the honourable of the earth*. The pride of Tyre, like that of Israel (ii. 12), is an offence to the Lord.

10. *Pass through*, etc. If the text is retained, the comparison to the unrestricted flow of the inundated Nile implies that Tarshish, freed from the control of the mother city (such control being likened to a confining girdle) will enjoy greater independence than before[1]. But in Heb. a girdle is usually represented as the support of the wearer's strength (cf. Job xii. 21), not a restraint upon his movements; and the passage is probably corrupt. In place of עִבְרִי אַרְצֵךְ כַּיְאוֹר בַּת־תַּרְשִׁישׁ אֵין מֵזַח עוֹד, the LXX. has *Cultivate thy land, for ships from Tarshish come no more* (perhaps reading עִבְדִי אַרְצֵךְ כִּי אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ אֵין מִזֶּה עוֹד), the exhortation being directed to *Tyre*, whose surviving inhabitants are bidden to have recourse to agriculture instead of commerce, since it is to perish as a trading centre. Kittel (partly after the LXX. and partly after Duhm) proposes *Cultivate thy land, daughter of Tarshish, there is no haven*[2] *any more* (reading עִבְדִי אַרְצֵךְ בַּת תַּרְשִׁישׁ אֵין מָחוֹז עוֹד).

11. *He hath stretched*, etc. The subject is the Lord; for the phrase cf. v. 25, ix. 12.

Canaan. The name, as a designation of Phoenicia (cf. Matt. xv. 22), occurs on a coin (bearing the inscription *of Laodiceia, a mother-city in Canaan*); but it has this sense nowhere else in the O.T.

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[1] That Tyre was sometimes the oppressor of her colonies is suggested by the rebellion of the Kitteans mentioned in Jos. *Ant.* IX. xiv. 2.

[2] It is, however, doubtful whether מָחוֹז (which occurs only in Ps. cvii. 30) has this meaning: the Oxford Lexicon gives *city*.

he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice, O thou oppressed virgin daughter of Zidon: arise, pass over to Kittim; even there shalt thou have no rest. 13 Behold, the land of the Chaldeans; this people [1]is no more; the Assyrian [2]hath appointed it for [3]the beasts of the wilderness: they set up [4]their towers, they [5]overthrew the palaces thereof; he made it a ruin. 14 Howl,

[1] Or, *was not* [2] Or, *founded*
[3] Or, *them that dwell in the wilderness*
[4] Or, *the towers thereof* [5] Or, *raised up*

12. *pass over to Kittim*, etc. i.e. the inhabitants of Zidon, when it is assaulted by the invaders, may seek to escape to Cyprus, but even there misfortune will pursue them.

13. *the land of the Chaldeans*, etc. On the assumption that the c. is Isaianic, this *v.* has been understood by some scholars to allude to the Assyrian subjugation of Babylonia by Sargon in 710 or Sennacherib in 703 (see p. 135), which is adduced as an illustration of the fate in store for Phoenicia; but the name *Chaldeans* is not likely to have designated the Babylonians until the time of Nabopolassar (625—605)[1]. By others who consider that the oracle dates from the time of Shalmaneser's siege of Tyre in 727—723 the reading *Chaldeans* (כַּשְׂדִּים) has been emended to *Canaanites* (כְּנַעֲנִים). But if (as is probable) the prophecy is non-Isaianic and relates to the Babylonian attack upon Phoenicia under Nebuchadrezzar in the sixth century, the *v.* is best regarded as a late interpolation, designed to call attention to the subsequent destruction of Babylonia, Phoenicia's conqueror, by the *Persians*, who are here indicated under the name *Assyrians* (as in Ezra vi. 22). (For לֹא הָיָה with the meaning *is no more*, cf. xv. 6, Job iii. 16.) Cheyne renders, *Behold the land of the Chaldeans* (*this is the people, it was not the Assyrians*): *they appointed it* (Phoenicia) *for*, etc., and, holding that the poem is Isaianic but has been extensively retouched by a post-exilic editor, considers the *v.* to proceed from the latter, who has in mind the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar. The words in the parenthesis he deems a gloss. Duhm reduces the whole *v.* to *Behold the land of the Kitteans* (reading כִּתִּיִּים, see *v.* 12); *he* (the Lord) *hath made it a ruin*[2].

their towers. i.e. their siege towers, enabling besiegers of a city to reach the top of its walls.

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[1] At least by a Heb. writer of the eighth century the Babylonians would scarcely be styled Chaldeans, even though Merodach-baladan is called by Sargon "king of the land Kaldu" (Schrader, *COT.* II. p. 24).

[2] The intervening words are regarded by Duhm as a gloss on *Kitteans* and translated: *This is the people, is it not that which is a settlement* (לֹא הוּא אֲשֶׁר יְסָדָהּ for לֹא הָיָה אַשּׁוּר יְסָדָהּ) *of sailors, they set up their watch-towers, their cities* (עָרָיו for עוֹרְרוּ), *and their palaces* (וְאַרְמְנוֹתָיו for אַרְמְנוֹתָיהָ).

ye ships of Tarshish: for your strong hold is laid waste. 15 And
it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten
seventy years, according to the days of one king: after the end
of seventy years [1]it shall be unto Tyre as in the song of the
harlot. 16 Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that
hast been forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that
thou mayest be remembered. 17 And it shall come to pass after
the end of seventy years, that the LORD will visit Tyre, and she
shall return to her hire, and shall play the harlot with all the
kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth. 18 And her
merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the LORD: it shall
not be treasured nor laid up; for her merchandise shall be for
them that dwell before the LORD, to eat sufficiently, and for
[2]durable clothing.

[1] Or, *shall Tyre sing as an harlot*
[2] Or, *stately*

15—18. A supplementary prediction relating exclusively to Tyre and foretelling the ultimate renewal of its earlier commerce, and the application of its gains to the maintenance of the Jews.

15. *seventy years.* This is the limit assigned to the subjugation of Judah, together with the nations round about, by Babylon in Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10; cf. xxvii. 6, 7[1].

according...one king. i.e. Tyre's subjection during the time indicated is to be continuous and uninterrupted.

the song of the harlot. Better, *the song about the harlot.* The *v.* that follows is probably a fragment of some popular lay. The comparison of Tyre to a prostitute is based on her commerce: usually it is not trade but idolatry that is likened to fornication (cf. Nah. iii. 4 of Nineveh, and see Ex. xxxiv. 15, Ezek. vi. 9, etc.).

16. *Take an harp.* Gesenius quotes Donatus, *Fidicinam esse meretricum est.*

17. *will visit.* i.e. relieve (cf. xxix. 6, Jer. xv. 5, xxvii. 22, xxix. 10). Similar predictions of mercy towards foreign nations occur in Jer. xii. 14—17, xlviii. 47, xlix. 6, 39, Ezek. xxix. 13.

shall play...world. The passage is imitated in Rev. xvii. 2, xviii. 3, 9.

18. *for them that dwell,* etc. i.e. for the Jews, who are thought of as constituting the priestly nation of the world (see lxi. 6, lxii. 12, Ex. xix. 6), and to whose support Tyre (whose conversion to the Lord is assumed, cf. Ps. lxxxvii. 4) will, with other nations (lx. 11), contribute lavishly. The passage involves a verbal infraction of Deut. xxiii. 18.

durable clothing. Better, *choice attire.*

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[1] The number 70 is a conventional figure, cf. Zech. i. 12, vii. 5, Dan. ix. 2.

Chapters XXIV.—XXVII.

This prophecy predicts an impending judgment upon the world at large, which is to be followed by the reign of the Lord in Zion, by the abolition of sorrow and death, and by a return of Jewish exiles from the lands of their dispersion. The predictive portion of the prophecy is interrupted by a number of lyric passages (xxv. 1—5, xxv. 9—12, xxvi. 1—19, xxvii. 2—5), which consist partly of rejoicings over triumphs which the Lord has either already achieved, or is about to achieve, for His people, and partly of complaints over the disappointing conditions of the actual present.

The section is singular for both the matter and the manner of its contents. Though Assyria and Egypt are named as lands where Jews are in exile (xxvii. 13) and though there is an allusion to Moab, expressive of animosity towards it (xxv. 10, 11), the scope of the prophecy as a whole is vast but vague, and the references to contemporary circumstances are elusive; and this characteristic assimilates it to the class of *Apocalyptic* compositions, a distinguishing mark of which is the comprehensive and indefinite range of their predictions. Remarkable features in the prophecy are the destined extinction of death (xxv. 8), the belief in a hostile celestial host (xxiv. 21), and the representation of certain formidable powers (either elemental or human) under the symbolism of great monsters (xxvii. 1). Nor is the style less peculiar than the subject matter. Whilst it does not lack impressiveness, it is redundant and laboured. It is marked by a straining after emphasis (the same thought being often reiterated in identical or synonymous terms, generally grouped in threes), by a fondness for alliteration and assonance (the latter being sometimes secured at the expense of some modification of the ordinary form of a word), and by a rather strange vocabulary. The imagery is not unfrequently curious, and the meaning intended is more than usually obscure.

That these cc. cannot be by Isaiah is apparent from the differences which they present to his writings in respect alike of the situation implied, the scale of the catastrophe foretold, certain of the ideas expressed, and the stylistic peculiarities. (*a*) Although Assyria is mentioned by name (xxvii. 13), what is here predicted for Judah in regard to the nation thereby denoted is dissimilar to Isaiah's prophecies in respect of historic Assyria; for whereas the deliverance that Isaiah declared to be in store for his country was the preservation of its capital from Assyria's attack (x. 24—27, xiv. 25), the deliverance here anticipated is the restoration of dispersed Jews from exile in a land called by that name, and whilst Isaiah predicted the overthrow of the Assyrian *army* (x. 16—19, 33, 34, xviii. 6, xxix. 7, 8), the present writer speaks of the downfall of an oppressing *city*. (*b*) Though Isaiah describes the defeat of Assyria as involving that of other nations (xiv. 26, xvii. 12), his representation does not correspond to the vastness of the catastrophe here depicted, which is a convulsion of the whole earth (as in Hag. ii. 6, 7, 21, 22, Joel iii. 16). (*c*) Of the ideas that are contained in these cc. the expectation of the abolition of death and the belief in supramundane beings allied with heathen kings have no parallel in Isaiah's writings or those of his contemporaries. (*d*) Both the style and the vocabulary are unlike Isaiah's. The occurrence in these cc. of numerous songs is in itself a singular feature; whilst there is present little of the oratorical manner of

public addresses (though see xxvi. 20, 21, xxvii. 7 f.). The frequent repetition, and the laboured effort after assonance are in conspicuous contrast to the vigour and spontaneity of Isaiah's utterances (even though the latter are by no means devoid of paronomasias); and whilst the cc. contain a certain number of Isaianic words and phrases, they are distinguished by many expressions which are altogether unique or rare, or used with an exceptional meaning.

Of the songs one, at least, viz. xxv. 1—5, seems to be independent of the original scheme of the prophecy, for it begins abruptly and severs the connection between xxiv. 23 and xxv. 6; and as it appears to pre-suppose that the predicted catastrophe has in part occurred, it may be rather later than the rest of the composition. But in general it is impossible to discriminate between the various parts of the prophecy (which exhibit much uniformity of style, e.g. the frequent repetition of a word, see xxiv. 4, 8, 16, xxv. 4, 5, 9, xxvi. 5, 15, xxvii. 5) in respect of origin and date. The section as a whole appears to have been written at Jerusalem (xxv. 6, 7, 10), but not before the Exile, since the expiation due for national offences has already been exacted (xxvii. 7, 8) and some measure of relief has been experienced, though it has come short of the nation's hopes (xxvi. 14, 17, 18). The population of the city is represented as scanty and depressed, and a large number of Jews are dispersed in exile all over the world. An unnamed oppressing power is on the brink of, if it has not already sustained, a disaster (xxiv. 10, xxv. 2); but redress for the Jews is still in the future (xxvi. 20). These circumstances point to post-exilic times; and this date is corroborated by the ideas contained in the prophecy (so far as they can be plausibly regarded as the products of a particular age). The same conclusion is favoured by the resemblances shewn to Apocalyptic writings, a class of compositions which, beginning with Ezekiel, became numerous in the post-exilic period. The prediction that death will be wholly annihilated goes beyond the promise of patriarchal length of days in lxv. 20, and looks like a later conception; and the alliance between celestial and terrestrial powers (xxiv. 21) resembles the idea of the angelic princes of the nations in Dan. x. 13, 20. Finally, the writer seems to be acquainted with the Priestly narrative of the Hexateuch, which was completed probably about 440 (see xxiv. 5, 18). These facts are perhaps most consonant with a date late in the Persian period, during the reign of Darius Codomannus (338—331). It seems not improbable that (as Cheyne thinks) the author, writing after the Jews had suffered cruelly under Artaxerxes Ochus (359—338) (who deported many of them to Hyrcania and Babylonia, Eus. *Chron.* II. 112), had in view the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander in 334—331; and the prophecy may be conjecturally assigned to the decade 340—330. That the Jews regarded the Persians as oppressors is suggested by Zech. i. 15 (date 520) and attested by Josephus (*c. Ap.* I. 22); so that if the hostile city whose overthrow is alluded to is the Persian capital, the feelings with which its fall is contemplated are sufficiently accounted for. Prudential reasons may have led the writer to leave it nameless.

Of other views, the only one which need be mentioned here is that of Dillmann (favoured by Driver, *LOT.* p. 221), who attributes the prophecy to the *early* Persian period and the reign of Darius Hystaspis (521—486). At the beginning of his reign revolts broke out in many places (including Babylon

which, though taken by Cyrus, had not been destroyed); and such wide-spread commotions would account for the language of xxiv. 1 f. (cf. Hag. ii. 6, 21, 22). Some of the contents of these cc. have parallels in the prophecies of Zechariah (cf. xxvi. 11 with Zech. i. 14, and viii. 2; xxvii. 12, 13 with Zech. viii. 7; xxv. 6 with Zech. viii. 20—23). But the city which is here represented as being overthrown is clearly a dominant power, which Babylon under the Persians was not.

Chapter XXIV.

This c. describes a universal catastrophe which is destined to usher in the reign of the Lord in Zion.

The tenses in the original vary, but the passage seems throughout to be a prediction of the future depicted in colours derived from certain conditions already prevailing in the present.

XXIV. 1 Behold, the Lord maketh the [1]earth empty, and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof. 2 And it shall be, as with the people, so with the priest; as with the servant, so with his master; as with the maid, so with her mistress; as with the buyer, so with the seller; as with the lender, so with the borrower; as with the taker of usury, so with the giver of usury to him. 3 The earth shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled; for the Lord hath spoken this word. 4 The earth mourneth and fadeth away, the world languisheth and fadeth away, [2]the lofty people of the earth do languish. 5 The earth

[1] Or, *land* and so in *vv.* 3, 4, &c. [2] Or, *the high ones of the people*

XXIV. 1—15. The approaching desolation of the earth, involving the destruction of a great city, which is greeted with joy by the Jews dispersed over the world.

1. *the earth.* That this is the right rendering (and not *the land* of the mg.) appears from *vv.* 13, 21; cf. also xxv. 8, xxvi. 9, 21. The phraseology recalls Nah. ii. 10.

2. *the priest.* The fact that, among the classes of persons enumerated, ecclesiastical authorities are mentioned where civil officials might be expected to be named confirms the suggested post-exilic date, for at that period the priesthood was the most influential body in the community (see Ezra x. 5).

4. *the lofty people*, etc. Better, *the highest* (literally, *the height*) *of the people of the earth*, i.e. the classes of pre-eminent rank. Cheyne and Marti adopt the correction *the height* (i.e. *heaven*) *with the earth* (מָרוֹם עִם for מְרוֹם עַם): cf. *vv.* 11, 21.

also is polluted under the inhabitants thereof; because they
have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the
everlasting covenant. 6 Therefore hath the curse devoured the
earth, and they that dwell therein are found guilty: therefore
the inhabitants of the earth are burned, and few men left.
7 The new wine mourneth, the vine languisheth, all the merry-
hearted do sigh. 8 The mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise of
them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth. 9 They
shall not drink wine with a song; strong drink shall be bitter
to them that drink it. 10 The city of [1]confusion is broken
down: every house is shut up, that no man may come in.
11 There is a crying in the streets because of the wine; all joy
is darkened, the mirth of the land is [2]gone. 12 In the city is

[1] Or, *wasteness* See Gen. i. 2. [2] Heb. *gone into captivity.*

5. *polluted.* i.e. by homicide (cf. xxvi. 21, and see Num. xxxv. 33, Ps. cvi. 38).

the laws. The plural of this word is not used by Isaiah.

changed. Better, *overstepped.*

the everlasting covenant. The allusion is to the covenant made with Noah (see Gen. ix. 5—17, P).

6. *the curse,* etc. The malediction incurred by human kind, through their offences, affects for ill the earth on which they dwell (cf. Gen. iii. 17, iv. 11, 12).

are burned. Literally, *are parched up* (Job xxx. 30), by fever or pestilence, perhaps the resultants of war. Some, guided by the LXX., read *languish* (דָּלוּ for חָרוּ).

7. *The new wine mourneth.* i.e. the vintage fails: cf. Joel i. 10, 12.

9. *shall be bitter.* Not only will the means for revelry be absent, but likewise all relish for it.

10. *The city of confusion.* Better, either *The city of wasteness* (Gen. i. 2, Jer. iv. 23), or *The city of unreality* (xli. 29, xliv. 9); i.e. either, the city that is (or is to be) wasted, or, the city that worships vain gods. If an individual city is meant, it is most likely Shushan (Susa), the Persian capital. Dillmann identifies it with Babylon: but the LXX., which has ἠρημώθη πᾶσα πόλις, takes the expression in a collective sense; and this, in view of the fact that the whole world is represented as devastated (*v.* 13), is perhaps correct.

shut up. i.e. barricaded, through fear, by the surviving inmates (cf. xxvi. 20).

11. *the streets.* Or *the fields* (or *open country*); cf. Job v. 10, Prov. viii. 26, Ps. cxliv. 13.

because of the wine. i.e. on account of the desolation of the vineyards (*v.* 7); cf. xxxii. 12, xvi. 9, Joel i. 5.

is darkened. i.e. clouded and ended. Many critics, in view of the

left desolation, and the gate is smitten with destruction. 13 For
thus shall it be in the midst of the earth among the peoples, as
the [1]shaking of an olive tree, as the grape gleanings when the
vintage is done. 14 These shall lift up their voice, they shall
shout; for the majesty of the LORD they cry aloud from the sea.
15 Wherefore glorify ye the LORD in the [2]east, even the name of
the LORD, the God of Israel, in the [3]isles of the sea.

16 From the uttermost part of the earth have we heard
songs, glory to the righteous. But I said, [4]I pine away, I pine

[1] Heb. *beating.*
[2] Or, *lights* Or, *fires*
[3] Or, *coastlands*
[4] Heb. *Leanness to me.*

parallel clause, substitute (after the LXX. πέπαυται) *is passed away* (עָבְרָה for שָׁרְבָה).

is gone. More literally, *is banished* (or *exiled*): cf. Hos. x. 5 (Heb.)

13. *For thus,* etc. The figure, illustrating the paucity of survivors, seems to be imitated from xvii. 6.

14. *These shall lift,* etc. Better, *Those yonder lift,* i.e. the dispersed Jews, to whose redemption the judgment is preliminary.

the majesty of the LORD. i.e. the display of His destructive power (cf. ii. 10, 19, Ex. xv. 1, Heb.) in some recent events.

from the sea. i.e. from the west (cf. Hos. xi. 10, Heb.), viz. the sea-board of the Ægean and Mediterranean.

15. *Wherefore,* etc. The *v.* (which should be placed within inverted commas) illustrates the jubilant exhortations which the Jewish exiles address to one another.

in the east. Literally, *in the lights,* which, if the text is sound, is equivalent to "in the regions of light," i.e. the countries of the east. But the use of the plural is unique; and various emendations have been suggested, of which the best is *in the isles* (בָּאִיִּים for בָּאֹרִים), since it produces in the concluding clause the "ascending rhythm" which is common in the prophecy (see xxv. 6, xxvi. 5).

the name of the LORD. i.e. the revelation of Himself in the events of history; cf. xxv. 1, xxvi. 8, xxix. 23.

the isles of the sea. i.e. the west: see on xi. 11.

16—20. Such rejoicings are premature, for further tribulation is still to come.

16. *have we heard,* etc. The words pre-suppose that some event favourable to the Jews had occurred (e.g. a defeat of the Persians), which had filled the exiles in remote lands with high hopes to which they gave expression.

the righteous. i.e. the Jews (cf. xxvi. 2, 7, Hab. i. 4, 13, ii. 4), whose uprightness the judgment that was overtaking their oppressors appeared to vindicate.

But I said, I pine, etc. Literally, *But I said, Leanness to me,* etc., the expression *leanness* being a figure for distress (x. 16). The prophet

away, woe is me! the treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously; yea, the treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherously.
17 Fear, and the pit, and the snare, are upon thee, O inhabitant
of the earth. 18 And it shall come to pass, that he who fleeth
from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he that
cometh up out of the midst of the pit shall be taken in the
snare: for the windows on high are opened, and the foundations
of the earth do shake. 19 The earth is utterly broken, the earth
is clean dissolved, the earth is moved exceedingly. 20 The
earth shall stagger like a drunken man, and shall be moved to
and fro like a hut; and the transgression thereof shall be heavy
upon it, and it shall fall, and not rise again.

21 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD shall
[1]punish the host of the [2]high ones on high, and the kings of the

[1] Heb. *visit upon.* [2] Heb. *height.*

regards his countrymen's rejoicing as premature, since many horrors, which he cannot but contemplate with pain (cf. xxi. 3, 4), must precede the final redemption of the Jews.

the treacherous dealers, etc. Better, *the barbarous dealers* (the assailants of the Persians) *deal barbarously* (cf. xxi. 2).

17. *Fear, and the pit*, etc. The tribulations in store are varied enough to prevent any from escaping (cf. Jer. xlviii. 43, 44, Lam. iii. 47).

18. *from the noise of the fear.* The fugitives are perhaps thought of as hunted animals fleeing before the shouts of the beaters. But the LXX. has only *from the fear.*

the windows on high. The conception (borrowed from Gen. vii. 11, P) is that of openings in a solid firmament (like the Homeric χάλκεος οὐρανός) above which are the reservoirs of the rain.

19. *is clean dissolved*, etc. Better, *is utterly split...tottereth exceedingly.*

20. *a hut.* The kind of structure meant is the *lodge* of i. 8 which would easily sway with the wind.

it shall fall. The reference is to the approaching overthrow of the dominant heathen powers: cf. xxvi. 14.

21—23. The punishment of hostile heavenly powers, and the inauguration of the reign of the Lord in Jerusalem.

21. *the host of the high ones.* i.e. supramundane powers (perhaps regarded as tenanting or animating the stars, cf. δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν in Matt. xxiv. 29), which were leagued with, and befriended, foreign tyrants (cf. Jer. xlvi. 25). In Deut. xxxii. 8 (LXX.) angelic beings are represented as allotted to the heathen nations, presumably as their protectors, whilst the Lord takes Israel for Himself (cf. Ecclus. xvii. 17); and in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21 the angelic *princes* of Persia and Greece are withstood by the angel Michael as *prince* on behalf of the Jews:

earth upon the earth. 22 And they shall be gathered together,
as prisoners are gathered in the [1]pit, and shall be shut up in
the prison, and after many days shall they be [2]visited. 23 Then
the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed; for the
LORD of hosts shall reign in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and
[3]before his [4]ancients gloriously.

[1] Or, *dungeon*
[2] Or, *punished*
[3] Or, *before his ancients* shall be *glory*
[4] Or, *elders*

cf. also Jude *v.* 7. Akin to the conception here alluded to is St Paul's belief in the malign influence of *the prince of the power of the air* (Eph. ii. 2) and in *angels and principalities* as spiritual antagonists (Rom. viii. 38, 39).

22. *they shall be gathered.* The same idea of an incarceration of the offending host of heaven occurs in Enoch x. 12, 13, xviii. 13—16; cf. also 2 Pet. ii. 4, Jude *v.* 6, Rev. xx. 2, 3.

the pit. i.e. a dungeon (Ex. xii. 29, Jer. xxxviii. 6, Zech. ix. 11).

visited. i.e. relieved (see on xxiii. 17). But better (with the mg.) *punished* (the verb having the same sense as in *v.* 21, cf. x. 12, xxvi. 14, Jer. ix. 25). The imprisonment previously mentioned is of the nature of a detention against the time of the final act of judgment (cf. Jude *v.* 6).

23. *Then the moon*, etc. The light of the two chief luminaries will be dimmed and rendered superfluous by the radiance of the Lord's own presence: cf. lx. 19, Rev. xxi. 23.

and before, etc. Better, *and before his elders there shall be glory* (cf. mg.). The representation is probably based on the description of the ascent of Moses and the seventy elders to the top of Sinai where they beheld God (Ex. xxiv. 9—11). Cf. also iv. 5.

CHAPTER XXV.

This c. consists of three separate divisions: (1) a song of praise to the Lord for the overthrow of a tyrant power (*vv.* 1—5); (2) a prediction (continuing the prophecy in c. xxiv.) of future felicity in Zion for all peoples (*vv.* 6—8); (3) a second song of praise in which the humiliation of Moab is anticipated (*vv.* 9—12). The first of the two lyric passages seems to be a detached poem, for it lacks an introduction (such as is prefixed to those beginning at xxv. 9, xxvi. 1), and interrupts the sequence of the predictive sections xxiv. 1—23 and xxv. 6—8.

XXV. 1 O LORD, thou art my God; I will exalt thee, I
will praise thy name; for thou hast done wonderful things, *even*

XXV. 1—5. A thanksgiving for the fall of a hostile city, and for the protection extended to the Jews.

The thanksgiving (the time for which must be assumed to have come at last, contrast xxiv. 16) may have been evoked by some decisive

counsels of old, in faithfulness *and* truth. 2 For thou hast made of a city an heap; of a defenced city a ruin: a palace of strangers to be no city; it shall never be built. 3 Therefore shall the strong people glorify thee, the city of the terrible nations shall fear thee. 4 For thou hast been a strong hold to the poor, a strong hold to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat, when the blast of the terrible ones is as a storm against the wall. 5 As the heat in a dry place shalt thou bring down the noise of strangers; as the

success obtained by Alexander over Persia. The opening words resemble Ps. lxiii. 1, cxlv. 1.

1. even *counsels of old.* Better, *counsels of old have proved to be truth and verity*, i.e. purposes formed and predicted long ago have been executed with perfect faithfulness.

2. *a city.* The identity of the city (if the sing. is correct) can only be conjectured. It is most natural to take it to be the Persian capital, representing the empire, which could be regarded as overthrown by Alexander's victory at Issus. The LXX., here as in xxiv. 10, 12, has *cities.*

a palace. Better, *a castle* or *fortress*, Prov. xviii. 19, 1 Kgs. xvi. 18, 2 Kgs. xv. 25.

strangers. i.e. foreign enemies (cf. i. 7, xxix. 5). The LXX. has ἀσεβῶν (possibly reading זָדִים for זָרִים).

3. *the strong people.* The expression probably designates the heathen peoples generally, who, from the favourable consequences which (it is assumed) will result to the Jews from the success of Greece over Persia, will ascribe that success to the agency of the Lord (cf. xlv. 14, 24, xviii. 7).

the city of the terrible nations. The sing. *city* is here almost certainly collective (note *nations*), and is perhaps used to contrast with the *city* of *v.* 2; but as the verb, in the original, is plur., it should possibly be omitted, and the text corrected to *the terrible nations shall fear thee.*

4. *For.* The *v.* supplies a reason for the praise expressed in *v.* 1.

the poor...the needy. i.e. the Jews (cf. xxvi. 6, xiv. 30, xli. 17).

a refuge...heat. For the figures here used to represent protection and relief in distressful conditions cf. xxxii. 2, iv. 6, xvi. 3.

when the blast, etc. Better, *for the blast of the terrible ones* (i.e. the rage of the Jews' oppressors) *is as a storm against a wall* (or by an easy emendation (קִיר for קִיר) *a winter storm*). The clause is probably a gloss to explain the storm from which the Lord is a refuge.

5. *As the heat...place.* Perhaps a scribal error for the words *as the heat...cloud*, which seem a gloss on *a shadow...heat* in *v.* 4.

shalt thou bring, etc. Better, *thou dost bring down.*

the noise of strangers. i.e. the vaunts of the Jews' foreign masters (the Persians). Duhm substitutes *the arrogancy of the proud* (גְּאוֹן זָדִים for שְׁאוֹן זָרִים): cf. xiii. 11.

heat by the shadow of a cloud, the song of the terrible ones
shall be brought low. 6 And in this mountain shall the LORD
of hosts make unto all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of
wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the
lees well refined. 7 And he will [1]destroy in this mountain the
face of the covering that is cast over all peoples, and the veil
that is spread over all nations. 8 He hath swallowed up death
for ever; and the Lord GOD will wipe away tears from off all
faces; and the reproach of his people shall he take away from
off all the earth: for the LORD hath spoken it.

[1] Heb. *swallow up.*

the song...shall be brought low. Better, *the song...he brings low.* The clause is probably a gloss (note the change of person) on *thou dost bring down the noise of strangers.*

6—8. The Lord in Zion will create happiness for all, and do away with everything that can interrupt or mar it.

6. *And in this mountain.* This *v.* continues the prophecy from xxiv. 23. The beginning of the Lord's reign in Zion will be accompanied by a coronation feast (cf. 1 Sam. xi. 14, 15, 1 Kgs. i. 9, 25) which will not be confined to the Jewish community, but extended to all surviving peoples who have been brought by the judgment to recognize the Lord's supremacy: cf. Zech. xiv. 16—19, and the parallel of the marriage feast in Matt. xxii. 2, Rev. xix. 9; see also Luke xiv. 15.

fat things. i.e. the richest dainties, the expression being meant figuratively: cf. lv. 2, Job xxxvi. 16, Ps. xxiii. 5, xxxvi. 8, lxiii. 5, Jer. xxxi. 14.

wines on the lees. i.e. old wines, in which the sediment has been allowed to remain long, before being strained, in order to impart additional strength and flavour.

7. *the face of the covering.* i.e. the surface of the covering (cf. Job xli. 13 mg.), a figure for sorrow, especially sorrow for the dead (*v.* 8), mourners being accustomed to veil their heads (2 Sam. xv. 30, xix. 4): cf. also Jer. xiv. 3, 4.

the veil, etc. More literally, *the web that is woven over.*

8. *He hath swallowed up.* i.e. annihilated (for the metaphor cf. *v.* 7 (mg.), 2 Sam. xx. 19, 20, Job viii. 18, Heb., Lam. ii. 2, 5). The passage seems to mean the cessation of all death (not merely death by violence, as in xi. 9); and the thought reappears in Rev. xxi. 4. The writer of lxv. 20 looks forward only to an extension of life, not immortality. Th. has *Death has been swallowed up in victory,* pointing the verb as a passive (בֻּלַּע) and giving to the Heb. נֶצַח the sense which it bears in Aramaic; and the same rendering appears in St Paul's citation in 1 Cor. xv. 54.

will wipe away tears, etc. The passage is cited in Rev. vii. 17, xxi. 4.

the reproach, etc. i.e. the Jews will be raised from their depressed

9 And it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we
have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the LORD; we
have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation.
10 For in this mountain shall the hand of the LORD rest, and
Moab shall be trodden down in his place, even as straw is
trodden down [1]in the water of the dunghill. 11 And he shall
spread forth his hands in the midst [2]thereof, as he that swimmeth
spreadeth forth *his hands* to swim: [3]and he shall lay low [4]his
pride [5]together with the craft of [4]his hands. 12 And the

[1] Another reading is, *in the dunghill.* [2] Or, *of them*
[3] Or, *but* [4] Or, *their* [5] Or, *for all the craft*

condition, which had brought shame on both themselves and their religion (cf. Zeph. ii. 8, iii. 18, Ps. xliv. 14, lxxix. 10, Joel ii. 17).

9—12. A second song, foretelling an ignominious overthrow for Moab. This poem is linked to the previous prophecy by the reference to *this mountain* (*v.* 10, cf. *v.* 6), but betrays an unexpected *animus* against Moab (cf. xvi. 6).

9. *Lo, this is our God*, etc. Better, *Behold our God for whom we have waited that he might save us* (cf. xxxiii. 2, Jer. xiv. 22). The clause is a retrospect. The repetition in the next clause is probably a variant and due to accidental error: it is omitted in the LXX.

10. *the hand*, etc. i.e. the Lord's enabling power (cf. Ezra vii. 6, 28, viii. 18, Neh. ii. 8) will permanently abide with Zion. But the LXX. has *the Lord shall give rest* (reading תָּנִיחַ for תָּנוּחַ).

and Moab, etc. The resentment here expressed was perhaps occasioned by the memory of Moab's offences at the time of Jerusalem's fall, when Moabites took part in the devastation of Judah in conjunction with the armies of Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kgs. xxiv. 2): cf. Zeph. ii. 8—10, Ezek. xxv. 8—11. Cheyne takes Moab to be a type of Israel's enemies in general.

in his place. i.e. in his own land (2 Sam. vii. 10, Am. ii. 13).

dunghill. Better, *dung-pit.* The comparison resembles Ps. lxxxiii. 10, cf. also 2 Kgs. ix. 37, Jer. viii. 2, ix. 22. The Heb. (*Madmēnah*) seems to involve a play upon the name of the Moabite town *Madmen* (Jer. xlviii. 2).

11. *And he shall*, etc. Better, *And if he shall spread forth...he* (the Lord) *shall lay low*, etc., i.e. if Moab (thought of as a drowning man) attempts to save himself from sinking, the Lord will baffle his efforts.

together with, etc. This rendering involves a zeugma: and hence better (cf. mg.), *in spite of* (Neh. v. 18, Heb.) *the devices of his hands.*

12. *the fortress*, etc. i.e. thy fortified towering walls. The expression probably refers to the Moabite fortresses in general, of which Kir Moab (see on xv. 1) was one of the strongest. The *v.* is regarded by Cheyne and Duhm as alien to the context here, and as probably a variant of xxvi. 5.

fortress of the high fort of thy walls [1]hath he brought down,
laid low, and brought to the ground, even to the dust.

[1] Or, *shall he bring down, lay low, and bring &c.*

hath he brought, etc. The tense must be a prophetic perfect (and so in xxvi. 5): cf. mg.

CHAPTER XXVI.

This c. consists of two separate parts. The first (*vv.* 1—19) is a poem, in which the writer at first projects himself into the future, and, anticipating the overthrow of a hated city, expresses his confidence in the Lord; but afterwards returns to the present and laments that the earlier national hopes have fallen short of complete realization. The second part (*vv.* 20, 21) picks up the main strand of the prophecy, and is an exhortation of the Lord to His people to exercise patience.

XXVI. 1 In that day shall this song be sung in the land
of Judah: We have a strong city; salvation will he appoint for
walls and bulwarks. 2 Open ye the gates, that the righteous
nation which keepeth truth may enter in. 3 [1]Thou wilt keep
him [2]in perfect peace, *whose* [3]mind *is* stayed *on thee*: because
he trusteth in thee. 4 Trust ye in the LORD for ever: for in
[4]the LORD JEHOVAH is [5]an everlasting rock. 5 For he hath

[1] Or, *A stedfast mind thou keepest in perfect peace, because it &c.*
[2] Heb. *peace, peace.*
[3] Or, *imagination*
[4] Heb. *Jah Jehovah.* See ch. xii. 2.
[5] Or, *a rock of ages*

XXVI. 1—10. An expression of thankfulness for a deliverance achieved.

1. *that day.* i.e. the day of the Lord's final vindication of His people.

salvation, etc. Supernatural protection, and not material ramparts, is Jerusalem's real defence (though it possesses walls and gates, *v.* 2): cf. xxxiii. 6, 20, lx. 18, Zech. ix. 8. The pronoun *he* refers to the Lord.

2. *Open*, etc. The Jews already resident in Jerusalem are bidden to receive their countrymen of the Dispersion (see xxiv. 16, xxvii. 13).

keepeth truth. Better, *maintaineth faithfulness* (to the Lord).

3. *Thou wilt keep*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *A steadfast* (Ps. cxii. 7) *mind* (or *purpose*) *thou keepest in perfect peace* (or *prosperity*) *because it trusteth in thee.* For *perfect peace* (literally, *peace, peace*) see lvii. 19: by the LXX. and Syr. the second *peace* is omitted.

4. *Trust ye*, etc. The words are an exhortation addressed by the returning exiles to one another.

for in the LORD, etc. Better, *for the LORD JEHOVAH is an everlasting rock*; cf. xxx. 29. The passage is the original of the phrase

brought down them that dwell on high, the lofty city: he layeth
it low, he layeth it low even to the ground; he bringeth it even
to the dust. 6 The foot shall tread it down; even the feet of
the poor, and the steps of the needy. 7 The way of the just is
[1]uprightness: thou that art upright dost [2]direct the path of the
just. 8 Yea, in the way of thy judgements, O LORD, have we
waited for thee; to thy name and to thy memorial is the desire
of our soul. 9 With my soul have I desired thee in the night;
yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee [3]early: for when
thy judgements are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world
learn righteousness. 10 Let favour be shewed to the wicked,
yet will he not learn righteousness; in the land of uprightness

[1] Or, *a right way; the path of the just thou directest aright*
[2] Or, *level* [3] Or, *diligently*

"Rock of Ages." The Heb. has *JAH JEHOVAH*, and one of the names should perhaps be omitted as a dittograph: cf. xii. 2.

5. *them that dwell on high.* i.e. those who were in fancied security.

the lofty city. The phraseology of the second half of the *v.* so closely resembles that of xxv. 12 that the reference in both passages must be to the same city. If xxv. 12 is in place, a fortress of Moab is alluded to both there and here; and to such (as near Judah) *v.* 6 is more appropriate than to a distant city like Susa, which else is denoted here. Cheyne thinks that Tyre, taken by Alexander in 332, is meant.

6. *the poor...the needy.* i.e. the Jews (as in xxv. 4).

7. *The way...is uprightness.* Better, *The way* (i.e. the outward lot) *of the just is even*, i.e. free from the obstacles that bring about the downfall of the wicked: cf. Jer. xxxi. 9, Prov. iii. 6 mg., xi. 5.

thou that art upright, etc. Better, *thou makest level* (or *smooth*, cf. Prov. v. 21) *the path of the just* (omitting, with the LXX., *thou that art upright* as an accidental repetition of the last word of the previous clause).

8. *in the way of*, etc. i.e. we have waited for Thy self-manifestation in the execution of Thy judgments upon our oppressors.

to thy name, etc. i.e. for a revelation of the Lord's power and goodness (*v.* 15) such as had been recorded in the past. *Name* and *memorial* are virtually synonymous (as in Ex. iii. 15, Ps. cxxxv. 13).

9. *have I desired.* The writer speaks in the name of his collective countrymen.

within me. Some critics would substitute *in the morning* (בַּבֹּקֶר for בְּקִרְבִּי), as correlative to *in the night.*

for when, etc. The nation's desire proceeds from the belief that nothing but chastisement will effect the conversion of the heathen.

10. *in the land of uprightness.* i.e. in the Holy Land, where the piety of the Jews does not produce in the heathen who witness it the reformation it should do.

will he deal wrongfully, and will not behold the majesty of the LORD.

11 LORD, thy hand is lifted up, yet they see not: but they shall see [1]*thy* zeal for the people, and be ashamed; yea, [2]fire shall devour thine adversaries. 12 LORD, thou wilt ordain peace for us: for thou hast also wrought all our works for us. 13 O LORD our God, other lords beside thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name. 14 [3]*They are* dead, they shall not live; *they are* [4]deceased, they shall not rise: therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and made all their memory to perish. 15 Thou hast increased

[1] Or, *and be ashamed, in* their *envy at the people*
[2] Or, *the fire of thine adversaries shall devour them*
[3] Or, *The dead live not, the deceased rise not* [4] Or, *shades* Heb. *Rephaim.*

11—15. An expression of confidence that the past oppression will not recur, and that a great expansion awaits the nation in the near future.

11. *thy hand*, etc. i.e. the chastisement of the heathen has begun and is already in progress, but they have not yet realized its true significance.

for the people. i.e. the Lord's own people the Jews: Cheyne reads *for thy people* (cf. *thine adversaries* in the parallel clause).

fire. Probably a figure for war.

12. *ordain peace.* i.e. establish prosperity for us (cf. *v.* 3).

all our works. i.e. all the national achievements and experiences of the past.

13. *other lords.* In the course of Israel's history various heathen powers, such as Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, had successively exercised dominion over them, instead of the Lord.

but by thee only, etc. i.e. only through Thy aid are we enabled to celebrate Thy name. But this is clumsy, and Dillmann renders, *only of thee, even thy name, will we make mention*: probably לְבַד־בְּךָ should be emended to לְבָרֵךְ. Duhm regards the sentence as defective, and suggests the loss of תְּשׁוּעָתֵנוּ—*in thee only is our salvation, and we will make mention*, etc. (cf. Jer. iii. 23).

14. They are *dead*, etc. Better, *The dead shall not live again, nor shall the shades* (xiv. 9) *rise.* The declaration relates to the *other lords* of *v.* 13: the tyrannous nationalities thereby designated had perished and were destined never to revive: cf. Jer. li. 39 (of the Babylonians).

therefore. The clause thus introduced as an inference merely develops the thought of the preceding clause: cf. Job xxxiv. 25.

visited. i.e. punished (cf. xxiv. 22 note, Jer. vi. 15, xlix. 8).

15. *Thou hast increased*, etc. The tenses here must be prophetic perfects: the LXX. renders the first verb as an imperative. The prophet looks forward into the future, and sees Israel, when its last oppressor is overthrown, augmented in population and territory.

the nation, O LORD, thou hast increased the nation; thou art glorified: [1]thou hast enlarged all the borders of the land.

16 LORD, in trouble have they [2]visited thee, they poured out a [3]prayer *when* thy chastening was upon them. 17 Like as a woman with child, that draweth near the time of her delivery, is in pain and crieth out in her pangs; so have we been [4]before thee, O LORD. 18 We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have as it were brought forth wind; we have not wrought any deliverance in the earth; [5]neither have the inhabitants of the world fallen. 19 Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the

[1] Or, *thou hadst removed* it *far* unto *all the ends of the earth*
[2] Or, *looked for* [3] Heb. *whisper.* [4] Or, *at thy presence*
[5] Or, *neither have inhabitants of the world been born*

thou art glorified. i.e. by the manifestation of Thy power on behalf of Thy people (Ex. xiv. 4).

16—19. A reflection upon the paucity of the nation's numbers in the actual present and the assertion of a belief that its missing members will be re-united to it.

16. *have they visited.* Better (by a slight correction), *have we visited* (פָּקָדְנוּךָ for פָּקָדוּךָ), i.e. sought Thee for the purpose of intercession.

they poured out a prayer, etc. The LXX. has ἐν θλίψει μικρᾷ (probably an error for πικρᾷ) ἡ παιδία σου ἡμῖν, which has suggested the emendation (Cheyne) *we cried out because of affliction, when thy chastening was upon us* (reading צָעַקְנוּ מְלַחַץ כִּי מוּסָרְךָ לָנוּ for צָקוּן לַחַשׁ מוּסָרְךָ לָמוֹ).

18. *brought forth wind.* A figure for fruitless effort: cf. Hos. xii. 1, Eccles. i. 14. This clause is rejected by Duhm as a gloss on the next.

neither...fallen. i.e. the heathen oppressors have not been overthrown as completely as was hoped. But it is more in keeping with the metaphor of the first part of the *v.* to render (as in the mg.), *neither have inhabitants of the world been born*: for *fall* in the sense of *be born*, cf. נֵפֶל, *an untimely birth,* Statius, *Theb.* I. 60, *si me de matre cadentem Fovisti gremio,* and the Homeric πίπτειν μετὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός (*Il.* XIX. 110). The want of population, which is the subject of complaint, was a feature of the post-exilic period (Neh. iv. 19, vii. 4).

19. *Thy dead.* i.e. the exiled members of the Lord's people.

my dead bodies. If the text is sound, the prophet speaks for the collective nation. But the Syriac has *their dead bodies.* The import of the passage is that those Jews, who, cut off by exile from the life of the community, are figuratively dead and buried in foreign lands (cf. Ezek. xxxvii., Hos. vi. 2, xiii. 1, 14), will be restored to national existence (see Additional Note).

Awake and sing. Better (reading the fut. with the LXX.), *They that dwell in the dust shall awake and sing.*

dust: for thy dew is *as* the dew of [1]herbs, and the earth shall cast forth [2]the dead.

20 Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. 21 For, behold, the LORD cometh forth out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.

[1] Or, *light* [2] Or, *the shades* Heb. *Rephaim.*

thy dew, etc. A Divine influence, comparable to the dew that freshens and invigorates vegetation, will bring about their revival to national life: cf. Hos. xiv. 5.

cast forth. Better, *bring forth* or *bear* (the verb being the causative of that used in the sense of *be born* in *v.* 18).

the dead. Better, *the shades* (as in *v.* 14).

20—21. A reiteration of the prediction of the speedy punishment coming on the earth for its iniquity.

This section probably forms part of the main prophecy (as distinct from the preceding lyric passage): cf. xxiv. 1—20.

20. *enter thou into thy chambers.* The judgment is regarded as executed through a destructive agency which slays all who are not sheltered from it: cf. the conception of the *destroyer* in Ex. xii. 23, and of the destroying angel in 1 Ch. xxi. 15, 30.

21. *out of his place.* i.e. from heaven, see Mic. i. 3.

disclose her blood. The blood of a murdered man, if exposed to God's sight, constituted a mute appeal to Him for vengeance upon the murderer: see Gen. iv. 11, Ezek. xxiv. 7, 8, Job xvi. 18. The writer here probably has the slaughter of his own countrymen exclusively in mind.

Additional Note on v. 19.

This *v.* is usually regarded as an expression of faith in the literal resurrection of dead Jews. It is supposed that the Jewish community, despondent on account of its feebleness and insignificance, and impatient of the tardiness of its expansion by natural increase, declares its belief that its numbers will be multiplied by the physical resurrection of those of its countrymen who lie in the grave (cf. *ye that dwell in the dust* with Dan. xii. 2, *them that sleep in the dust*). The word אורות, rendered in the text by *herbs* (cf. 2 Kgs. iv. 39), is taken (with the Vulg.) to be an exceptional form of the plural of אוֹר or אוֹרָה, *light* (ordinarily אוֹרִים) and the clause is translated, *thy dew is a dew of light* (cf. mg.), and as the term *light* is sometimes associated with *life* (cf. Ps. xxxvi. 9, lvi. 13, Job iii. 20) the expression *dew of light* is explained to mean a dew which falls from the regions of heavenly light wherein the Lord dwells (Ps. civ. 2), and which imparts to the dead renewed physical life. The objections to this view are fourfold. (1) In *v.* 14, which denies that those who

had previously held sway over Israel shall live again, the word *live* clearly refers to national revival, and affords a presumption that the same word conveys a like sense here. (2) The language of the text does not seem to go beyond that of Hosea and Ezekiel in the passages cited (p. 169) where these prophets admittedly speak allegorically, and by death and burial mean exile, and by resurrection from the grave mean revival to national life. The use of the term *shades* in the present *v.* cannot be decisive for a different interpretation; for if exiled Jews may be described as *slain* and as *dry bones*, they can equally well be termed *departed spirits*. Moreover, the *dew* of JEHOVAH here corresponds in function to the wind in Ezek. xxxvii. 9, and to the rain in Hos. vi. 3 (cf. also Hos. xiv. 5), and should consequently be regarded as producing the like result. (3) The preceding *vv.* 16—18 afford no sufficient motive for the affirmation of a belief in the resurrection of the actually dead. If the cause of the people's unhappiness was the paucity of their numbers (as these *vv.* suggest), a remedy for it would naturally be first looked for in a return to Palestine of those of their countrymen who were still in exile (as in xxvii. 12, 13), not a return to life of those who were in the grave. An expression of faith in the restoration to renewed life of such as were really dead would more fittingly be based on distinctively ethical grounds (cf. Dan. xii. 3). (4) If in *v.* 19 a literal resurrection were in the writer's thoughts, *v.* 21 might be expected to predict unambiguously the rising again of slaughtered Jews, whereas it seems only to express figuratively the appeal which their blood will make for vengeance.

CHAPTER XXVII.

This c. consists of a number of detached sections. (1) *v.* 1 constitutes part of the description of the universal judgment, linking on to xxvi. 20, 21; (2) *vv.* 2—6 contain another lyric poem; (3) *vv.* 7—11, which appear to be fragmentary, are an expostulation in reply to Jewish complaints; (4) *vv.* 12, 13 revert to the main prophecy, and probably connect with *v.* 1, the prediction of the judgment ending with an announcement of the return of Jewish exiles.

XXVII. 1 In that day the LORD with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the [1]swift serpent, and leviathan the [2]crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.

[1] Or, *gliding* Or, *fleeing* [2] Or, *winding*

XXVII. 1. A prediction of the overthrow, by the Lord, of a hostile power or powers, symbolized by reptile forms.

leviathan...sea. The three reptiles are probably survivals of a mythic stage of belief, when the watery chaos, which existed before the Creation, was thought of under the figure of a great monster. This in Babylonian mythology was called *Tiâmat* (cf. the Heb. *Tehôm*, Gen. i. 2), and represented as a dragon or serpent slain by the god Marduk (Merodach). Similarly in the present passage *the dragon that*

2 In that day: [1]A vineyard of wine, sing ye [2]unto it. 3 I
the LORD do keep it; I will water it every moment: lest any

[1] Or, according to some ancient authorities, *A pleasant vineyard* [2] Or, *of*

is in the sea symbolizes the Deep (cf. Am. ix. 3); and a Hebrew parallel to the Babylonian legend respecting the slaughter of Tiâmat seems hinted at in li. 9 (cf. Job xxvi. 12), where the *dragon* is represented as having been wounded by the Lord, but not slain, its final destruction being predicted here. The two *leviathans* are perhaps emblems of the two largest rivers known to the Hebrews, the Tigris and Euphrates, which are regarded as akin to the sea, and, like it, are symbolized by monsters and destined to be destroyed by the Lord (cf. xliv. 27, xi. 15). By *leviathan the swift* (or *fleeing*) *serpent* is meant the Tigris, which, according to Strabo (XI. 14. § 8), got its name from its swiftness (*Tigris* being the Median for *arrow*); whilst *leviathan the crooked serpent* stands for the Euphrates which the same writer describes as flowing σκολιῷ τῷ ῥείθρῳ. The punishment of these monster representatives of elemental forces seems to be regarded as a necessary preliminary to the renovation of the world and the establishment of the Divine kingdom (xxiv. 23).

By Burney the three reptiles are identified with the astronomical constellations *Serpens*, *Draco* and *Hydra*, the *sea* being "the heavenly ocean," the part of the sky south of the ecliptic (cf. Job xxxvi. 13 and see *JTS*. Ap. 1910, p. 443 f.); but the constellations named are comparatively inconspicuous[1]. Other scholars, whilst allowing the reptiles to be of mythic origin, nevertheless take them to symbolize national world-powers (cf. xiv. 29, and the imagery in Dan. vii., Rev. xii. 3). The *dragon* is generally explained to mean Egypt (the *sea* being the Nile, cf. xix. 5, Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2); whilst the two *leviathans* are supposed to designate Assyria and Babylonia, or Babylonia and Persia.

2—6. A song expressing the Lord's care for Israel, and His desire to defend it (*vv.* 3—5), followed by a prediction of Israel's expansion in the future.

The section pre-supposes the cessation of the Lord's wrath against Israel (xxvi. 20), the nation's redemption (to which the judgment upon the earth has been instrumental), and its restoration to the Divine favour.

2. *In that day.* Some word or words are lacking, and Duhm supplies *one shall say* (וְאָמַר): cf. xxv. 9, xxvi. 1.

A vineyard of wine. The expression is pleonastic (though cf. Jud. xv. 5, Heb.), and the LXX. has the preferable reading *A vineyard of delight* (חֶמֶד for חֶמֶר); cf. xxxii. 12, Am. v. 11, Jer. iii. 19. The figure recalls *vv.* 1—7.

sing ye unto it. Better, *sing ye of it* (v. 1, Heb., Ps. iii. 2).

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[1] If only one *leviathan* were mentioned (as in Job xxxvi. 13), it might represent the supra-terrestrial waters (cf. Gen. i. 7) as the *dragon* represents the sub-terrestrial waters; but the fact that there are two is in the way of this explanation.

hurt it, I will keep it night and day. 4 Fury is not in me:
would that the briers and thorns were against me in battle! I
would march upon them, I would burn them together. 5 Or
else let him take hold of my strength, that he may make peace
with me; *yea*, let him make peace with me. 6 [1]In days to
come shall Jacob take root; Israel shall blossom and bud: and
they shall fill the face of the world with fruit.

7 Hath he smitten him as he smote those that smote him?
or is he slain according to the slaughter [2]of them that were
slain by him? 8 [3]In measure, [4]when thou sendest her away,

[1] Or, *In the generations that come*
[2] Or, *of their slain*
[3] The meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain.
[4] Or, *by sending her away*

3. *lest any hurt it.* There is no subject to the verb in the Heb.; and Duhm, by very slight alterations, emends the text to *lest its leafage be missing* (יִפְקֹד עָלֶיהָ for יִפְקֹד עָלֶיהָ); cf. Jer. xvii. 8.

4. *Fury is not in me.* The Lord's anger against the vineyard, once occasioned by its failure to bear fruit (v. 2—6, cf. Ezek. xvii. 9), is no longer retained. The clause should be attached to *v.* 3.

would that, etc. The wish is equivalent to a condition: *if briers and thorns* (figures for human foes, as in x. 17, 2 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7) *were against me.*

in battle. This (despite the Heb. accents) goes best with the following clause: *in battle* (or *war*) *I would march upon them.* The metaphor of the briers and thorns is dropped, and replaced by expressions appropriate to actual human enemies (cf. xviii. 5, 6, xxviii. 18).

5. *Or else*, etc. Israel's foes can escape annihilation only by submission to, and by reconciliation with, Israel's God.

my strength. Better, *my stronghold* (xvii. 10, Ps. lii. 7).

6. This *v.* is not part of the song, but a declaration by the prophet.

shall fill...with fruit. i.e. occupy the earth with their increasing numbers (contrast xxvi. 18 mg.).

7—11. A suggestion of hope for Israel based on the moderation with which it has been punished, a statement of the condition of its pardon, and a description of the desolation of the tyrant city.

This section begins abruptly and continues the thought of xxvi. 20—xxvii. 1, rather than of xxvii. 2—6, though the connection is somewhat broken.

7. *or is he slain*, etc. Better (after the LXX. and Syr.), *or is he* (Israel) *slain as his slayers* (the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian tyrants) *have been slain* (reading הֹרְגָיו for הֲרֻגָיו). The chastisement inflicted on Israel was only designed for its correction, that sustained by its enemies amounted to annihilation (cf. xxvi. 14).

8. *In measure.* The original is taken by Aq. and Sym. to be a

thou dost contend with her; he hath removed *her* with his rough
blast in the day of the east wind. 9 Therefore by this shall the
iniquity of Jacob be [1]purged, and this is all the fruit [2]of taking
away his sin; when he maketh all the stones of the altar as
chalkstones that are beaten in sunder, *so that* the [3]Asherim and
the sun-images shall rise no more. 10 For the defenced city is
solitary, an habitation deserted and forsaken, like the wilderness:
there shall the calf feed, and there shall he lie down, and con-
sume the branches thereof. 11 When the boughs thereof are
withered, they shall be broken off; the women shall come, and

[1] Or, *expiated* [2] Or, *to take away* [3] See ch. xvii. 8.

duplication of the word *seah*, a measure of capacity containing $2\frac{1}{2}$ gallons, and to be a metaphor for "in just proportion," "without any excess" (cf. Jer. xxx. 11, xlvi. 28). But the expression in this context is strange, and many commentators regard the word as an infinitive, *by driving* (or *scaring*) *her away*.

when thou sendest her away. Better (after the LXX.), *by sending her away* (i.e. into exile) *he contendeth with her.* As there is no noun in the preceding *v.* to which the fem. pronoun can relate, Duhm regards the present *v.* as a displaced marginal citation, relating to *v.* 10, the pronoun referring to the *city* (assumed to be Jerusalem).

the east wind. i.e. the violent sirocco, which is often represented as destructive to vegetation and property (Gen. xli. 6, Ezek. xvii. 10, Ps. xlviii. 7), and is here a figure (cf. Jer. li. 1, Job xxvii. 21) for the invasion which carried the Jews into captivity; cf. Hos. xiii. 15, Jer. xviii. 17.

9. *Therefore.* i.e. as a consequence of the Lord's lenient disposition towards Israel.

by this. i.e. on this condition (Gen. xxxiv. 15, Heb.), viz. the cessation of idolatry.

all the fruit. i.e. all the desired result (iii. 10, Hos. x. 13).

his sin. i.e. the penalty of his sin.

maketh...chalkstones. i.e. breaks into fragments the altars and symbols associated with idolatry. That pagan rites were practised during post-exilic times appears from lvii. 3—13, lxv. 1—12, lxvi. 1—4. On the *Asherim* see xvii. 8.

10. *For the defenced city*, etc. The reference seems to be to the chastisement of the tyrant Persia (cf. xxiv. 10, 12), which will be a proof of the Lord's reconciliation to Israel (*v.* 9). Cheyne thinks that the condition of Jerusalem after its ruthless punishment by Artaxerxes Ochus is described; but this produces a contradiction between *v.* 11[b] and the tenor of *vv.* 7, 8.

there shall the calf, etc. i.e. the site of it is to be a pasture ground (cf. v. 17, vii. 25, xxxii. 14).

the branches thereof. i.e. the sprigs of brushwood covering the spot.

set them on fire: for it is a people of no understanding; therefore he that made them will not have compassion upon them, and he that formed them will shew them no favour.

12 And it shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD shall [1]beat off *his fruit*, from the flood of the River unto the brook of Egypt, and ye shall be [2]gathered [3]one by one, O ye children of Israel.

13 And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great trumpet

[1] Or, *beat out* his corn [2] Or, *gleaned* [3] Or, *one to another*

11. *set them on fire.* i.e. use them as faggots.

for it is a people. If the *city* of *v.* 10 stands for Persia, or the Persian capital, the people here designated must be its population. The Persians, though not idolaters in the strict sense, had no knowledge of the Lord, the Creator of them as of all other men (xlv. 12, 18, Ps. lxxxvi. 9), and consequently had no claim to His compassion. But the critics who identify the city with Jerusalem naturally take the *people* to be the Jews whose past calamities had been occasioned by their lack of spiritual discernment (cf. i. 3, xlii. 25).

12—13. A prediction of an in-gathering of the Lord's people from the countries of their dispersion to Mount Zion.

The allusion to *the holy mountain at Jerusalem* associates this section with xxiv. 23, xxv. 6, 7, which belong to the original prophecy (or apocalypse), and makes it probable that it connects directly with *v.* 1, the return of the dispersed Jews (*v.* 13) being the sequel of the destruction of all powers hostile to the Lord and His people.

12. *beat off*, etc. The word rendered *flood* means likewise *ears* (of corn): hence better *beat out from the corn ears of the River* (i.e. the Euphrates) *unto those of the brook of Egypt* (the *Wâdy el Arish*, separating Canaan and Egypt, Num. xxxiv. 5). The term rendered *beat out* is commonly employed of beating olive berries from the trees (Deut. xxiv. 20), but is here used of threshing corn with a rod or flail (cf. xxviii. 27, Jud. vi. 11, Ruth ii. 17). The scene of the threshing is the country between the Euphrates on the N.E. to the *Wâdy el Arish* on the S.W., which once constituted (at least ideally) the borders of Israel's territory (see 1 Kgs. iv. 24, viii. 65, Gen. xv. 18); and the purpose of it is to separate the Jews (the grain) from the rest of the population (the chaff) within the region named.

gathered. Strictly, *gleaned* (xvii. 5, Ruth ii. 3, 7, 17), suggesting the care with which the Lord will collect His people.

13. *And it shall come*, etc. In addition to the separation of the Jews from the heathen within the land which once belonged to the former, there is to be a recall of Jewish exiles from the distant parts of the heathen world.

a great trumpet. Strictly, *a great* (ram's) *horn*, cf. Josh. vi. 5. The same kind of signal figures in the description of the Last Day (Matt. xxiv. 31, 1 Cor. xv. 52, 1 Th. iv. 16).

shall be blown; and they shall come which were [1]ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and they that were outcasts in the land of Egypt; and they shall worship the LORD in the holy mountain at Jerusalem.

[1] Or, *lost*

ready to perish. The expression refers to exile in a foreign land (cf. Deut. xxvi. 5 mg.).

Assyria. The name here probably represents the Persian empire, which included the former dominions of both Assyria and Babylon (see Ezra vi. 22 and cf. on xi. 11, xxiii. 13).

Egypt. Jews took refuge in Egypt after the capture of Jerusalem in 587; and their numbers eventually increased so greatly that a translation of the Heb. scriptures (the LXX.) was required to meet their needs, and was begun in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285—246).

A restoration of exiles from the east and from the west was a frequent subject of hope and prophecy in post-exilic times: see Zech. viii. 7, 8, Is. lx. 4, lxii. 10.

shall worship, etc. i.e. not, by making pilgrimages to Jerusalem from a distance, but by being permanently re-established there: cf. xxiv. 23, Zech. viii. 8.

THIRD COLLECTION OF ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES. CHAPTERS XXVIII.—XXXV.

These cc. form the third division into which Proto-Isaiah naturally falls. The first 6 cc. constitute a distinct group, since they all (with one exception) begin with the interjection *Woe!* (better *Ho!*). These are, in the main, authentic Isaianic oracles relating to Judah, though the genuineness of portions of them may be open to suspicion. Though they have no common heading, most of them pertain to approximately one period in Isaiah's ministry, viz. the years (*circ.* 705—701) when the politicians of Judah were desirous of obtaining the aid of Egypt with a view to revolting against Sennacherib, and when the prophet sought to deter his countrymen from such a project; and they may once have composed an independent collection of the prophet's oracles. One small oracle (xxviii. 1—4) belongs in origin to a date some 20 years previous to 701; a second oracle (xxxii. 1—8) may be later than 701; and a third (xxxii. 9—20) may perhaps date from the reign of Ahaz.

The remaining cc. xxxiv., xxxv. are non-Isaianic, and belong to a much later age. They seem to bear the same relation to the foregoing cc. xxviii.—xxxiii. as cc. xxiv.—xxvii. do to cc. xiii.—xxiii., and cc. xi. 10—xii. to cc. i.—xi. 9 (see p. iv).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

This c. falls into three parts: (1) a prophecy of doom for Samaria (*vv.* 1—4 (6)); (2) a denunciation of the religious and political leaders of Jerusalem (*vv.* 7—22); (3) a parable illustrative of the Lord's methods of dealing with His people (*vv.* 23—29). Of these the central portion must have been written when the people of Judah were facing the imminence of invasion with ill-grounded confidence; and the presumptuous spirit here represented as pervading the nation is so like that which prevailed shortly before 701 (cf. xxii. 1—14, cc. xxx., xxxi.), that it is most reasonably assigned to that date (*circ.* 703). The last, if Isaianic (see note), is appropriate to the same period. But the first must have been composed before the fall of Samaria in 722 (perhaps in the reign of Hoshea, *circ.* 730—722), and seems to have been prefixed to prophecies written more than 20 years later in order to recall the doom of Samaria to the minds of the Judæans, whose offences resembled those of the ill-fated sister kingdom.

XXVIII. 1 Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim, and to the fading flower of his glorious beauty, which is on the head of the fat valley of them that are [1]overcome with wine! 2 Behold, the Lord hath a mighty and strong one; as a tempest of hail, a destroying storm, as a tempest of mighty waters overflowing, shall he cast down to the earth [2]with

[1] Heb. *smitten down.* [2] Or, *with violence*

XXVIII. 1—4. A prophecy of woe for the dissolute people of Samaria.

The overthrow of the kingdom of Ephraim was predicted by Isaiah as early as the reign of Ahaz (vii. 16, viii. 4), but the absence here of any reference to Damascus makes it probable that the present prophecy was delivered after the overthrow of that city in 732 and shortly before Ephraim came to an end in 722.

1. *Woe to the crown*, etc. More strictly, *Ho! the crown*, etc. (and so in xxx. 1, xxxi. 1, xxxiii. 1). Samaria, as being the pride of its inhabitants, but destined to perish in consequence of their vices, is likened to the garlands of quickly fading flowers wherewith dissolute revellers wreathed their heads (Lam. v. 16, Wisd. ii. 8).

of the fat valley. The Heb. being irregular in construction, these words are better omitted (with Kittel) as an interpolation from *v.* 4.

overcome with wine. Literally, *broken* (or *smitten*) *down with wine* (cf. xvi. 8, Prov. xxiii. 35, Tibullus I. ii. 3 *multo percussus tempora Baccho*, Mart. IV. lxvi. 12, *saucia vena mero*, and the Greek οἰνοπλήξ). For intemperance in Ephraim see Am. iv. 1, vi. 6, Hos. vii. 5.

2. *a mighty and strong one.* i.e. the Assyrian, the Lord's agent for the chastisement of His people (cf. x. 5).

as a tempest, etc. For the comparison of an invasion to a storm and flood cf. viii. 7, 8, xvii. 12.

the hand. 3 The crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim
shall be trodden under foot: 4 and the fading flower of his
glorious beauty, which is on the head of the fat valley, shall be
as the firstripe fig before the summer; which when he that
looketh upon it seeth, while it is yet in his hand he eateth it up.
5 In that day shall the LORD of hosts be for a crown of glory,
and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people:
6 and for a spirit of judgement to him that sitteth in judgement,
and for strength to them that turn back the battle [1]at the gate.
7 But these also [2]have erred through wine, and through strong

[1] Or, *to* [2] Or, *reel*

with the hand. Better (as in the mg.), *with violence* (LXX. βίᾳ).

3. *shall be trodden*, etc. The verb is plur., and both the construction and sense are improved by a slight transposition proposed by Duhm: *Then shall be trodden under foot the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim*, 4. *and the fading flower...valley; and it* (i.e. Samaria) *shall be*, etc.

4. *on the head of the fat valley.* The hill of Samaria (1 Kgs. xvi. 24, Am. iv. 1, vi. 1), rising from a fertile plain and crowned by the city, is itself here compared to a garlanded head.

before the summer. Better, *before the fruit-harvest* (which occurred in August). Such figs as ripened before this were esteemed a delicacy (Jer. xxiv. 2, Hos. ix. 10, Mic. vii. 1), and the eagerness with which they were plucked and eaten by epicures is used to illustrate the speed with which the Assyrians are expected to gain possession of Samaria. Isaiah, however, under-estimated the city's powers of resistance, for it stood a siege of more than two years (2 Kgs. xviii. 10).

5—6. These two *vv.*, which qualify the previous doom of annihilation by predicting the survival of a remnant, injure the moral which the fate of Samaria had for Jerusalem: both Cheyne and Duhm (who consider *the residue* to be Judah, which Isaiah expected to owe its rescue to the Lord's intervention alone, see xxix. 1—8, xxxi. 8, 9) reject them as a late supplement (like xvii. 7, 8).

5. *In that day.* In the Messianic age the Lord, and not the stately fortress, will be His surviving people's pride and confidence.

the residue of his people. The expression recurs only in xi. 11, 16.

6. *for a spirit of judgement*, etc. i.e. will inspire in them both civic and martial virtue (cf. Ps. cxliv. 1 and the description of the Messianic king in xi. 2, xxxii. 1).

at the gate. Better (as in the mg.), *to the gate*, through which the enemy have penetrated and to which they are forced back.

7—22. A rebuke of the leaders of Judah for their drunken excesses and irreligious self-confidence, and an exposure of the hollowness of their fancied security.

That this prophecy is directed against Judah appears from *v.* 14.

drink [1]are gone astray; the priest and the prophet [2]have erred
through strong drink, they are swallowed up of wine, they are
gone astray through strong drink; they [2]err in vision, they
stumble in judgement. 8 For all tables are full of vomit *and*
filthiness, *so that there is* no place *clean.* 9 [3]Whom will he
teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand the
[4]message? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from
the breasts? 10 For it is precept upon precept, precept upon
precept; [5]line upon line, line upon line; here a little, there a

[1] Or, *stagger* [2] Or, *reel*
[3] Or, *Whom shall he teach...and whom shall he make...breasts. For &c.*
[4] Or, *report* [5] Or, *rule*

7. *these also.* i.e. the people and rulers of Jerusalem, as well as those of Samaria.

erred...gone astray. Better (as in the mg.), *reel...stagger* (cf. xix. 14, Prov. xx. 1, mg.). Habits of drunkenness in Judah are referred to in v. 11, 22, Mic. ii. 11.

the priest...the prophet. These, by their authoritative decisions (*judgement*) and professed revelations (*vision*), had doubtless supported the policy to which Isaiah was opposed, but were rendered by intemperance unworthy of confidence.

swallowed up of wine. Better, *distraught through wine*: cf. the use of the verb in iii. 12, ix. 16.

9. *Whom will he*, etc. The speakers in *vv.* 9, 10 are the priests and prophets, resenting Isaiah's reflections upon the value of their counsel: they imply that they are not children, requiring to be schooled in their functions.

knowledge. An allusion to the qualifications expected of the priests (Mal. ii. 7).

the message. Better, *a message* (and so in *v.* 19), i.e. a communication from the Lord, such as the prophets claimed to receive (cf. Jer. xlix. 14, Obad. *v.* 1).

10. *precept...line.* Heb. צַו־קַו. If the first is rightly rendered *precept*, the second must be equivalent to *regulation.* But better (if the expressions in the original are real words), *rule...line* (both being understood in the sense of tools, such as are used by builders or carpenters; for the second see *v.* 17, xxxiv. 11, 17, xliv. 13). By the Vulg., which has *manda, remanda, expecta, reexpecta*, they are connected with the verbs *command* (Heb. צִוָּה) and *wait for* (Heb. קִוָּה). But if the expressions were intended to have a meaning, they might be expected to be mocking reproductions of some favourite phrases of Isaiah's; whereas words identical with, or similar to, them are not very common in the prophet's addresses. Hence the Hebrew terms (which are rhyming monosyllables) are probably not words at all, but imitations of the jingling nonsense which a nurse might use to a child.

here a little, etc. These are actual words (not, like the preceding,

little. 11 [1]Nay, but by *men of* strange lips and with another
tongue will he speak to this people: 12 to whom he said, This is
the rest, give ye rest to him that is weary; and this is the
refreshing: yet they would not hear. 13 Therefore shall the
word of the LORD be unto them precept upon precept, precept
upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, there
a little; that they may go, and fall backward, and be broken,
and snared, and taken.

14 Wherefore hear the word of the LORD, ye scornful men,
that rule this people which is in Jerusalem: 15 Because ye
have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with [2]hell

[1] Or, *For with stammering lips* [2] Heb. *Sheol.*

unmeaning sounds), and should perhaps be rendered, *here a little while, and there a little while* (cf. Job xxxvi. 2). They seem to be a sneer at Isaiah's rapid transitions from one subject of censure to another (as in v. 8—23).

11. *Nay, but*, etc. Better, *Yea* (xxxii. 13), *with jabberings of lips, and with an alien* (Deut. xxviii. 32, xxix. 28) *tongue*, etc. This is Isaiah's response to their mockery: the speech of the nursery, to which they compare his language, will shortly be replaced by the still stranger tongue (xxxiii. 19) of a foreign conqueror. The *v.* (in a form based on Aq.'s translation) is quoted in 1 Cor. xiv. 21, with reference to the gift of tongues as a sign to the unbelieving.

12. *This is the rest.* i.e. this (the line of policy advocated by the prophet, viz. faith in the Lord, abandonment of a warlike attitude, and detachment from all foreign alliances, cf. xxx. 15) is what will most conduce to national security and tranquillity.

him that is weary. i.e. the poorer classes upon whom the burdens of war (military service, money contributions, the interruption of agriculture, and the like) fall heaviest.

the refreshing. Better, *the repose*, i.e. the means of recovery.

13. *Therefore shall*, etc. i.e. the Lord will henceforward speak to them through the unintelligible but irresistible Assyrians.

that they...taken. In place of the security which might have been theirs, they will be trapped and captured like hunted animals.

15. *a covenant with death.* i.e. a compact (effected by magic rites) with the spirits of the dead in Sheol, which was expected to ensure safety in the hour of danger (see viii. 19 and cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 7 f.). But some scholars consider that *a covenant with death* and *an agreement with hell* (*Sheol*) figuratively describe the supreme confidence entertained by the speakers that destruction by Assyria would not befall them (cf. Job v. 23, Hos. ii. 18 and Lucan, *Phars.* IX. 898 (of a people immune from serpents' poison), *Pax illis cum morte data est*), their security having been ensured by a political compact with Egypt (xxx. 1, xxxi. 1).

are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves: 16 therefore thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, I [1]lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner *stone* of sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste. 17 And I will make judgement the line, and righteousness the plummet: and

[1] Or, *have laid*

are we at agreement. Lit. *have we had a vision,* and so in *v.* 18 (perhaps meaning that an apparition from the dead had conveyed an assurance of safety). But the LXX. has συνθήκας and the Vulg. *pactum.*

the overflowing scourge. The metaphor (designating the hostile incursion) is a confused one, and, though parallel confusions occur in v. 24, x. 18, xiv. 29[1], should perhaps be corrected, here and in *v.* 18, to *the overflowing overflow,* reading שֶׁטֶף שׁוֹטֵף (after LXX. καταιγὶς φερομένη, Theod. κατακλυσμὸς φερόμενος): cf. *v.* 17, viii. 7, 8, x. 22.

lies...falsehood. The words probably express Isaiah's own estimate of the unreality of the protection (supernatural or political) to which they have committed themselves. But some critics think they allude to the breach of fealty in respect of Assyria, which the policy of Isaiah's opponents involved (cf. Ezek. xvii. 15, 16).

16. *Behold, I lay,* etc. The protection provided by the Lord (through His relation with Israel) for those who trust Him in the impending crisis is represented under the figure of a sheltering building, of well-tested and costly materials. The metaphor, which was probably suggested by the Temple fabric, is applied in 1 Pet. ii. 6 to our Lord, who is described as the chief corner-stone of the spiritual Temple, the Church: cf. also Eph. ii. 20.

in Zion. Jerusalem was the seat both of the Lord's worship (xxxi. 9) and of the Davidic monarchy, to which permanence had been promised (cf. xxxvii. 35, 2 Sam. vii. 13—16, xxiii. 5): cf. xiv. 32.

he that believeth, etc. i.e. enjoyment of the Divine protection is not absolute but conditional: it only avails for those who place their confidence in a God who is spiritual in nature and holy in character, instead of in the arts of sorcery or the resources of military power: cf. vii. 9. The LXX. has *he that believeth thereon,* i.e. on the tried stone, and St Paul in Rom. ix. 33, x. 11, following the LXX., refers the pronoun (ἐπ' αὐτῷ) to Christ, the Messiah (cf. 1 Pet. ii. 6).

shall not make haste. i.e. shall not have to flee. But better (after the LXX.), *shall not be put to shame* (יֵבוֹשׁ for יָחִישׁ). Cheyne conjectures *shall not give way* (יָמִישׁ): cf. xxii. 25, liv. 10 (Heb.).

17. *make judgement the line.* i.e. the faith, upon which the Lord's

[1] Combinations of incongruous expressions occur in the poetry of all languages: e.g. Soph. *O.T.* 186 παιὰν λάμπει, Eur. *Med.* 107 νέφος οἰμωγῆς...ἀνάψει.

the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall
overflow the hiding place. 18 And your covenant with death
shall be disannulled, and your agreement with [1]hell shall not
stand; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then
ye shall be trodden down by it. 19 As often as it passeth
through, it shall take you; for morning by morning shall it pass
through, by day and by night: and it shall be nought but terror
to understand the [2]message. 20 For the bed is shorter than
that a man can stretch himself on it; and the covering narrower
than that he can wrap himself in it. 21 For the LORD shall rise
up as in [3]mount Perazim, he shall be wroth as in the valley of
Gibeon; that he may do his work, his strange work, and bring

[1] Heb. *Sheol.* [2] Or, *report* [3] See 1 Chr. xiv. 11, &c.

protection is conditional, must be accompanied by a moral reformation: the national conduct must square with the Divine standards of social justice and uprightness, and failure to conform to them will involve destruction (cf. i. 27, v. 16, x. 22). The similar figure of a plumb-line occurs in Am. vii. 7—9.

the hail...the waters. Figures for a Divine judgment (xxx. 30), here executed through the agency of an Assyrian invasion, which will demonstrate the instability of the refuge to which the rulers of Jerusalem have resorted (*v.* 15). Cf. Matt. vii. 26, 27.

18. *disannulled.* Literally, *covered* or perhaps *obliterated* (the *covenant* being regarded as a document that is cancelled or blackened out, cf. the verb in Gen. vi. 14). But as the Heb. term is generally used of the cancelling of offences (vi. 7, xxii. 14, xxvii. 9), not compacts, many critics would substitute here *brought to nought* (וְתֻפַּר for וְכֻפַּר): cf. viii. 10, Jer. xxxiii. 21.

trodden down. The previous figure is here exchanged for another (occurring in x. 6, Mic. vii. 10, Dan. viii. 13) which is more appropriate to oppression by actual invaders.

19. *nought but terror*, etc. i.e. the true import of the Divine revelations (*v.* 9), now wantonly ignored, will, when forced by events upon them, leave room for nothing but terror.

20. *For the bed*, etc. i.e. the fancied security (*v.* 15) will be found insufficient.

21. *For the LORD shall rise*, etc. i.e. the Lord will again intervene decisively in human history as He did in the time of David (see 2 Sam. v. 17—25, 1 Ch. xiv. 8—16), but not, as then, on the side of Israel, but against it.

mount Perazim...Gibeon. In 2 Sam. v. 20, 25 *Baal Perazim* and *Geba.*

his strange work. Better, *strange is his work...foreign is his act.* i.e. the execution of vengeance (v. 19, x. 12) upon His own people, instead of upon their enemies, is alien to His normal attitude.

to pass his act, his strange act. 22 Now therefore be ye not scorners, lest your bands be made strong: for a consummation, and that determined, have I heard from the Lord, the LORD of hosts, upon the whole [1]earth.

23 Give ye ear, and hear my voice; hearken, and hear my speech. 24 Doth the plowman plow continually to sow? doth he *continually* open and break the clods of his ground? 25 When he hath made plain the face thereof, doth he not cast abroad the [2]fitches, and scatter the cummin, and put in the wheat in rows and the barley in the appointed place and

[1] Or, *land*
[2] Or, *black cummin* (*Nigella sativa*)

22. *lest your bands*, etc. i.e. lest the retribution (through Assyria), already merited, be enhanced by further persistence in mockery. The *bands* are those linking sin to punishment, which they had fastened upon themselves (cf. *v.* 18).

a consummation, etc. Better, *an end and that a decisive one...upon all the land.*

23—29. A parable drawn from husbandry, designed to illustrate the Lord's judiciousness in His dealings with His people.

The Isaianic origin of this section has been questioned partly on the ground that its tenor is inconsistent with the foregoing sentence of doom, and partly because it contains a word common only in "Wisdom" literature (*v.* 29). But it is probably addressed to the prophet's disciples (*v.* 23 seems to be the opening of a fresh speech, cf. Ps. xlix. 1, lxxviii. 1), and the purport of it corresponds to Isaiah's conception of the Lord's scheme of action, which was not to exterminate but to purify Israel (i. 24—28, x. 20, iv. 3, 4).

24. *Doth the plowman*, etc. It is implied that, as the process of ploughing eventually gives place to sowing, so Israel's chastisement will by and by be succeeded by different treatment.

25. *made plain.* Better, *levelled.*

fitches. Better, *vetches* or *black cummin* (*Nigella sativa*), the seeds of which were used to flavour bread.

cummin. i.e. *cuminum cyminum*, an umbelliferous plant used as a condiment: its seeds in appearance and flavour are said to be like caraway.

in rows. This word, omitted by the LXX. and Syr., is rejected by some as a dittograph, but it occurs as the name of a kind of *grain* in an inscription (Cooke, *NSI.*, p. 176).

in the appointed place. The meaning is doubtful, and the LXX. omits the word; but the following words *in* (better *as*) *the border thereof* favour its retention, since the pronoun rendered *thereof* cannot grammatically apply to *wheat* or *barley.* It may denote some cereal; the Vulg. names, after *wheat*, three other plants (and not two only).

the spelt in the border thereof? 26 [1]For his God doth instruct him aright, *and* doth teach him. 27 For the fitches are not threshed with a sharp *threshing* instrument, neither is a cart wheel turned about upon the cummin; but the fitches are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod. 28 [2]Bread *corn* is ground; for he will not ever be threshing it: and though the wheel of his cart and his horses scatter it, he doth not grind it. 29 This also cometh forth from the LORD of hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in [3]wisdom.

[1] Or, *And he traineth each of them aright; his God doth teach him*
[2] Or, *Is bread* corn *crushed? Nay, he will not ever be threshing it, and driving his cart wheels and his horses over it; he doth not crush it*
[3] Or, *effectual working*

26. *For his God*, etc. As the husbandman's prudence in the treatment of the soil is due to the instruction of God (cf. Ecclus. vii. 15, Lucr. v. 14, Verg. *G.* I. 147), the latter may be trusted to know how best to deal with humanity.

27. *For the fitches*, etc. The varied methods of threshing employed with different kinds of grain illustrate how the Lord may be expected to proportion His disciplinary measures to the circumstances of Israel.

a sharp threshing *instrument.* i.e. a sledge (like the Latin *tribulum*), studded on the underside with spikes or sharp stones, which was dragged by oxen across the corn on the threshing-floor.

a cart wheel. The implement thus designated consisted of a series of rollers, moved by horses or oxen, and supporting a wagon-like frame (see Driver, *Joel and Amos*, pp. 227—8).

28. *Bread* corn *is ground.* Better, *Is bread-corn crushed? Nay, he will not ever be threshing it, but he drives his cart-wheels and his horses over it without crushing it*, i.e. even the grain for which threshing by sledges and rollers is suitable is not subjected to them continuously. Duhm, to avoid putting the cart before the horse[1], emends the last clause to *when he has driven the wheel of his cart over it, he scatters* (i.e. winnows) *it without crushing it* (reading וּפְרָשוֹ for וּפָרָשָׁיו).

29. *This also*, etc. i.e. the insight displayed in the judicious use of heavy implements. As this, too, is of Divine origin, it argues that the Lord will use equal judgment in not extending the tribulation of His people to the point of annihilation.

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[1] The Heb. usually means *war-horse* (Jer. xlvi. 4, Ezek. xxvii. 14), and so is unsuitable in such a context as this.

CHAPTER XXIX.

This c. consists of four sections: (1) an announcement of impending distress for Jerusalem (*vv.* 1—8); (2) a denunciation of the blindness of the people and their leaders (*vv.* 9—12); (3) a rebuke of religious insincerity (*vv.* 13, 14); (4) a condemnation of secret political intrigues, and a prediction of eventual deliverance from oppression and irreligion (*vv.* 15—24).

The c. seems to have in view the same situation as the preceding, namely a prospective invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, against which the nation's rulers were hoping to organize a successful resistance by political diplomacy, the issue of which Isaiah knew would only disappoint the politicians. The occasion may have been the inception of the scheme to negotiate with Egypt, of which more is said in cc. xxx., xxxi.; but the precise date between 705 and 701 is impossible to determine. Cheyne suggests 703. All of the four divisions, though probably distinct addresses, seem to belong to the same period of Isaiah's ministry. The authenticity of various portions of the c. has been questioned; the most suspicious passage is *vv.* 17—24.

XXIX. 1 [1]Ho [2]Ariel, Ariel, the city where David encamped! add ye year to year; let the feasts come round:

[1] Or, *Woe to* [2] That is, *The lion of God* or, *The hearth of God.*

XXIX. 1—8. An announcement of the Lord's intention to distress and humiliate Jerusalem by a siege, and then to deliver it by a sudden display of His power.

1. *Ho Ariel.* The name is here a designation of Jerusalem. An *Ariel* (or *Arial*) was probably an altar-hearth, at which cattle were slaughtered and burnt in sacrifice (the word (אֲרִיאֵל) being synonymous with אֲרִיאֵל and הַרְאֵל in Ezek. xliii. 15 and אראל in the inscription on the Moabite stone); and the expression may have been popularly applied as a title to Jerusalem as the seat of the Lord's altar-fire (cf. xxxi. 9). Isaiah here makes use of it with a sinister reference to the carnage with which, he anticipates, the city will soon be filled. Cheyne (*Encyc. Bib.* I. 298), here and in *vv.* 2[a] and 7, would substitute *Uriel*, supposing that the prophet modifies in this way the city's earlier name *Urusalim* (in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets) for the sake of the assonance with the term *Ariel*, "altar-hearth" (see *v.* 2[b]).

where David encamped. i.e. when he laid siege to it, whilst it was still in the hands of the Jebusites (2 Sam. v. 6, 7): cf. LXX. ἣν Δαυεὶδ ἐπολέμησεν.

add ye year, etc. The prophecy was perhaps delivered at the last of the three agricultural festivals, the feast of Ingathering, which in early times coincided with the close of the year (Ex. xxxiv. 22), after which the annual cycle began afresh. The prophet's words consequently seem to imply that by the time the round of feasts should again be complete, tribulation would be at hand.

2 then will I distress Ariel, and there shall be mourning and
lamentation: [1]and she shall be unto me as Ariel. 3 And I
will camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against
thee with a fort, and I will raise siege works against thee.
4 And thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the
ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust; and thy
voice shall be as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the
ground, and thy speech shall [2]whisper out of the dust. 5 But
the multitude of thy [3]foes shall be like small dust, and the

[1] Or, *yet* [2] Or, *chirp* [3] Heb. *strangers*.

2. *then will I distress.* The speaker is the Lord, Who works through the agency of the Assyrians (x. 5, 6).

mourning and lamentation. An assonance in the original is imitated by Cheyne with *moaning and bemoaning*: cf. Lam. ii. 5 (Heb.).

as Ariel. Better, *as a veritable Ariel*, i.e. she shall reek, like an altar-hearth, with blood, and so justify in an unexpected way her (popular) appellation. The mg. *yet* (for *and*) *she shall be...as Ariel*, assumes that *Ariel* means "God's lion" (it probably has this sense in the personal names occurring in 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, Ezra viii. 16), and supposes that Jerusalem in the coming conflict will turn to bay like a lion or lioness (cf. Ezek. xix. 2, 3) and vanquish its enemies; but this is alien to Isaiah's belief that the city would owe its deliverance to the Lord alone.

3. *round about.* Better, after the LXX., *like David* (כְּדָוִד for כַּדּוּר, cf. *v.* 1), i.e. the Lord will act towards His own Jerusalem as though it were a Canaanite city: cf. xxviii. 21.

a fort. Better, *an earthwork* or *entrenchment*: Vulg. *iaciam contra te aggerem.*

4. *out of the ground.* Better, *from the ground*, i.e. in a position of humiliation.

as of one...spirit. Better, *as a ghost's*, i.e. subdued and feeble (cf. on viii. 19).

5. *But the multitude*, etc. From a description of the straits to which the city is to be reduced there is here a sudden transition to a promise of relief (*vv.* 5—8); and the abrupt change of tone has led Cheyne and others to regard *vv.* 5, 7, 8 as later interpolations designed to qualify the sternness of the original prediction (*v.* 6 alone being retained and interpreted of a hostile visitation). But in reality the passage seems to correspond with Isaiah's actual anticipation concerning Jerusalem, which he expected to be brought to the verge of destruction and then preserved by the direct intervention of the Lord, see *v.* 14 and cf. x. 5—19, 24—27, 33, 34, xxviii. 16.

thy foes. Literally, *thy strangers* (xxv. 2, Ps. liv. 3); but better (by a slight correction), *thy enemies* (צָרֶיךָ for זָרֶיךָ).

like small dust, etc. The same comparisons occur in xvii. 13.

multitude of the terrible ones as chaff that passeth away: yea, it shall be at an instant suddenly. 6 [1]She shall be visited of the LORD of hosts with thunder, and with earthquake, and great noise, with whirlwind and tempest, and the flame of a devouring fire. 7 And the multitude of all the nations that fight against Ariel, even all that fight against her and her strong hold, and that distress her, shall be as a dream, a vision of the night. 8 And it shall be as when an hungry man dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty: or as when a thirsty man dreameth, and, behold, he drinketh; but he awaketh, and, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite: so shall the multitude of all the nations be, that fight against mount Zion.

9 [2]Tarry ye and wonder; [3]take your pleasure and be blind: they are drunken, but not with wine; they stagger, but not

[1] Or, *There shall be a visitation from the* LORD *&c.* [2] Or, *Be ye amazed*
[3] Or, *blind yourselves and be blind*

yea, it shall be, etc. Better (prefixing the clause to *v.* 6), *And it shall come to pass at an instant suddenly that....*

6. *visited.* i.e. relieved (see on xxiii. 17). Though the verb is ambiguous and may mean *punished* (see on xxiv. 22), the description of the theophany supports the view that the Lord's interposition is directed to the deliverance of His people and the overthrow of their foes (cf. xxx. 27, 30).

7. *that fight against her*, etc. The construction of the original is unusual, and the text should perhaps be corrected to *her besiegers and their siege works* (צָבֶיהָ וּמְצֻדָתָהּ for צָרֶיהָ וּמְצֻרָתֶיהָם): cf. *v.* 2.

8. *as when an hungry man*, etc. The simile of a dream, used in *v.* 7 as an illustration of the suddenness of the foe's disappearance (cf. Job xx. 8), is here replaced by that of a dreamer, to express the disappointment of their expectations.

9—12. A declaration that the blank gaze of incredulity at the prophet's predictions of evil will be succeeded by a blank gaze of bewilderment when they come to pass.

9. *Tarry ye.* Better (after the Vulg.), *Be astounded* (reading הִתַּמְהוּ for הִתְמַהְמְהוּ). The command is an ironical exhortation to maintain their incredulous attitude.

take your pleasure. i.e. amuse yourselves with fancied triumphs. But better (as in the mg.) *blind yourselves* (the first verb coming from the same root as the second).

they are drunken. Better (by a change of points), *be drunken* (LXX. κραιπαλήσατε) *and stagger*, i.e. persist in your besotted insensibility to the plainest warnings.

with strong drink. 10 For the LORD hath poured out upon
you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed [1]your eyes, the
prophets; and your heads, the seers, hath he covered. 11 And
all vision is become unto you as the words of a [2]book that is
sealed, which men deliver to one that [3]is learned, saying, Read
this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed: 12 and
the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read
this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.

13 And the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw nigh
unto me, and with their mouth and with their lips do honour
me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear
of me is a commandment of men which hath been [4]taught *them*:

[1] Or, *your eyes; the prophets, and &c.*
[2] Or, *writing*
[3] Heb. *knoweth writing* (or *letters*).
[4] Or, *learned* by rote

10. *For the LORD*, etc. The people's obtuseness to wiser counsels (like Rehoboam's in 1 Kgs. xii. 15) is ascribed to Divine agency (cf. vi. 9, 10). The passage is quoted in Rom. xi. 8 in reference to the Jews' rejection of Christianity.

the prophets...the seers. These words are probably mistaken glosses (like ix. 15), the terms *eyes* and *heads* being meant literally.

11. *And all vision.* Better, *And the vision of all this.* The simile illustrates the rejection which the prophet's revelations encounter from all classes alike. By some critics *vv.* 11 and 12 (prosaic in style) are deemed to be a late addition: with *v.* 11 cf. Dan. xii. 9, 10.

13—14. The Lord's design of confounding the expectations of those whose worship of Him is insincere.

13. *draw nigh*, etc. The sentence is better balanced in LXX. B, which has *draw nigh unto me with their mouths, and with their lips do honour me.* The kind of religion here rejected as worthless is similar to that reprobated in i. 11 f., viz. formal homage divorced from obedience of the heart and will; but whereas in i. 11 f. the unreality of the people's profession is evidenced by their acts of social injustice, here it is shewn by the faith they repose in their own statecraft.

have removed their heart. The LXX. has *their heart is removed* (רָחַק for רִחֵק).

their fear of me. i.e. their religion. Instead of *is a commandment*, etc. the LXX. has *is unreal, a commandment*, etc. (reading וְתֹהוּ for וַתְּהִי). The popular religion was a system of conventional rites practised out of deference to authority or custom, and inspired by no spiritual motive and consequently without value for a purely spiritual God. The greater part of the *v.* is quoted (from the LXX.) by our Lord in reference to the traditional teaching of the Pharisees, who prescribed ceremonial precautions against external defilement but were indifferent to the moral impurity which had its seat within (Mk. vii. 6, 7, Matt. xv. 8, 9). Cf. also Col. ii. 22.

14 therefore, behold, I will [1]proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: and the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.

15 Woe unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the LORD, and their works are in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us? 16 [2]Ye turn things upside down! Shall the potter be counted as clay; that the thing made should say of him that made it, He made me not; or the thing framed say of him that framed it, He hath no understanding? 17 Is it not yet a very little while, and Lebanon

[1] Or, *again do* Heb. *add to do.* [2] Or, *O your perversity!*

14. *I will proceed to do.* Better (as in the mg.), *I will again do*, i.e. as once before in the reign of Ahaz (see cc. vii., viii.).

a marvellous work. i.e. the promotion of Assyria's success (cf. xxviii. 21) and the deliverance of Jerusalem at the last moment by unforeseen means.

and the wisdom, etc. i.e. the calculations of the Jewish politicians will be upset (cf. v. 21, xxviii. 14—22) and their boasted statesmanship cast into the shade. By St Paul (1 Cor. i. 19) the passage is applied to the confounding of human expectations by the salvation of the world through the Cross.

15—24. An assertion of the impotence of the political schemers in the face of the Lord's purpose, and a prediction that a change for the better in the condition of the nation will be brought about by superhuman power.

15. *Woe unto them.* Better, *Ho! they who seek*, etc., i.e. the Jewish statesmen who, in pursuing their intrigues with Egypt, kept them from the knowledge of Isaiah, from whom such could receive no approval (see xxx. 1).

16. *Ye turn*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *Oh, your perversity* (the word being a noun, not a verb).

Shall the potter, etc. Their fancied ability to act without the knowledge or control of the Lord was a misapprehension of their real relation to Him Who was their Maker. The figure employed to illustrate the presumption of those who deemed themselves independent of, or wiser than, the Lord, though parallel to that used in x. 15, does not occur elsewhere in Isaiah, but is common in later writings (xlv. 9, lxiv. 8, Jer. xviii. 4, 6); and the *v.* is rejected by Cheyne and others as out of place in a censure of statecraft (contrast xxx. 3—5). The passage seems to be quoted by St Paul in Rom. ix. 20.

17—24. A prophecy of an impending transformation of nature and an amelioration of political and social evils.

These 8 *vv.* are thought by Cheyne, Duhm and Marti to be non-Isaianic and post-exilic, chiefly on the ground that whereas the preceding

shall be turned into a fruitful field, and the fruitful field shall
be counted for a forest? 18 And in that day shall the deaf
hear the words of [1]the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see
out of obscurity and out of darkness. 19 The meek also shall
increase their joy in the LORD, and the poor among men shall
rejoice in the Holy One of Israel. 20 For the terrible one is
brought to nought, and the scorner ceaseth, and all they that
watch for iniquity are cut off: 21 that [2]make a man an offender
in a cause, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate,

[1] Or, *a book* or *writing* [2] Or, *make men to offend by* their *words*

part of the prophecy anticipates for the people persistence in its delusions and consequent chastisement (see xxix. 9, 10, cf. vi. 9—13), this passage does not predict a judgment for the nation as a whole (as might be expected after the tone of *v.* 15), but only for an irreligious section of it, together with foreign tyrants. The lack of any insistence upon a period of calamity preceding the promised relief (contrast xxxii. 9—20), and the pervading consolatory spirit of the passage are certainly rather un-Isaianic, and though the phraseology has points of contact with Isaiah's writings (*vv.* 17, 20, 23), it contains features suggestive of lateness (see *vv.* 19, 24).

17. *Lebanon...a forest.* Since Lebanon was famous for its forests, the change described must be figurative for an inversion of the prevailing political and social conditions, the proud being humbled and the humble exalted. The passage seems dependent on, but modified from, xxxii. 15, and used in a different sense.

18. *shall the deaf*, etc. i.e. the spiritual insensibility (see vi. 10 and cf. xlii. 18, 19) hitherto prevailing (*vv.* 9—12) is to disappear: cf. xxxii. 3.

19. *The meek...the poor.* The terms must designate the Jewish nation—a usage commonest in late (post-exilic) writings (cf. xxv. 4, lxi. 1, Ps. lxix. 32, 33). The LXX. for *the meek* has πτωχοί (עֲנִיִּים for עֲנָוִים): cf. on xi. 4.

20. *the terrible one.* i.e. the contemporary foreign oppressor (see *v.* 5 and cf. xiii. 11, xxv. 3).

the scorner. If the passage proceeds from Isaiah the expression will refer to the Jewish politicians and others who were incredulous of Isaiah's predictions of evil (xxviii. 14, 22, cf. v. 19). But the word is a common designation in Proverbs for religious sceptics in general (Prov. i. 22, ix. 7, xxi. 24, cf. Ps. i. 1).

they that watch, etc. i.e. those who deliberately seek occasion to effect some harmful purpose (cf. Dan. ix. 14).

21. *that make a man*, etc. i.e. cause, or help, a man to commit wrong in a suit. The rendering *that procure the condemnation of a man by a* (false) *word* (cf. xxxii. 7) would seem to require מַרְשִׁיעֵי instead of מַחֲטִיאֵי.

and turn aside the just with a thing of nought. 22 Therefore
thus saith the LORD, who redeemed Abraham, concerning the
house of Jacob: Jacob shall not now be ashamed, neither shall
his face now wax pale. 23 [1]But when he seeth his children,
the work of mine hands, in the midst of him, they shall sanctify
my name; yea, they shall sanctify the Holy One of Jacob, and
shall stand in awe of the God of Israel. 24 They also that err
in spirit [2]shall come to understanding, and they that murmur
shall learn [3]doctrine.

[1] Or, *But when his children see &c.*
[2] Heb. *shall know understanding.*
[3] Or, *instruction*

lay a snare for. i.e. seek to mislead or corrupt.

him that reproveth, etc. Better, *him that arbitrateth in the* (city) *gate* (the place where trials and arbitrations were usually conducted, see Am. v. 10, Deut. xvi. 18, xxi. 19, Ruth iv. 1, 11, 2 Sam. xv. 2, Prov. xxii. 22).

turn aside, etc. i.e. deprive a man of his rights on unsubstantial grounds (cf. x. 2, Ex. xxiii. 6, Am. v. 12, Prov. xviii. 5, Mal. iii. 5).

22. *who redeemed*, etc. The occasion meant may be some signal rescue (perhaps from his heathen kinsmen in Chaldea) which is unrecorded in the O.T. and related only in tradition (see Charles' note on the Book of Jubilees XII. §§ 12—14).

concerning the house, etc. Many critics adopt Lowth's emendation, *the God of the house*, etc. (אֵל for אֶל).

wax pale. i.e. with fear (Jer. xxx. 6).

23. *when he seeth*, etc. This presumably means "when he seeth his children purified and preserved through the execution of my judgment"; but the distinction between *Jacob* and *his children* seems pointless. Hence better (cf. mg.), *when he*, even *his children, see the work of mine hands* (i.e. witness the operation of the Divine power in giving relief after due chastisement). But the phrase *his children* is probably a gloss explaining that the better conditions predicted will be experienced by a future generation[1].

sanctify. i.e. regard with reverence and fear instead of ignoring Him (*v.* 15): cf. viii. 13.

24. This *v.* resembles in tone the book of Proverbs, and the word *doctrine* seems to belong chiefly to Gnomic literature (see Prov. i. 5 Heb., iv. 2, ix. 9 Heb., xvi. 21, etc.).

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[1] A similar gloss occurs in xlv. 11, where it is intended to explain *the work of my hands*, and Cheyne thinks that it applies to the same words here.

CHAPTER XXX.

This c. has in view a later phase of the policy denounced in xxix. 15. The plans for seeking the aid of Egypt, hitherto concealed, had so far emerged into the light that it was known that envoys had been despatched to negotiate an alliance; and Isaiah renewed his condemnation of them. The c. (dating from about 703 or 702) consists of five sections: (1) and (2) oracles declaring the futility of any reliance upon Egypt (*vv.* 1—5 and 6, 7); (3) a description of Israel's estrangement from the Lord, and its calamitous consequences (*vv.* 8—17); (4) a prediction of a change of spirit in the nation and a return of its prosperity (*vv.* 18—26); (5) an announcement of the chastisement about to be inflicted upon Assyria (*vv.* 27—33). Of the last two sections the genuineness is denied by some critics (see notes).

XXX. 1 Woe to the rebellious children, saith the LORD, that take counsel, but not of me; and that [1]cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin: 2 that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth; to [2]strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! 3 Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow

[1] Or, *weave a web* Or, *pour out a drink offering* Or, *make a league*
[2] Or, *flee to the strong hold of Pharaoh*

XXX. 1—5. An oracle denouncing negotiations with Egypt whose boastful professions end in nothing.

1. *Woe to the rebellious*, etc. The Jewish people, as the Lord's children (i. 2), might have been expected to seek the guidance and aid of their God and Father through His prophets; but this they had not done (cf. xxix. 15).

take counsel, etc. Better, *execute a purpose* (or *plan*) *that is not from me* (cf. Hos. viii. 4).

cover with a covering, etc. Literally, *weave a web* (xxv. 7 Heb.), i.e. either, procure means of protection (cf. xxii. 8, xxviii. 20), or, engage in political scheming. But the LXX. (perhaps taking the original to mean *pour a drink offering*, a usual accompaniment of a covenant) regards it as equivalent to *make a treaty* (cf. the Greek σπονδὰς σπένδεσθαι), though a compact with Egypt was not yet actually concluded (see *v.* 6).

that they may add, etc. Such conduct aggravated their previous guilt (the consequences, in accord with Heb. idiom, being represented as a purpose; cf. xliv. 9, Jer. xxvii. 10): see cc. vii., xx.

2. *to strengthen themselves*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *to flee for refuge to the stronghold of* (i.e. the security afforded by) *Egypt*.

shadow. A figure for shelter and protection, as in xvi. 3, xxxii. 2.

3. *Therefore*, etc. Better, *But the stronghold*, etc. The supineness or weakness of Egypt at this time was calculated to bring

of Egypt your confusion. 4 For his princes are at Zoan, and his
ambassadors are come to Hanes. 5 They shall all be ashamed
of a people that cannot profit them, that are not an help nor
profit, but a shame, and also a reproach.

6 The [1]burden of the beasts of the South.

Through the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come

[1] Or, *oracle concerning*

disappointment to all who trusted it; see xx. 5, xxxvi. 6, and cf. Jer. ii. 36, 37.

4. *For his princes*, etc. Better, *For though his* (Pharaoh's) *princes* (i.e. vassals) *are at Zoan and his messengers reach to Hanes, yet they* (the Jews) *shall all be brought to shame by a people*, etc., i.e. though Pharaoh's authority extends widely N. and S., yet Judah's trust in his support will only result in disillusion. Some critics consider *his princes* and *his messengers* to mean Judah's envoys, but the singular *his* (as contrasted with *you* and *they*) seems decisive for the reference to Pharaoh.

Zoan. i.e. Tanis in the Delta (see xix. 11).

Hanes. The later Ἄνυσις and *Heracleopolis magna*, situated in the Nile valley, S. of Memphis.

5. *be ashamed.* The rendering is that of the Heb. mg. and Vulg.; the Heb. text has *become stinking to* or *be in bad odour with* (Prov. xiii. 5, 1 Sam. xxvii. 12, Heb.). Certain critics would emend to *they have all brought gifts to a people* (reading כֻּלָּם הֵבִיאוּ שַׁי for כֹּל הָבָאִישׁ) to purchase their aid: cf. *v.* 6.

6—7. A second oracle asserting the uselessness of an appeal to Egypt for help.

This short passage, repeating the substance of the preceding, seems to be distinct from it, as it has a title. In thus having a heading it is isolated amongst the prophecies contained in cc. xxviii.—xxxiii.; and the oracle would consequently be more in place in the series cc. xiii.—xxiii., whence Duhm conjectures that it has been transferred by the latest editor.

6. *The burden*, etc. Better, *The oracle concerning the beasts of the South.* The title, like those in xxi. 1, 11, 13, xxii. 1, is suggested by the contents, the *beasts of the South* being the wild animals and venomous serpents infesting the *South* (or *Negeb*) of Judah (see on xxi. 1), which the envoys of Judah had to traverse in their journey to Egypt. But the word *beasts* in the sense of dangerous animals is unusual (it generally denotes cattle), and some critics take it to be sing. and to designate the hippopotamus (as in Job xl. 15) and interpret it as a symbol of Egypt (which is thought to be denoted by *the South* as in Dan. viii. 9, xi. 5), rendering, *The oracle concerning the beast of the South.*

from whence. The Heb. is ungrammatical and there is no verb, so Klostermann and others emend to (*the land...of the lioness*) *and of the roaring lion*, etc. (reading נַחַם for מֵהֶם).

the lioness and the lion, the viper and fiery flying serpent, they
carry their riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and their
treasures upon the bunches of camels, to a people that shall not
profit *them.* 7 For Egypt helpeth in vain, and to no purpose:
therefore have I [1]called her Rahab that sitteth still. 8 Now
go, write it before them on a tablet, and inscribe it in a book,
that it may be for the time to come [2]for ever and ever. 9 For
it is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not
hear the [3]law of the LORD: 10 which say to the seers, See not;

[1] Or, *cried concerning this, They are* but *arrogancy: be still*
[2] Or, according to some ancient authorities, *for a witness for ever* [3] Or, *teaching*

viper...serpent. For the presence of these in the desert between Palestine and Egypt see Num. xxi. 6, Deut. viii. 15. Herodotus (II. 75, 76, III. 107—109) speaks of flying serpents which fly from Arabia towards Egypt, having wings like a bat's (cf. on xiv. 29).

their riches. i.e. valuable presents.

7. *have I called her*, etc. Better (if the text is retained), *I* (the Lord) *have declared concerning her, Rahab, she is* (literally, *they*, i.e. the Egyptians, *are*) *inaction.* The name *Rahab*, though originally designating the monster which in Heb. mythology was the personification of chaos (see on li. 9), was probably also a current title for Egypt (Ps. lxxxvii. 4), which in Ezek. xxix. 3 is represented as a great sea-monster; and was the more appropriate because it etymologically means *boisterousness* or *bluster* (cf. the verb in iii. 5, Prov. vi. 3, and the noun in Ps. xc. 10 (*pride*)), and the policy of Egypt (called by Pliny *ventosa et insolens natio*) was one of vainglorious vaunting and supine inactivity. Some critics emend the text to *I have called her, Rahab the inactive* or *Rahab the quelled*, i.e. the impotent (reading הַיֹּשֶׁבֶת or הַמָּשְׁבָּת for הֵם שָׁבֶת).

8—17. A solemn prediction of an overwhelming disaster for the nation in consequence of its presumptuous self-confidence.

8. *write it*, etc. As Isaiah's prediction fell on deaf ears, he is now bidden by the Lord to put it on record against the time when events should justify him (cf. viii. 16).

before them. i.e. certain witnesses: cf. viii. 2.

inscribe it in a book. Perhaps better, *inscribe it on a document* (the phrase being equivalent to "put it in writing"). Probably only a tablet was used. What was written upon it may have been the title given to Egypt in *v.* 7 (cf. viii. 1), or the substance of the oracle contained in *vv.* 12—17.

for ever and ever. This, following upon *for the time to come*, is unduly pleonastic, and the text should be emended (after the Vulg. and Syr.) to *as a testimony for ever* (לְעֵד for לָעַד): cf. Deut. xxxi. 19—21.

9. *lying children.* i.e. such as practically renounce their filial relationship and consequent duties (cf. lxiii. 8, Job xxxi. 28).

and to the prophets, Prophesy not unto us right things, speak
unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits: 11 get you out of the
way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel
to cease from before us. 12 Wherefore thus saith the Holy
One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in
oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon; 13 therefore
this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling
out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an
instant. 14 And he shall break it as a potter's vessel is broken,
breaking it in pieces without sparing; so that there shall not
be found among the pieces thereof a sherd to take fire from the
hearth, or to take water withal out of the cistern. 15 For thus
said the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, In returning and
rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be
your strength: and ye would not. 16 But ye said, No, for we
will flee upon horses; therefore shall ye flee: and, We will ride

10. *Prophesy not*, etc. For similar attempts to suppress the utterance of uncongenial truths see Am. ii. 12, vii. 12, 13, Mic. ii. 6, Jer. xi. 21, and cf. 1 Kgs. xxii. 8, 13.

smooth things...deceits. Isaiah puts into the mouth of his opponents terms describing the real significance of what they said (cf. xxviii. 15).

11. *get you out of the way*, etc. i.e. refrain from obstructing the policy which we are bent on pursuing.

cause the Holy One, etc. i.e. cease insisting on the faith and obedience which the Lord requires (see *v.* 15) and which we are unwilling to yield (cf. xxviii. 9, v. 21).

12. *oppression.* i.e. the exactions rendered necessary by the policy of amassing war-material and of purchasing the help of foreign powers (*v.* 6). But many critics adopt the emendation *wiliness* (עִקֵּשׁ for עֹשֶׁק) as better describing the political scheming which is here condemned: cf. LXX. ἐπὶ ψεύδει.

13. *as a breach*, etc. i.e. the policy initiated in defiance of the Lord is like the beginning of a crack in masonry, which widens till it ends in a collapse: cf. Ps. lxii. 3.

14. *as a potter's vessel.* To express better the completeness of the impending ruin, the figure of a broken wall is exchanged for that of an earthen vessel shattered into fragments too small to be of any use (cf. Jer. xix. 11, Ps. ii. 9).

15. *In returning*, etc. i.e. by repentance and a reversal of their policy of diplomatic intrigue and military preparation, and by a tranquil reliance upon the Lord's protection (cf. vii. 4, 9, xxviii. 12, 16). But instead of *returning* some would read *sitting still* (שֶׁבֶת for שׁוּבָה).

16. *we will flee.* Better, *we will fly upon horses* (i.e. to the attack); *therefore shall ye fly* (i.e. from the attack). The war party in

upon the swift; therefore shall they that pursue you be swift.
17 One thousand *shall flee* at the rebuke of one; at the rebuke
of five shall ye flee: till ye be left as [1]a beacon upon the top of
a mountain, and as an ensign on an hill. 18 And therefore will
the LORD wait, that he may be gracious unto you, and therefore
will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon you: for the
LORD is a God of judgement; blessed are all they that wait for
him.

19 For [2]the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem: thou

[1] Or, *a mast* [2] Or, *O people that dwellest in Zion at Jerusalem*

Jerusalem possessed war-horses (ii. 7, Mic. v. 10), but calculated upon a further supply from Egypt (xxxi. 1, 3).

the swift...swift. i.e. the speed of your horses shall be tested by speedy pursuers.

17. *One thousand...one.* This clause, which lacks a verb, and makes the next an anti-climax, is thought by Duhm to be a gloss suggested by Deut. xxxii. 30, Josh. xxiii. 10.

rebuke. i.e. menace (xvii. 13, li. 20, lxvi. 15).

a beacon. Better, *a flagstaff*, which usually stands in isolation. Judah's troops will be reduced to solitary units.

18—26. A prophecy of the restoration of the people, in consequence of their afflictions, to right relations with the Lord, and of their resultant prosperity.

With *v.* 18 a new paragraph begins, consolatory in tenor, which, being introduced by *therefore*, cannot be the immediate sequel of the preceding denunciation; so that if it proceeds from Isaiah it must belong to a different occasion. Its contents, for the most part, are compatible with his authorship (cf. xxix. 5—8, xxxii. 1—5 (8)), and it exhibits some of his phrases (see *vv.* 25, 26 *fin.*); but its authenticity is denied by Cheyne and Duhm, partly on the ground of *v.* 20 (see note).

18. *wait...be exalted.* i.e. (if the *v.* be attached to the preceding paragraph) delay before being gracious and remain aloof before having mercy. But this does violence to the Heb., and Dillmann and some other critics, to obtain the same sense, emend *be exalted* to *be still* (יָדוּם for יָרוּם). But a different division of the paragraphs allows the text to be retained and rendered *And therefore the Lord longs* (viii. 17, lxiv. 4, Job iii. 21) *to be gracious unto you, and therefore he rises* (or *exerts himself triumphantly*, cf. xxxiii. 10, Ps. xlvi. 10, xxi. 13) *to have mercy upon you.*

a God of judgement. i.e. the Lord's justice is a warrant for the eventual deliverance of those who trust Him (or, according to Dillmann's view, for the punishment of the impious before His mercy is shewn to the penitent, cf. i. 27).

19. *For the people*, etc. Better, by a change of points (cf. mg.), *O people in Zion that dwellest at Jerusalem* (reading יֹשֶׁבֶת for יָשַׁב). The

shalt weep no more; he will surely be gracious unto thee at the voice of thy cry; when he shall hear, he will answer thee. 20 [1]And though the Lord give you the bread of adversity and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy [2]teachers [3]be hidden any more, but thine eyes shall see thy [2]teachers: 21 and thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it; when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left. 22 And ye shall defile the overlaying of thy graven images of silver, and the plating of thy molten images of gold: thou shalt [4]cast them away as an [5]unclean thing; thou shalt say unto it, Get thee hence. 23 And he shall give the rain of thy seed, that thou shalt sow the ground withal; and bread of the increase of the ground, and it shall be fat and

[1] Or, *And the Lord will give...and thy teachers shall not &c.*
[2] Or, *teacher*
[3] Or, *hide themselves*
[4] Heb. *scatter.*
[5] Heb. *menstruous.*

fact that they are dwellers in Zion, the Lord's city, is a source of hope (cf. x. 24, xiv. 32).

20. *And though*, etc. i.e. though the people have to undergo privation (1 Kgs. xxii. 27)—perhaps through a siege—yet it will bring spiritual compensation.

shall not thy teachers be hidden, etc. Better, *shall not thy teachers be thrust aside any more*, i.e. the faithful prophets shall emerge from the obscurity into which they have been driven (cf. *v.* 10), and resume the guidance of their countrymen. But a few MSS. have *teacher*, and the plur. read by the rest may be a plur. of dignity; and as the verb is in the sing., the true text is perhaps, *yet shall not thy Teacher* (i.e. the Lord) *be thrust aside* (i.e. ignored) *any more.* Some critics, assuming this rendering to be correct, urge it as an objection to the authenticity of the section *vv.* 18—26, since the representation of the Lord as personally instructing His people seems to be late (cf. liv. 13, Ps. xxv. 5, 8, 9, xciv. 12, cxix. 12, 26).

21. *a word behind thee.* The people are thought of as a child learning to walk under the eye of his father. But perhaps better (substituting מְאַשְּׁרֶיךָ for מֵאַחֲרֶיךָ), *the word of thy correctors* (or *Corrector*).

22. *ye shall defile.* Better (with the LXX. and Vulg.), *thou shalt defile*; cf. the adjoining 2nd pers. sing.

the overlaying, etc. Idols ordinarily consisted of a core of wood, or some common metal, plated with gold or silver (see xl. 19, Jer. x. 3, 4).

cast them away. Literally, *scatter them*, which assumes that they were first ground to powder (cf. Ex. xxxii. 20, 2 Kgs. xxiii. 6). The idolatrous associations attaching to the plating will render the destruction of it necessary: see Deut. vii. 25.

plenteous: in that day shall thy cattle feed in large pastures.
24 The oxen likewise and the young asses that till the ground
shall eat [1]savoury provender, which hath been winnowed with
the shovel and with the fan. 25 And there shall be upon every
lofty mountain, and upon every high hill, rivers *and* streams of
waters, in the day of the great slaughter, when the towers fall.
26 Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the
sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of
seven days, in the day that the LORD bindeth up the hurt of his
people, and healeth the stroke of their wound.

27 Behold, the name of the LORD cometh from far, burning
with his anger, and in thick rising smoke: his lips are full of

[1] Heb. *salted.*

23. *fat and plenteous.* Better, *rich and fattening.* The scarcity, alluded to in *v.* 20, will give place to abundance (cf. iv. 2).

in large pastures. i.e. in pastures no longer circumscribed in consequence of a hostile occupation of the land (cf. xxxii. 20, xxxiii. 17).

24. *shall eat savoury,* etc. Better, *shall eat salted provender*: the husbandman's cattle are to share his plenty. The admixture of salt with fodder is recommended in Verg. *G.* III. 394, *At cui lactis amor... ipse manu salsas ferat praesepibus herbas.*

fan. Better, *pitchfork,* an implement with prongs.

25. *upon every lofty,* etc. The phraseology recalls ii. 14. Even ground that is naturally dry and sterile shall be irrigated and rendered fertile.

the great slaughter. If the section is Isaianic, this must refer to the predicted destruction of the Assyrians (cf. xviii. 6); if post-exilic, it has in view an eschatological overthrow of the heathen, like that described in Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.

the towers. Better, *towers* (omitting the article). The expression may be understood literally of siege towers, or figuratively with Sym. (who has ἐν τῷ πεσεῖν μεγάλους) of hostile leaders.

26. *the light of the moon,* etc. The light of the full moon was thought to be normally one-seventh of that of the sun (Enoch lxxiii. 3). Light intenser than ordinary is a feature of the blissful future described in lx. 20 (though there it proceeds from the Lord's presence).

as the light...days. This clause is omitted by the LXX. and is probably a gloss.

27—33. A description of the theophany on the occasion of the Lord's advent to annihilate Assyria.

Opinions differ as to whether this passage, impetuous in movement and crowded with vivid but not very consistent imagery, manifests the qualities of Isaiah (many of whose figures it reproduces) or shews a non-Isaianic lack of restraint and sobriety. Duhm accepts it as

indignation, and his tongue is as a devouring fire: 28 and his
breath is as an overflowing stream, that reacheth even unto
the neck, to sift the nations with the sieve of [1]vanity: and a
bridle that causeth to err *shall be* in the jaws of the peoples.
29 Ye shall have a song as in the night [2]when a holy feast is
kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to
come into the mountain of the LORD, to the Rock of Israel.

[1] Or, *destruction*
[2] Or, *when a feast is hallowed*

genuine, Cheyne rejects it. It forms an appropriate sequel to the preceding section, affording a needed explanation of the *great slaughter* of *v.* 25. The substantive thought of the passage has a parallel in x. 24—27, 33, 34, though the details vary. Cf. also xxix. 5—8.

27. *the name of the LORD.* i.e. His Personality (Ps. xx. 1, xliv. 5, Prov. xviii. 10), of which His Name was the expression (see Ex. xxiii. 21, and cf. the use of *names* for "persons" in Num. i. 2, Acts i. 15).

from far. The Lord's approach is conceived to be like the rising of a storm above the distant horizon, the *smoke* (literally the *uplifted*) being the ascending masses of cloud, the Lord's *tongue* (likened to *devouring fire*, xxix. 6, xxxiii. 14) being the darting lightning, and His *breath* being the accompanying blast of wind and rain: cf. Ps. xviii. 8, Is. lix. 19, Jud. v. 4.

28. *an overflowing stream.* The simile (cf. viii. 7, 8, xxviii. 17) is drawn from a ravine, or *wâdy*, filled, by a sudden storm, with a torrent which rises to the neck of a traveller before he has made his way through it.

to sift the nations, etc. Better, *to shake to and fro the nations in the winnowing fan of destruction*, from which they fall and perish (cf. xli. 16, Jer. xv. 7).

a bridle that causeth, etc. i.e. the various nationalities composing the Assyrian forces (xvii. 12, 13) are diverted from their intended goal (i.e. Zion) like brute beasts by their tamer: cf. the similar figure in xxxvii. 29.

29. *Ye shall have a song as*, etc. The strain of joy with which the Jews will greet the overthrow of their enemies is likened to the songs with which the annual pilgrimages to the sanctuary (Deut. xvi. 16, Ps. cxxii. 4) were celebrated (cf. Ps. xlii. 4 and the "Songs of Ascents," Pss. cxx.—cxxxiv.). If a particular festival is in the writer's mind, it is probably that of Ingathering (Tabernacles), which was "the feast" *par excellence* (see 1 Kgs. viii. 2, 2 Ch. vii. 8, 10, Ezek. xlv. 25), though Dillmann and others decide for the Passover, which is described as a night festival in Ex. xii. 42; cf. *v.* 32 (note).

a pipe. Or *a flute*, the instrument specially fitted to accompany a procession or march (cf. 1 Kgs. i. 40).

the Rock of Israel. The same title for the Lord occurs in 2 Sam. xxiii. 3; cf. also Deut. xxxii. 4, 31.

30 And the LORD shall cause his glorious voice to be heard, and
shall shew the lighting down of his arm, with the indignation
of *his* anger, and the flame of a devouring fire, with [1]a blast,
and tempest, and hailstones. 31 For through the voice of the
LORD shall the Assyrian be broken in pieces, [2]which smote
with a rod. 32 And every [3]stroke of the [4]appointed staff,
which the LORD shall lay upon him, shall be with tabrets and
harps: and in battles of shaking will he fight with them.
33 For [5]a Topheth is prepared of old; yea, for the king it is made

[1] Or, *crashing* [2] Or, *with his rod shall he smite* him [3] Heb. *passing.*
[4] Or, *staff of doom* (Heb. *foundation*) [5] See 2 Kings xxiii. 10, Jer. vii. 31.

30. *And the LORD shall cause*, etc. The imagery is again derived from a storm (*v.* 27), the Lord's *voice* being the thunder (Ps. xxix. 3, 4, Ex. xix. 16, 19), and His *arm* the lightning, which is here regarded as a weapon.

with a blast. Better, *with a cloud-burst* (Cheyne).

31. *be broken in pieces.* Better, *be dismayed* (cf. xx. 5, xxxvii. 27).

which smote, etc. Better (if the pointing is retained) as in the mg., *with his rod shall he* (the Lord) *smite him.* But the text should probably be emended to *with a rod shall he* (the Assyrian) *be smitten* (יֻכֶּה for יַכֶּה).

32. *the appointed staff.* Literally, *the staff of destiny* (cf. mg.). But some MSS. have *the staff of chastisement* (or *of his chastisement*), reading מוּסָרָה (or מוּסָרֹה) for מוּסָדָה.

shall be with tabrets, etc. i.e. the smiting of the Assyrians is to be celebrated with music and rejoicings (as was the overthrow of the Egyptians at the Red Sea, Ex. xv. 20).

battles of shaking. The writer seems to return to the thought of *v.* 28: the Lord in His battle with the Assyrians will shake them to and fro as in a sieve or winnowing shovel, and they will fall to the ground like flying chaff. But some scholars think that the expression *shaking* refers to the brandishing of a weapon (cf. *v.* 30, xix. 16); whilst others render, *battles of wave-offering*, as though the Assyrians are to be ritually "waved" (Lev. vii. 30, Num. vi. 20), preparatory to being slaughtered and burnt (cf. *v.* 33).

33. *a Topheth.* Perhaps better, *his Topheth* (pointing תָּפְתֹּה for תָּפְתֶּה). Topheth (the word probably means *fire place*, see W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* p. 377) was the name applied to a locality in the valley of Hinnom, W. of Jerusalem, where children were burnt in sacrifice to Molech (2 Kgs. xxiii. 10, 2 Ch. xxviii. 3, Jer. vii. 31, xix. 6) and the writer thinks of the Assyrian as about to be consumed at a similar burning-place.

yea, for the king, etc. Better, *it too is made ready for Molech* (literally *Melech* "the (divine) king"), i.e. the new Topheth (like the old) is to be the scene of a Molech-sacrifice, the Assyrians being the human victims.

ready; he hath made it deep and large: the pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of the LORD, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.

he hath made, etc. The Topheth which the Lord has prepared is regarded as an excavation containing a heap of faggots, and capacious enough to receive the Assyrian king and his army.

fire. As mention of this is inappropriate before the kindling, the text should probably be emended (as proposed by Duhm) to *straw* (קֹשׁ for אֵשׁ).

the breath of the LORD. i.e. His fiery rage.

CHAPTER XXXI.

This prophecy belongs to the same period, and relates to the same political situation, as c. XXX., being directed, like the latter, against the alliance with Egypt. It is partly menacing and partly consolatory, affirming both Egypt's powerlessness to protect Jerusalem against its assailants, and the Lord's purpose to be Himself its eventual defender. The point at which the transition is made from the exposure of Egypt's impotence to the expression of the Lord's resolve to save Zion is disputed, some critics placing it at *v.* 4, others at *v.* 5, the latter probably correctly. Certain scholars hold that the second half of the c. (from *v.* 4 or 5 to the end) is composite, a combination of Isaianic fragments and later interpolations; and Cheyne believes *vv.* 5—9 as a whole to be a supplement by a post-exilic writer. But there seems no sufficient reason to deny the Isaianic origin of *vv.* 8, 9, which are a fitting complement to *v.* 5: it is only *vv.* 6, 7 that raise serious doubts.

XXXI. 1 Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses; and trust in chariots, because they are many, and in horsemen, because they are very strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the LORD!

XXXI. 1—4. An announcement of disaster for those who rely for help on the military resources of Egypt, in opposition to the Lord.

1. *Egypt...horses.* Egypt had a strong force of chariots as early as the Exodus (Ex. xiv. 6, 9, xv. 4), and seems to have been famous for its horses (Deut. xvii. 16, 1 Kgs. x. 28, Cant. i. 9, Hom. *Il.* IX. 380—4)[1]; and it was not Hezekiah alone of Judæan sovereigns who turned to the same quarter for supplies of them (see Ezek. xvii. 15).

stay on. The LXX. implies *look unto* (יִשְׁעוּ for יִשָּׁעֲנוּ).

very strong. Perhaps better, *very numerous* (cf. xlvii. 9, Jer. v. 6, Ps. xl. 5, 12): LXX. πλῆθος σφόδρα.

seek the LORD. i.e. consult Him (see xxx. 2).

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[1] Diodorus Siculus (I. 45) states that between Memphis and Thebes there once existed 100 stables, each containing 200 horses.

2 Yet he also is wise, and will bring evil, and will not call back
his words: but will arise against the house of the evil-doers,
and against the help of them that work iniquity. 3 Now the
Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and
not spirit: and when the LORD shall stretch out his hand, both
he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is holpen shall fall,
and they all shall fail together. 4 For thus saith the LORD
unto me, Like as when the lion growleth and the young lion
over his prey, if a multitude of shepherds be called forth against
him, he will not be dismayed at their voice, nor abase himself
for the noise of them: so shall the LORD of hosts come down to
fight [1]upon mount Zion, and [1]upon the hill thereof. 5 As
birds flying, so will the LORD of hosts protect Jerusalem; he

[1] Or, *against*

2. *Yet he also*, etc. Isaiah uses irony: the statesmen of Judah (xxix. 14) have no monopoly of wisdom, to which the Lord likewise can lay claim.

and will bring, etc. Better, *and brings evil and hath not called back his words* (i.e. his *fiats*, which are thought of as self-fulfilling, unless withdrawn: cf. lv. 11).

the evil-doers. i.e. the Jewish politicians, whose diplomacy betrayed distrust of the Lord (see xxx. 1 and cf. Jer. xvii. 5).

3. *flesh...spirit.* i.e. the conflict between the Egyptians (in whom such confidence is placed) and the Lord (Who is ignored) will be found to be unequal, for they and their horses are of a nature dependent and perishable (cf. xl. 6, 7, 2 Ch. xxxii. 8, Jer. xvii. 5), whereas He is the originating source of all life, independent and free from decay.

4. *as when the lion*, etc. The *lion* represents the Lord (cf. Hos. v. 14, Jer. xxv. 38, Ps. lxxvi. 1—4), Who, through the agency of the Assyrians (cf. v. 29) will hold Jerusalem, like a stricken quarry, in His grasp, and cannot be scared away by the Egyptians, though they come, like a band of shepherds, to the rescue (cf. Hom. *Il.* XVIII. 161, 162, ὡς δ' ἀπὸ σώματος οὔ τι λέοντ' αἴθωνα δύνανται ποιμένες...δίεσθαι). Some critics, separating *v.* 4 from *v.* 3, think that the comparison illustrates the Lord's *defence* of Zion; but a beast of prey growling over its victim is an unsuitable figure for the Lord as the protector of His people.

abase himself. Better, *be cowed.*

upon...upon. Better, *against...against* (cf. xxix. 7, 8, Zech. xiv. 12).

5—9. A declaration of the Lord's intention to preserve Zion and to destroy the forces of Assyria.

5. In this *v.* the previous announcement of chastisement for Zion is qualified, as elsewhere, by a prediction of deliverance from final

will protect and deliver *it*, he will pass over and preserve *it*.
6 Turn ye unto him [1]from whom [2]ye have deeply revolted, O
children of Israel. 7 For in that day they shall cast away every
man his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which your own
hands have made unto you for a sin. 8 Then shall the Assyrian
fall with the sword, not of man; and the sword, not of men,
shall devour him: and he shall flee from the sword, and his
young men shall become tributary. 9 And his rock shall pass
away by reason of terror, and his princes shall be dismayed at

[1] Or, *from whom the children of Israel have deeply revolted*
[2] Heb. *they*.

capture (cf. xxix. 5). The Lord is represented as hovering over Jerusalem to protect it, as mother-birds flutter over their nestlings (cf. the kindred figures in Deut. xxxii. 11, Ps. xci. 4, Matt. xxiii. 37).

pass over. The verb recalls the preservation of Israel on the occasion of the first "Pass-over" (Ex. xii. 13, 23, 27).

6—7. These two *vv.* interrupt awkwardly the connection between *vv.* 5 and 8, 9 (the announcement of the Lord's defence of Zion having its natural sequel in a description of the discomfiture of its assailants), and are probably an interpolation. Verse 7 seems to be imitated from ii. 20.

6. *Turn ye.* The exhortation, in its present context, must have in view only the survivors of the judgment, for, since chastisement is determined on (xxviii. 22), no repentance can avail to avert it.

7. *they shall cast away*, etc. i.e. shall repudiate them, in penitence (cf. xxx. 22, xvii. 8).

your own hands...unto you. Better, with the LXX., *their own hands...unto them.*

8. *Then.* More strictly, *And* (linking the *v.* to *v.* 5).

not of man. i.e. the Assyrians will be discomfited by the superhuman power of the Lord Himself: cf. *v.* 3, and see xxx. 31, xxxvii. 36.

he shall flee. The reference is to such of the Assyrian troops as escape slaughter.

his young men. i.e. his warriors (ix. 17, Jer. xviii. 21, xlix. 26).

become tributary. Strictly, *be put to forced labour* (cf. Deut. xx. 11, Jud. i. 30 (mg.), 1 Kgs. v. 13 Heb.).

9. *his rock*, etc. i.e. his martial strength (cf. Vulg., *fortitudo eius*), which is the source of his confidence, shall disappear (cf. xxix. 5). But some scholars take the metaphor to mean his god (cf. Deut. xxxii. 30, 31, 37), whilst others, disregarding the parallelism, consider the substantive to be the object (instead of the subject) of the verb, and render either *he shall pass over to his rock* (i.e. to a place of refuge in some rocky height) or *shall pass by his rock* (like a hunted animal that in its terror runs past its rocky lair).

be dismayed at, etc. Better, *fly in dismay from the ensign*, i.e.

the ensign, saith the LORD, whose fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.

abandon their standard. An Assyrian standard, bearing the figure of Asshur, is represented in Ragozin's *Assyria*, p. 252.

whose fire is, etc. i.e. whose altar-fire at Jerusalem marks it as the seat of His worship and the object of His care. But fire was also a symbol of the Deity (cf. Gen. xv. 17, Ex. iii. 2), and the words thus suggest the peril confronting all who seek to injure the city where the Lord's Presence abides (cf. x. 16, 17, xxxiii. 14).

CHAPTER XXXII.

This c. consists of two parts. The first, comprising *vv.* 1—8, is a description of the Jewish state in the future, under a righteous government. The second (*vv.* 9—20) contains a prediction of calamity, addressed to the women of Jerusalem, followed by a second announcement of a future age of felicity succeeding the chastisement. The two sections are detached both from one another and from their context, and the question of their respective date and origin are most conveniently considered separately.

XXXII. 1 **Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness,**
and princes shall rule in judgement. 2 **And a man shall be as**
an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest;

XXXII. 1—8. A prediction of the establishment, under a just ruler, of social security and spiritual enlightenment.

This section bears to c. xxxi. much the same relation as xi. 1—9 to x. 5—34, xxix. 17—24 to xxix. 9—16, and xxx. 18—33 to xxx. 1—17, and depicts the sequel of the judgment when the purification of the nation has been accomplished; and it may, like xi. 1—9, be styled a Messianic prophecy. Isaiah's authorship of it has been denied by Cheyne and some other critics, chiefly on the ground of the unusual vocabulary and the colourless description of the future king (as contrasted with ix. 6, 7, xi. 1—9). Duhm, however, with some reason defends the authenticity of *vv.* 1—5, perhaps composed when the writer of xi. 1—9 had passed the prime of his powers. More suspicion attaches to *vv.* 6—8, which look like a character-study in the manner of the Gnomic writers.

1. *a king...princes.* Isaiah, as a statesman, regarded good government as conditioning the future welfare of his country (cf. i. 26).

in righteousness, etc. Better, *according to righteousness...according to justice.*

2. *a man.* Perhaps better, *a great man* (Ps. xlix. 2, lxii. 9), a collective expression for the upper classes; though some take it distributively and render *each of them* (Gen. xl. 5). For the metaphors that follow cf. iv. 6, xxv. 4.

as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock
in a weary land. 3 And the eyes of them that see shall not
be [1]dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken. 4 The
heart also of the [2]rash shall understand knowledge, and the
tongue of the stammerers shall be ready to speak plainly.
5 The [3]vile person shall be no more called [4]liberal, nor the
[5]churl said to be bountiful. 6 For the [3]vile person will speak
[6]villany, and his heart will work iniquity, to practise pro-
faneness, and to utter error against the LORD, to make empty
the soul of the hungry, and to cause the drink of the thirsty to

[1] Or, *closed* [2] Heb. *hasty.* [3] Or, *fool* See 1 Sam. xxv. 25.
[4] Or, *noble* [5] Or, *crafty* [6] Or, *folly*

the shadow of a great rock. Cf. Hes. *W. and D.* 589, πετραίη σκιή, Verg. *G.* III. 145, *saxea umbra.* This, in a treeless desert, would be the only shelter possible.

3. *And the eyes*, etc. i.e. the spiritual unreceptiveness which the people have hitherto shewn (vi. 9, 10, xxix. 10) will cease (cf. xxix. 18, 24).

be dim. Literally, as in the mg., *be closed* (as in vi. 10, xxix. 10). This implies a necessary correction (after Sym. and the Vulg.) of the Heb., which has *look.*

4. *The heart also of the rash*, etc. i.e. opposite defects will be remedied, the precipitate becoming judicious, and the hesitating distinct.

5. *The vile person*, etc. i.e. the inversion of moral distinctions which once obtained (v. 20) will no longer continue, but every one will be seen in his true colours and appraised at his true value. The *vile person* is one who neither fears the judgments of God nor respects the rights of his fellow-men[1].

liberal. Better (as in the mg.), *noble* (by reason of his rank only).

nor the churl, etc. Better, *nor the trickster* (Vulg. *fraudulentus*) *said to be respectable* (or *a gentleman*) in virtue of his wealth or the like (cf. Job xxxiv. 19 Heb.).

6—8. These three *vv.* look like an alien addition, since, instead of continuing the description of the altered state of the community, they enlarge upon the habits of two of the characters previously mentioned. In contents and manner the *vv.* resemble Proverbs (cf. Prov. xxi. 24).

6. *will speak villany.* Better, *speaks folly* (see ix. 17). The tense is a frequentative, and so in *v.* 8.

will work. Better (after the LXX.), *meditates* (יַחֲשֹׁב־ for יַעֲשֶׂה).

profaneness. i.e. irreligion and unbelief (cf. x. 6); see v. 12, 19 and cf. Ps. x. 4, 13, xiv. 1.

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[1] On the meaning of the Heb. term rendered *vile person* or *fool* see Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, p. 457.

fail. 7 The instruments also of the churl are evil: he deviseth
wicked devices to destroy the [1]meek with lying words, even
when the needy speaketh right. 8 But the liberal deviseth
liberal things; and [2]in liberal things shall he continue.

9 Rise up, ye women that are at ease, *and* hear my voice;
ye [3]careless daughters, give ear unto my speech. 10 [4]For days
beyond a year shall ye be troubled, ye careless women: for the
vintage shall fail, the ingathering shall not come. 11 Tremble, ye
women that are at ease; be troubled, ye careless ones: strip you,
and make you bare, and [5]gird *sackcloth* upon your loins.

[1] Or, *poor* [2] Or, *by liberal things shall he stand* [3] Heb. *confident.*
[4] Or, *After a year and days* Heb. *Days above a year.* [5] Or, *put a girdle upon*

7. *The instruments*, etc. Better, *The tricks of the trickster* (there being an assonance in the Heb.).

the meek. So the Heb. text: the Heb. mg. has *the poor.*

speaketh right. i.e. has, in a law-suit, right on his side (cf. xxix. 21).

8. *the liberal.* Better, *the noble* (i.e. in character, cf. Prov. xvii. 26).

9—20. A prediction, addressed to the luxurious ladies of Jerusalem, of impending devastation for the country and its capital and of a subsequent transformation of physical nature and human society.

The Isaianic authorship of this section is denied by Cheyne, chiefly on the ground of a certain vagueness pervading the invective (as contrasted with iii. 16, 17); and its origin is assigned to post-exilic times; but as it is considered that it represents "what a post-exilic editor thought Isaiah would be likely to have written," its general resemblance to the prophet's utterances is admitted. If the oracle is Isaiah's, it probably proceeds from an early period in his ministry, since the prediction of prolonged desolation for the city no less than for the country (*v.* 14) is more intelligible in the reign of Ahaz (cf. v. 14, 17) than in the years 705—701 when the prophet anticipated that Zion would be preserved from its foes (x. 24, xiv. 32, xxxi. 5, xxxvii. 33, 34). Duhm favours the Isaianic origin of the passage, but denies its unity, holding that *vv.* 9—14 and *vv.* 15—20 are distinct oracles (see further on *v.* 15).

9. *Rise up.* i.e. abandon your attitude of heedless unconcern. By Duhm and Marti the verb is omitted as spoiling the parallelism.

10. *For days*, etc. Better, *After* a few *days beyond a year*, i.e. within little more than a year: cf. xxix. 1.

the vintage, etc. The occasion of the prediction was probably the festival of Ingathering at the close of the year (Ex. xxxiv. 22), and the prophet implies that by the time it comes round again the vintage which supplies the means for their careless enjoyment will have been destroyed by a hostile invasion (cf. xvi. 7—10).

11. *Tremble*, etc. i.e. because of the certainty and nearness of the approaching disaster.

12 They shall smite upon the breasts for the pleasant fields,
for the fruitful vine. 13 Upon the land of my people shall
come up thorns and briers; yea, upon all the houses of joy
in the joyous city: 14 for the palace shall be forsaken; the popu-
lous city shall be deserted; [1]the hill and the watch-tower shall
be for dens for ever, a joy of wild asses, a pasture of flocks;
15 until the spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the

[1] Or, *Ophel*

12. *They shall smite.* The Heb. is ungrammatical, and the text should be corrected (after the LXX.) to *Smite* (literally, *mourn*) *upon the breasts for the pleasant fields*, or (by another slight emendation) *Mourn for* (2 Sam. i. 12, xi. 26) *the fields, the pleasant fields* (reading עַל־שָׂדִים סְפֹדָה for עַל־שָׁדַיִם סֹפְדִים).

13. *Upon the land*, etc. This *v.* is a continuation of *v.* 12: (*mourn*) *for the land of my people, which shall spring up in thorns and briers, yea, for all the houses of mirth in the joyous town.* The prediction resembles vii. 23—25, v. 13—17.

14. *for the palace*, etc. i.e. the mansions of the wealthy. Although the destruction of many of the inhabitants of the Jewish capital is prophesied in xxii. 2, 14, the complete depopulation of the city is nowhere else so unequivocally predicted; and the prediction was subsequently qualified.

the populous city. Better, *the boisterous city* (cf. v. 14, note).

the hill. Literally, *the Ophel*, a word usually explained to mean a natural swell in the earth's surface, a knoll, but regarded by Burney (*Kings*, p. 282) as denoting an artificial citadel or keep. It occurs in connection with Samaria (2 Kgs. v. 24) and a place mentioned on the Moabite stone, but it is applied in particular to the southern extremity of the eastern hill of Jerusalem (Mic. iv. 8, 2 Ch. xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 14, Neh. iii. 26, xi. 21).

watch-tower. The tower meant was probably on Ophel, where there existed one described as *the tower that standeth out* (Neh. iii. 25, 27).

for ever. The word does not necessarily mean more than an undefined period of considerable duration (cf. ix. 7, Ps. xxi. 6, 1 Sam. i. 22, 2 Sam. vii. 16).

a joy of wild asses. i.e. a wilderness (see Job xxxix. 5, 6).

15. The incongruity between *vv.* 15—20, which prophesy a happy change, and the foregoing passage (*vv.* 9—14) predicting protracted desolation has led Duhm to conclude that these verses (in which no reference is made to the women addressed in *v.* 9) are not the sequel of *vv.* 9—14, but have been appended by an editor (who perhaps inserted *until* to link the two together). He suggests that they were originally connected with *vv.* 1—5, and describe the condition destined to prevail in the Messianic age.

the spirit. Better, *a spirit.* The wonderful change alike in physical nature and human character will be wrought by supernatural influence

wilderness become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be
counted for a forest. 16 Then judgement shall dwell in the
wilderness, and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field.
17 And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the
effect of righteousness quietness and confidence for ever.
18 And my people shall abide in a peaceable habitation, and
in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places. 19 But it shall
hail, in the downfall of the forest; and the city shall be utterly
laid low. 20 Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send
forth the feet of the ox and the ass.

(cf. xxviii. 6, xliv. 3, 1 Sam. xi. 6, Num. xi. 29, Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27, xxxix. 29, Joel ii. 28).

us. The prophet associates himself with his countrymen, as in ix. 6.

the wilderness, etc. The series *wilderness, fruitful field* (or *plantation*) and *forest* seem to constitute a climax (contrast xxix. 17): in the transformed world the sterile ground will be as productive as an orchard, and an orchard will be so luxuriant as to resemble a forest (xxxvii. 24); cf. li. 3.

16. *judgement...wilderness.* i.e. under the sway of righteous rulers justice will be ensured even in the open prairie which was ordinarily the scene of frequent quarrels about wells and pasturage (Gen. xiii. 7 f., xxvi. 20, 21).

17. *confidence.* Better, *security* (cf. xiv. 30 Heb.). To avoid the duplication of *righteousness* and to improve the symmetry of the clauses, the second has been emended to *and the effect of justice security for ever* (reading מִשְׁפָּט for צְדָקָה).

19. This *v.* is suspicious. Though *the forest* might be a figure for Assyria (cf. x. 18, 19, 33, 34), *the city* cannot refer to it (for Assyria is nowhere else so described in Isaiah). Nor can the first denote Assyria and the second Jerusalem, for the affliction of the latter should precede (not follow) the downfall of the former. Both expressions must be understood literally of Jerusalem and its woods; but since a renewed prediction of disaster is inappropriate in the midst of a description of its felicity, the *v.* is probably a misplaced marginal citation which has intruded into the text.

shall hail. Though *hail* figures in the judgment upon Jerusalem in xxviii. 2, 17, the verb here used does not recur, and the symmetry of the clauses is improved by the emendation, *But the forest shall come down* (Zech. xi. 2) *with a downfall* (literally, *a down-come*), *and the city in lowliness shall lie low* (reading וְיָרֵד for וּבָרַד).

the forest. The woods are doomed to destruction as providing the material defences which fostered the nation's self-sufficiency (cf. ii. 13).

20. This *v.* continues the tenor of *vv.* 15—18.

that sow beside all waters. i.e. enjoy conditions of peace and security permitting country employments to be carried on unrestrictedly, cf. xxx. 23—25.

Chapter XXXIII.

This c. is an announcement of Zion's deliverance which is less qualified by utterances of an adverse character than any other in this group of cc. (xxviii.—xxxiii.). It begins with a prediction of the enemy's impending overthrow and the city's assured safety (*vv.* 1—6), depicts the nation's extremity and the Lord's resolve to annihilate the foe (*vv.* 7—12), and concludes by describing the consternation of the sinful at the Lord's interposition, and the felicity which will result to the righteous (*vv.* 13—24).

The c., if by Isaiah, belongs to the occasion of Sennacherib's invasion, but is a little later in date than the companion cc. xxii., xxviii. 7—29, xxix.—xxxi. The hypothesis which best explains the external situation that seems to be implied is one suggested by the historical narrative in 2 Kgs. xviii. 14—17. There it is related that Hezekiah, under stress of invasion, treated for peace, and, petitioning the Assyrian king to withdraw from him, agreed to pay a heavy fine as a penalty for his rebellion; but Sennacherib, notwithstanding this payment, sent his officers to demand the surrender of Jerusalem (presumably as being too strong a fortress to leave behind him in his advance towards Egypt). If it is assumed that Hezekiah consented to the fine on condition that the surrender of his capital was not required, and that this condition was subsequently disregarded by the Assyrians, several allusions in the present c. can be accounted for. Thus *v.* 18 points to the payment of a tribute or ransom, *v.* 8 implies the violation of an agreement, *v.* 7 is explicable by the supposition of an unsuccessful remonstrance with the violators, whilst the reference to the foreign speech of the enemy (*v.* 19) corresponds to the description of the Assyrians in xxviii. 11. But by many critics the prophecy has been denied to Isaiah and assigned to post-exilic times on the ground of its unlikeness to Isaiah's writings and its resemblance to post-exilic compositions in respect (mainly) of (*a*) the unqualified assurance herein contained of an approaching deliverance (contrast xxii. 14), (*b*) the piety and faith to which expression is given in the name of the *community* (*vv.* 2, 22), (*c*) the similarity in tone to the language of the Psalms (*vv.* 2, 10, 15—16, 22), (*d*) the interest in religious services (*v.* 20), (*e*) the character of the vocabulary, which exhibits a number of peculiarities. A difference of attitude, however, consequent upon a difference in the situation, is intelligible in Isaiah himself, who, believing as he did in the survival of a remnant of his countrymen, might naturally exchange his tone of menace for one of encouragement when the surrender of the capital was demanded; whilst the people's self-confidence could scarcely survive the presence of the enemy at their very gates. To such a degree, indeed, does the prophecy fit in with the historical circumstances described in 2 Kgs. xviii. 14—17, that Cheyne, who dates it in the Persian period (*circ.* 350—330), thinks that the author places himself imaginatively in the time of Sennacherib's invasion, and endeavours to write as Isaiah would have written. Nevertheless, since some of the linguistic features are remarkable (see note on *vv.* 20—24), the most reasonable conclusion seems to be that, whilst the bulk of the c. proceeds from Isaiah, and was written in 701, it has been enlarged by insertions in the middle (see on *vv.* 15, 16) and additions at the close (e.g. *vv.* 20—24).

XXXIII. 1 Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee! When thou hast ceased to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou hast made an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee. 2 O LORD, be gracious unto us; we have waited for thee: be thou their arm every morning, our salvation also in the time of trouble. 3 At the noise of the tumult the peoples are fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered. 4 And your spoil shall be gathered as the caterpiller gathereth: as locusts leap shall they leap upon it. 5 The LORD is exalted; for he dwelleth on high: he hath filled Zion with judgement and righteousness. 6 [1]And there shall be stability in thy times, abundance of salvation, wisdom and knowledge: the fear of the LORD is his treasure.

[1] Or, *And abundance of salvation wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times*

XXXIII. 1—6. A prediction of retribution for the enemy, and of deliverance for Zion.

1. *Woe to thee.* Or, *Ho thou.* The address, which resembles that of cc. xxviii.—xxxi., is directed, not (as there) to the Jews, but to their enemy.

2. *unto us.* The prophet identifies himself with his countrymen as in xxxii. 15.

their arm. Better (with the Vulg. and Syr.), *our arm*, i.e. our means of defence (Jer. xvii. 5, Ps. lxxxiii. 8, mg.).

3. *the tumult.* i.e. the roar of the elements accompanying the Lord's approach (in a theophany) to save Zion (cf. xxx. 30).

the peoples...the nations. i.e. the allies and auxiliaries of the Assyrians: cf. viii. 9, xxix. 7.

4. *your spoil.* i.e. the spoil taken by you (the Jews). But perhaps better (with Duhm), *spoil* (omitting *your* and reading שָׁלָל כְּמוֹ for שְׁלָלְכֶם).

caterpiller. In the original another term for *locust.*

5. *is exalted.* i.e. exhibits His supremacy: cf. ii. 11, 17.

with judgement, etc. The writer anticipates a moral change in the nation, which will result from the removal of the impious and the preservation of the faithful; cf. i. 26—28, xxix. 20, xxxii. 16.

6. *And there shall be stability*, etc. Better (by a slight emendation), *And there shall be stability in her times* (i.e. fortunes, 1 Ch. xxix. 30, Ps. xxxi. 15), *wisdom and knowledge are a store of salvation, the fear of the Lord is her treasure* (reading עִתֵּיהָ and אוֹצָרָהּ for עִתֶּיךָ and אוֹצָרוֹ).

7 Behold, their valiant ones cry without: the ambassadors
of peace weep bitterly. 8 The high ways lie waste, the way-
faring man ceaseth: he hath broken the covenant, he hath
despised the cities, he regardeth not man. 9 The land mourneth
and languisheth: Lebanon is ashamed and withereth away:
Sharon is like [1]a desert; and Bashan and Carmel shake off
their leaves. 10 Now will I arise, saith the LORD; now will

[1] Or, *the Arabah*

7—12. A description of the nation's desperate situation, and the Lord's resolution to discomfit its adversaries.

7. *their valiant ones.* The original (אֶרְאֶלָּם) is of curious form and conjectural meaning: it seems simplest to correct the text to אֲרִיאֵלִים, *Ariels*, i.e. "lions of God" (see on xxix. 2), *heroes*, assuming that "lion of God" was an honorific designation of a warrior: cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. Others take the word to mean *men of Ariel*, i.e. the people of Jerusalem (see on xxix. 1).

without. i.e. outside the walls, where a conference has been held.

the ambassadors, etc. i.e. the Jewish envoys, who have failed to obtain any abatement of the enemy's demands.

8. *The high ways*, etc. i.e. all traffic has been interrupted, through the Assyrians' seizure of the main roads: cf. Jud. v. 6.

broken the covenant. Though Sennacherib is not charged with having done this by the author of Kings, his demand for the capitulation of Jerusalem after Hezekiah had surrendered his treasures (2 Kgs. xviii. 14) looks suspiciously like perfidy.

the cities. Better, *cities*: cf. Hab. i. 10. Many of the Judæan fortresses were already captured, and Jerusalem's capacity for resistance was held in contempt; see x. 9—11, xxxvi. 18—20. Duhm conjectures *witnesses* (עֵדִים for עָרִים), i.e. those before whom was made the engagement which is now broken.

9. *The land*, etc. Nature is thought of as sympathizing with the national distress: cf. xxiv. 4, 7, Nah. i. 4.

Lebanon, etc. The places named were not within the territory of Judah, but were typical features of a Palestinian landscape: cf. xxxv. 2.

Sharon. The fertile maritime plain between Carmel and Joppa.

a desert. Literally, *the Arabah*, a term that specifically denoted the floor of the Jordan valley (the mod. *El Ghor*) and the corresponding depression S. of the Dead Sea, but here is used in the more general sense of *steppe* (cf. xxxv. 1, 6, Jer. xvii. 6, l. 12). For *Bashan*, the high plateau E. of Jordan, cf. ii. 13.

Carmel. The ridge S. of the plain of Esdraelon: its dells are said to be still covered with coppices.

10. *Now will I arise*, etc. Cf. Ps. xii. 5. Judah's extremity is the Lord's opportunity.

I lift up myself; now will I be exalted. 11 Ye shall conceive
chaff, ye shall bring forth stubble: your breath is a fire that
shall devour you. 12 And the peoples shall be as the burnings
of lime: as thorns cut down, that are burned in the fire.

13 Hear, ye that are far off, what I have done; and, ye that
are near, acknowledge my might. 14 The sinners in Zion are
afraid; trembling hath surprised the godless ones. Who among
us shall dwell with the devouring fire? who among us shall
dwell with everlasting burnings? 15 He that walketh right-
eously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of
[1]oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes,
that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his
eyes from looking upon evil; 16 he shall dwell on high: his place
of defence shall be the munitions of rocks: his bread shall be
given *him*; his waters shall be sure. 17 Thine eyes shall see

[1] Or, *fraud*

11. *Ye shall conceive*, etc. An address to the Assyrians, whose efforts are to be fruitless (cf., for the metaphor, lix. 4, Ps. vii. 14 and the parallel in xxvi. 18).

your breath. i.e. your rage. But the text should perhaps be corrected to *my breath* (רוּחִי כְּמוֹ for רוּחֲכֶם).

12. *as the burnings of lime.* i.e. totally consumed (cf. Am. ii. 1).

13—24. A description of the impressions produced by the Lord's achievement (assumed to have been accomplished) and the consequences ensuing from it.

13. *Hear, ye that*, etc. Perhaps better (with the LXX.), *They that are far off* (i.e. distant nations, cf. xviii. 3) *shall hear...they that are near* (i.e. the disloyal Jews) *shall acknowledge*, etc.

14. *The sinners.* The impious section of the Jewish people (ix. 17, x. 6) are overwhelmed with alarm at what they have witnessed; for the Lord's indignation, so destructive to the enemy (*v.* 12, x. 16, xxx. 27, 30, xxix. 6), cannot but be fatal to themselves likewise.

15. *He that walketh*, etc. In the proximity of such a God those alone can be safe who are unsullied by social crimes (see i. 15—23, iii. 13—15, iv. 4, v. 23, x. 1 f.).

he that despiseth, etc. The rest of *v.* 15 (from this clause to the end), since it expands the answer to the questions of *v.* 14 after the manner of Pss. xv. 2—5, xxiv. 3, 4, v. 4—6, is rejected by Duhm as an interpolation.

hearing of blood. i.e. listening with approval to schemes of murder.

16. *dwell on high.* i.e. be secure from all dangers.

munitions of rocks. Better, *rocky fastnesses*, a figure for the impregnable defence afforded by the Lord: cf. xvii. 10, Ps. xviii. 2.

the king in his beauty: they shall behold [1]a far stretching
land. 18 Thine heart shall muse on the terror: where is [2]he
that counted, where is he that weighed *the tribute*? where
is he that counted the towers? 19 Thou shalt not see the
fierce people, a people of a deep speech that thou canst not
perceive; of a [3]strange tongue that thou canst not understand.
20 Look upon Zion, the city of our [4]solemnities: thine eyes
shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tent that shall not be
removed, the stakes whereof shall never be plucked up, neither
shall any of the cords thereof be broken. 21 But there the
LORD will be with us in majesty, [5]a place of broad rivers and
streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars, neither shall

[1] Or, *a land that is very far off* Heb. *a land of far distances.*
[2] Or, *the scribe* [3] Or, *stammering* [4] Or, *set feasts*
[5] Or, *but in the place...streams there shall go &c.*

17. *the king in his beauty.* i.e. the ideal king of the peaceful future, in all his royal splendour, as contrasted with the recent spectacle of Hezekiah in the garb of woe (see xxxvii. 1).

a far stretching land. i.e. the Jewish territory, no longer reduced in compass by the presence of an enemy in it (cf. xxx. 23), but restored to its ideal limits (cf. on xxvii. 12).

18. *Thine heart*, etc. Cf. Verg. *A.* I. 203, *Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.*

counted the towers. i.e. as a preliminary to an assault. But the sense is not very appropriate to the context, and the text is perhaps corrupt.

19. *the fierce people.* Perhaps better (by a slight correction), *an unintelligible people* (לֹעֵז for נוֹעֵז): cf. Ps. cxiv. 1.

of a deep speech. Better, *obscure of speech.* The Assyrian tongue, though cognate with Hebrew, would be unintelligible to the bulk of the Jews, a circumstance that increased the aversion which the presence of the invaders inspired (cf. Jer. v. 15).

of a strange tongue. Better, *jabbering of tongue*: cf. xxviii. 11.

20—24. In view of the recurrence in these last five *vv.* of the negative בַּל, which occurs in cc. xxiv.—xxvii. and xl.—lxvi. but is not found in Isaiah's authentic prophecies, it seems probable that they are a later conclusion to an Isaianic oracle that appeared to end abruptly.

20. *a tent*, etc. Usually such structures were not permanent (cf. xxxviii. 12), but Jerusalem was to be secure against all instability; contrast Jer. x. 20.

21. *But there*, etc. Better (if the text is sound), *But* (LXX. *For*) *there we shall have a Mighty One* (x. 34), *even the Lord, as a place of broad rivers and streams, whereon*, etc.; i.e. the Lord, like an encompassing stream (or streams), will encircle and protect the inhabitants of

gallant ship pass thereby. 22 For the LORD is our judge, the LORD is our lawgiver, the LORD is our king; he will save us. 23 Thy tacklings are loosed; they could not strengthen the foot of their mast, they could not spread the sail: then was the prey of a great spoil divided; the lame took the prey. 24 And the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick: the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity.

Zion as the Euphrates and Nile defend Babylon and Egypt; (cf. Nah. iii. 8). But the direct comparison of the Lord to a river is very harsh, and probably the passage should be corrected (with Duhm and Cheyne) to *For there we shall have the river* (or *channel*) *of the Lord instead of* (Hos. i. 10 mg.) *broad streams* (like those of Egypt and Babylon), omitting אִם (with the LXX.), reading אַפִּיק for אַדִּיר, and omitting *rivers* as a gloss on *streams* (יְאֹרִים): cf. the conception in Ps. xlvi. 4. Marti prefers the emendation, *For we shall have a majestic* (or *glorious*) *name, a source of broad streams*, etc. reading כִּי שֵׁם אַדִּיר יִהְיֶה לָנוּ מָקוֹר.

wherein shall go, etc. i.e. the river of the Lord which will fertilize and enrich Jerusalem (cf. Ps. xlvi. 4, Ezek. xlvii. 1—12, Zech. xiv. 8) will not allow (like the Euphrates or the Nile) hostile fleets to navigate it and endanger the safety of the people who dwell by it.

22. *lawgiver*. Better, *marshal* or *commander* (Jud. v. 14).

23. *Thy tacklings*. This (down to *sail*) seems to be an apostrophe to the ship, if such there should be, that attempts to ascend the stream flowing by Jerusalem (*v.* 21): its fate is to become dismasted and helpless. As the address separates most awkwardly two passages (*vv.* 22 and 23[b]) which should be in close connection, it is rejected by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as a marginal citation that has been imported into the text.

they. Probably the tacklings, or ropes, which, hanging slack, cannot keep the mast secure or the sails spread.

the foot. i.e. the socket (the Homeric ἰστοπέδη or μεσόδμη) in which the mast was stepped, and in which it was secured by stays.

then was the prey...spoil, etc. The expression is pleonastic: hence better (in view of the parallelism), with Duhm and others, *then shall even the blind divide great spoil, even the lame take the prey* (reading יְחֻלַּק עִוֵּר for חֻלַּק עַד), i.e. so complete will be the discomfiture of the enemy (see *v.* 3) that even the sightless and infirm will secure a share of the booty. The passage forms a better sequence to *v.* 22 (*he will save us*) than to the first half of *v.* 23.

24. *And the inhabitant*, etc. i.e. the people of Zion will no more incur suffering for sin, for their iniquity is forgiven (cf. Ps. ciii. 3, Mk. ii. 5—12). The metaphor of *sickness* recalls i. 5, 6.

Chapters XXXIV., XXXV.

These two cc. are companion pictures, the first predicting the destruction of the heathen world in general and the desolation of Edom in particular, and the second the fertility in store for Judah and the felicity awaiting the Lord's people on their return from the Dispersion. Though distinct from one another, they are nevertheless united by certain common characteristics of matter and style. They both produce an impression of detachment from reality, their descriptions are overloaded with detail, and their imagery and diction have numerous points of contact with other writings. One or two features in c. xxxv. seem to be specially designed to afford a contrast to the contents of c. xxxiv. (cf. xxxv. 6^b, 7 with xxxiv. 9, 13, xxxv. 9 with xxxiv. 14, 15); and it is reasonable to suppose that they proceed from the same author. They were manifestly written at a time when many Jews were in exile (from which their return is here predicted), and they consequently must date from some period after 587, so that their composition by Isaiah (to whose diction they present many contrasts) is precluded. But since there were Jews living in Babylon and other countries after the restoration of some of their number in 537 (see Zech. ii. 6, 7), it cannot be inferred with confidence that the date of the cc. falls within the exile; and the fact that the hatred of the writer is concentrated upon Edom, and not upon Babylon, is in favour of his having resided in Palestine and having lived after the Return. The animosity which was inspired in the Jews by the joy of the Edomites over the fall of Jerusalem in 587 continued after the Return (see Mal. i. 1—5), being perhaps revived by encroachments upon Judæan territory; and it has been conjectured that the present prophecy originated in the fifth century. If this post-exilic date is correct, the many parallels which this prophecy presents to cc. xl.—lv. (cf. xxxv. 4 with xl. 9, xxxv. 2 with xl. 5, xxxv. 6, 7 with xliii. 19, xlix. 10, xxxv. 8 with xl. 3, xlix. 11) can be explained by imitation; and the conclusion that the descriptions in these cc. are later than the similar passages in the cc. just cited is confirmed by their laboured character. There is also much likeness between these cc. and the prophecy against Babylon in xiii. 1—xiv. 23 (sixth century): cf. xxxiv. 11, 14, 15 with xiii. 21, 22, xiv. 23; cf. also xxxiv. 8 with lxiii. 4 (where Edom is also the object of the Lord's vengeance).

Chapter XXXIV.

This c. begins with an announcement of a universal judgment (*vv.* 1—4), which passes over into a description of the retribution about to befall Edom (*vv.* 5—17). The universality of the doom here predicted, which extends to heaven as well as earth, is a mark of Apocalyptic writings (cf. p. 156), and this feature is corroborative of the late date that has been assigned to the prophecy. The general judgment, however, here serves for little more than a setting for the vengeance upon Edom, in which the writer is chiefly interested. The historical relations between the Hebrew people and the Edomites, whose origin was traced to Esau, the brother of Jacob (Gen. xxxvi. 1), were marked by great animosity. In Mosaic times the latter refused to Israel permission to traverse

their land on the way from the Sinaitic desert to Canaan (Num. xx. 14—21)[1]. In the period of the Hebrew monarchy they were assailed by Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 47) and subjugated by David (2 Sam. viii. 13, 14); and though some measure of independence was acquired in the reign of Solomon (1 Kgs. xi. 14—22), the authority of Judah was still acknowledged in the reign of Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs. xxii. 47)[2], who used Ezion-geber as his port (1 Kgs. xxii. 48). In the reign of Jehoram, however, they freed themselves from Judæan control (2 Kgs. viii. 20—22, cf. Gen. xxvii. 40); but did not recover the harbour of Elath until the reign of Ahaz, when it was regained for them by Rezin of Syria (2 Kgs. xvi. 6 mg.). The hostility of the two peoples was perpetuated after the capture of Jerusalem in 587 by the malevolent satisfaction manifested by the Edomites on that occasion; see Obad. *vv.* 10—16, Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 5 f., xxxvi. 5, Jer. xlix. 7—22, Lam. iv. 21 f., Ps. cxxxvii. 7, Ecclus. l. 25, 26 (mg.). In the fourth century Edom was overrun by the Nabatæans (Diod. Sic. XIX. cc. 94, 95), and its people were driven into the south of Judah, occupying Hebron, whence they were expelled by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. v. 65). In the second century John Hyrcanus compelled the Edomites (or Idumæans, as they were then called) to be circumcised and accept the Jewish law (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1); but eventually they gave to their Jewish adversaries a king in the person of Herod.

XXXIV. 1 Come near, ye nations, to hear; and hearken, ye peoples: let the earth hear, and the fulness thereof; the world, and all things that come forth of it. 2 For the LORD hath indignation against all the nations, and fury against all their host: he hath [1]utterly destroyed them, he hath delivered

[1] Heb. *devoted.*

XXXIV. 1—4. A summons to the nations of the world to receive their sentence of approaching doom.

1. *all things that come forth of it.* Though the expression is more appropriate to vegetation (cf. xlii. 5) the thought conveyed is that of human kind.

2. *indignation...fury.* Within the book of Isaiah these words occur only in sections which, for independent reasons, are regarded as late: see for the former (קֶצֶף) liv. 8, lx. 10, and for the latter (חֵמָה) xxvii. 4, xlii. 25, li. 13, 17, lix. 18, lxiii. 3, lxvi. 15.

utterly destroyed. Better (as in the mg.), *devoted* or *placed under the ban.* The word connotes a practice prevailing among the Hebrews and the Semitic races generally, whereby in war a people dedicated its enemies, if vanquished, to its national god (Num. xxi. 2), and thereupon consigned them to indiscriminate slaughter (see xxxvii. 11, xliii. 28, Ex. xxii. 20, Josh. vi. 17, 18, x. 28, 37, Deut. ii. 34, 1 Sam. xv. 3, Jer. xxv., Moabite Inscrip., *l.* 17). The property of the victims was sometimes destroyed with them (Josh. vi. 21), sometimes not

[1] This account comes from the Priestly narrative: contrast Deut. ii. 4—8, 29.
[2] The king of Edom mentioned in 2 Kgs. iii. 9 was probably a vassal.

them to the slaughter. 3 Their slain also shall be cast out, and
the stink of their carcases shall come up, and the mountains
shall be melted with their blood. 4 And all the host of heaven
shall [1]be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as
a scroll: and all their host shall fade away, as the leaf fadeth
from off the vine, and as a fading *leaf* from the fig tree. 5 For
my sword hath drunk its fill in heaven: behold, it shall come
down upon Edom, and upon the people of my [2]curse, to judge-
ment. 6 The sword of the LORD is filled with blood, it is made
fat with fatness, with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat
of the kidneys of rams: for the LORD hath a sacrifice in Bozrah,

[1] Or, *moulder away* [2] Heb. *devoting*, or, *ban*.

(Deut. ii. 35, Josh. viii. 26, 27, xi. 12, 14, Mic. iv. 13). A similar practice is recorded by Caesar (*B. G.* VI. 17) of the Gauls: *Huic* (i.e. the war god Hesus), *cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea quae bello ceperint plerumque devovent; cum superaverunt, animalia capta immolant, reliquasque res in unum locum conferunt.* Tacitus (*Ann.* XIII. 57) also relates of certain German tribes: *Victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio* (i.e. Tiu and Woden) *sacravere, quo voto equi viri, cuncta viva occidioni dantur.*

3. *cast out.* i.e. left unburied; cf. xiv. 19, Jer. xiv. 16.

shall be melted with. Better, *shall run with.*

4. *And all the host...dissolved.* The received text of this clause duplicates in substance the opening words of the second half of the *v.*; it should probably be corrected (with Bickell) to *and all the hills shall be dissolved* (or *decay*), and transferred to *v.* 3.

and all their host. i.e. the stars, which are imagined to drop out of the firmament (in which they are fixed) as it is rolled together. Similar convulsions of the heavens are represented as accompanying the Last Judgment in Mk. xiii. 25, Matt. xxiv. 29, Rev. vi. 13, 14.

5—17. A prediction of the slaughter of the Edomites and the desolation of their land.

5. *my sword.* If the text is correct, the Lord is the speaker, but it should perhaps be emended to *the sword of the Lord* (who is elsewhere referred to in the 3rd pers.).

hath drunk its fill. i.e. is intoxicated with fury (cf. *v.* 2), the latter words being added to the text by many critics (who insert וְעֶבְרָתוֹ). Divine vengeance on celestial powers is mentioned in xxiv. 21.

the people of my curse. Perhaps better (see above), *the people of his curse* (or *ban*), reading חֶרְמוֹ for חֶרְמִי, i.e. those whom the Lord has devoted to destruction (see on *v.* 2).

6. *lambs...goats.* The approaching slaughter is compared to a sacrifice (cf. Jer. xlvi. 10, Zeph. i. 7, Ezek. xxxix. 17—19), and the Edomites to the customary victims (cf. Jer. l. 27, li. 40).

the fat of the kidneys. This was one of the choicest portions of

and a great slaughter in the land of Edom. 7 And the wild-oxen
shall come down with them, and the bullocks with the bulls;
and their land shall be drunken with blood, and their dust made
fat with fatness. 8 For it is the day of the LORD'S vengeance,
the year of recompence in the controversy of Zion. 9 And the
streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof
into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch.
10 It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof
shall go up for ever: from generation to generation it shall lie
waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever. 11 But
the pelican and the porcupine shall possess it; and the [1]owl and

[1] Or, *bittern*

sacrificial victims (Lev. iii. 4), the fat, like the blood, being regarded as the seat of life (cf. the parallelism in 2 Sam. i. 22).

Bozrah. The Edomite city of this name (there was another Bozrah in Moab, Jer. xlviii. 24) has been identified with the mod. *Buseirah*, some 20 m. S. of the Dead Sea. Mention of it occurs in lxiii. 1, Am. i. 12, Gen. xxxvi. 33.

7. *the wild-oxen.* Heb. *r'emim.* The animals of which this was the name belonged to an extinct species (*Bos primigenius*), thought to be identical with the *urus* described by Caesar, *B.G.*, VI. 28: in the O.T. they are famed for their strength and untameableness (Num. xxiii. 22, Job xxxix. 9—12). Here they represent (with the *bullocks* and *bulls*) the chiefs of Edom: for the like figures cf. xiv. 9 mg., Ps. lxviii. 30, Jer. l. 27.

come down. i.e. sink down slain (cf. Hag. ii. 22, Jer. xlviii. 15, l. 27, li. 40): LXX. συμπεσοῦνται.

with them. i.e. with the smaller cattle (*v.* 6). Duhm suspects the loss of a word, e.g. *the fatlings* (cf. Ezek. xxxix. 18).

their dust. Perhaps better, *its dust* (עֲפָרָהּ for עֲפָרָם).

8. *the controversy of Zion.* i.e. Zion's quarrel with Edom.

9. *And the streams thereof.* Lit., *And its* (Edom's) *torrent-valleys.* The description that follows (suggestive of a conflagration caused by the ignition of bitumen) was perhaps inspired by the proximity of Edom to the site of Sodom and Gomorrah (see Gen. xix. 24): cf. xiii. 19, Jer. xlix. 18.

10. *night nor day.* The LXX. (B) connects this with *v.* 9 and reads: *the land thereof shall become as pitch burning night and day, it shall not be quenched for ever, the smoke thereof shall go up from generation to generation, it shall lie waste for ever and ever.* Part of this description is applied in Rev. xix. 3 to the destined destruction of *Babylon*, the symbol of Rome.

11. *But the pelican*, etc. The picture here changes from a scene of perpetual conflagration (in which a water-bird is an inappropriate figure) to one of desolation: cf. xiv. 23, Zeph. ii. 14, Ps. cii. 6.

the raven shall dwell therein: and he shall stretch over it the line of confusion, and the [1]plummet of emptiness. 12 [2]They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there; and all her princes shall be nothing. 13 And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and thistles in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be an habitation of jackals, a court for ostriches. 14 And the wild beasts of the desert shall meet with the [3]wolves, and the [4]satyr shall cry to his fellow; yea, [5]the night-monster shall settle there, and shall find her a place of

[1] Heb. *stones.*
[2] Or, *As for her nobles, none shall be there to proclaim the kingdom*
[3] Heb. *howling creatures.* [4] Or, *he-goat* [5] Heb. *Lilith.*

porcupine. Or *bittern*, see xiv. 23. Here (as in Zeph. ii. 14) the creature denoted is associated with birds.

owl. The LXX. and Vulg. have *ibis.*

he shall stretch. The subject is *the Lord*, and Cheyne inserts יהוה.

the line of confusion, etc. Better, *the line of wasteness.* The metaphors (derived from the operations of building) imply that the work of destruction will be accomplished with the same care and completeness as usually mark the work of construction: cf. Lam. ii. 8, 2 Kgs. xxi. 13. The words *confusion* (or *wasteness*) and *emptiness* only recur in combination in Gen. i. 2 (P), Jer. iv. 23.

12. *They shall call*, etc. The Heb. is imperfect, and a more complete text is supplied by the LXX., which suggests that the true reading is *Wolves* (or *Jackals*)[1] *shall dwell therein, and her nobles shall cease to be, and there shall be none there to proclaim a kingdom* (i.e. a new reign), *and all her princes shall be nothing.*

13. *thorns...nettles and thistles.* In a similar connection Isaiah uses different words: see v. 6, vii. 23, 24, 25, cf. also ix. 18, x. 17 (Heb.).

jackals. Better, *wolves* (xiii. 22).

a court. Or *enclosure* (a tacit correction of the Heb. after the LXX.).

14. *wolves.* Better, *jackals* (cf. mg.).

and the satyr shall cry to. Better, *and the satyr shall meet* (reading יִקְרֶה for יִקְרָא). Desert places were thought to have evil spirits, as well as wild beasts, for their denizens: cf. on xiii. 21. The present passage is imitated in Rev. xviii. 2.

the night-monster. Better, *the night hag* (Heb. *Lilith*[2]). This was a female demon that persecuted men in their sleep, and sought to kill children. According to Rabbinic legend she was the first wife of Adam, and became a demon after leaving him.

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[1] The LXX. has ὀνοκένταυροι, which in *v.* 14, xiii. 22 corresponds to the Heb. אִיִּים.

[2] The Vulg. renders the name by *Lamia*, a female monster that fed on the blood of children.

rest. 15 There shall the arrowsnake make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow: yea, there shall the kites be gathered, every one with her mate. 16 Seek ye out of the book of the LORD, and read: no one of these shall be missing, none shall want her mate: for my mouth it hath commanded, and his spirit it hath gathered them. 17 And he hath cast the lot for them, and his hand hath divided it unto them by line: they shall possess it for ever, from generation to generation shall they dwell therein.

15. *the arrowsnake.* If a variety of serpent is really denoted (see next note), the species cannot be determined with certainty.

gather, etc. i.e. her young. But the words are inappropriate to a snake, and Duhm transposes and emends the text to *shall gather and hatch her eggs* (בֵּצֶיהָ for בְּצִלָּהּ). To this correction it has been objected that no serpents, except pythons (and these are not found in Palestine), incubate; and hence certain authorities think that the word rendered *arrowsnake* means some kind of bird (cf. Jer. xvii. 11): see *DB.* III. 637.

every one with her mate. The Heb. is defective and is part of a sentence which has been accidentally transferred to *v.* 16: re-transferred, it should be rendered as there, *none shall want her mate.*

16. *the book of the LORD.* The direction to *seek and read* shews that the book does not refer to the Lord's secret book of fate (Ps. cxxxix. 16) but to some written document capable of being consulted (cf. Dan. ix. 2), and probably designates a collection of scriptures which would include this prophecy. It is implied that the prophecy, if examined on the occurrence of the event, will be found to have accurately predicted all the circumstances.

none...mate. This clause, as already stated, is misplaced here.

my mouth. Cheyne emends to *the Lord's mouth* (inserting יְהוָֹה between הוּא and פִּי); cf. *vv.* 5 (note), 6, 8.

his spirit. Perhaps better, *his breath* (Ps. xxxiii. 6).

17. *cast the lot for them.* i.e. assigned Edom to them as their permanent possession (cf. Num. xxvi. 55).

by line. i.e. by the measuring line, used for apportioning parcels of ground (cf. Jer. xxxi. 39, Ezek. xlvii. 3).

CHAPTER XXXV.

This c. is the counterpart of c. xxxiv., the juxtaposition of the two (whether due to author or editor) being obviously intended to accentuate the contrast between them. The fact that the contents of the present c. are thus purposely opposed to a picture of the devastation of Edom (not of Babylon) makes it probable that it is a prediction of a transformation in the condition of Judah

after the Return from Babylon, and that it was designed to console those who, though restored to their own country, found in their circumstances much that was adverse and disappointing. Their comparative poverty and the paucity of their numbers must have hampered them in the cultivation of the soil; and hence the opening part of the c. predicts renewed and enhanced fertility for the land, whilst the conclusion foretells the restoration to Palestine of Jews still in exile and the facilitation of their journey over the intervening wastes.

XXXV. 1 The wilderness and the [1]solitary place shall be glad; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the [2]rose.
2 It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon: they shall see the glory of the LORD, the excellency of our God.
3 Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the [3]feeble

[1] Or, *parched land* [2] Or, *autumn crocus* See Cant. ii. 1. [3] Or, *tottering*

XXXV. 1—2. A prophecy that barren places will become fertile and luxuriant.

1. *The wilderness*, etc. The passage begins so abruptly that *the wilderness* and *the solitary place* (or *parched land*) must denote localities which those whom the prophet addresses had constantly before them, viz. the uncultivated pasture grounds of Judah (see on xxxii. 15): cf. li. 3.

the desert. Literally, *the Arabah* (and so in *v.* 6): see on xxxiii. 9.

as the rose. This should be transferred to the next *v.* (where it improves the symmetry of the clauses), and connected with *it shall blossom.* The flower meant is some meadow plant (Cant. ii. 1), either (as in the mg.) the autumn crocus (*Colchicum autumnale*) or some variety of narcissus (*N. tazetta* or *N. serotinus*).

2. *Lebanon...Carmel...Sharon.* These were the localities in Palestine most noted for dignity or fertility: cf. on xxxiii. 9. Sharon was famous both for its pastures (lxv. 10) and for its corn-lands (mentioned in the inscription of Eshmunazar, see Cooke, *NSI.*, p. 31).

they. Better, *these*, i.e. the Jewish people (to whom allusion is made in *v.* 3).

the glory of the LORD. i.e. the visible splendour betokening His presence as He brings back His exiled people (see xl. 5, lii. 8).

3—10. An exhortation to confidence, and a promise of the removal of all infirmities and hardships, and of a joyful return of exiles to their home.

3. *Strengthen.* The command seems addressed to all whose faith has remained steadfast.

the weak hands, etc. i.e. the spiritless and hopeless (cf. Job iv. 3, 4) who constituted a great part of the Jewish community in the years succeeding 537. The *v.* has influenced Heb. xii. 12.

knees. 4 Say to them that are of a [1]fearful heart, Be strong,
fear not: [2]behold, your God will come *with* vengeance, *with*
the recompence of God; he will come and save you. 5 Then
the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf
shall be unstopped. 6 Then shall the lame man leap as an hart,
and the tongue of the dumb shall sing: for in the wilderness
shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. 7 And the
[3]glowing sand shall become a pool, and the thirsty ground
springs of water: in the habitation of jackals, where they lay,
shall be [4]grass with reeds and rushes. 8 And an high way
shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called The way of

[1] Heb. *hasty.*
[2] Or, *behold, your God! vengeance will come, even the recompence of God*
[3] Or, *mirage* [4] Or, *a court for reeds &c.* See ch. xxxiv. 13.

4. *of a fearful heart.* The original is the same as that used by Isaiah in xxxii. 4, but here denotes not the hasty, but the despondent and anxious.

behold, etc. Better, as in the mg., or as Duhm, who emends the text to *behold your God; he will come wreaking* (inserting נָקָם) *vengeance* (cf. xxxiv. 8); *then will come the recompense of God* (inserting יָבוֹא); *he will come and save you.*

5. *Then the eyes*, etc. The infirmities mentioned are, no doubt, in the first place bodily, for in the transformation of nature the healing of man's physical ills can scarcely be omitted; but the cure of the body may be supposed to be accompanied by the enlightenment of the understanding (cf. xxix. 18, xxxii. 3, 4, Matt. xi. 5).

6. *for.* The issuing of water in the desert is a token that a Golden Age is at hand when deficiencies of all kinds will be remedied. The writer is probably drawing on the description (in xliii. 19, 20, xlviii. 21, xlix. 10) of the provision promised by the Lord to the exiles when returning home in 537, but employs it merely to illustrate the coming change in the face of nature generally.

7. *glowing sand.* The parallel passage xlix. 10 (see note) seems decisive for this rendering (as against the mg. *mirage*): cf. LXX. ἡ ἄνυδρος (γῆ).

in the habitation, etc. The text is defective, and should probably be corrected (after xxxiv. 13, which describes the converse change) to *in the habitation of jackals* (or *wolves*) *your flocks shall lie down, and the enclosure of ostriches shall become reeds and rushes*, i.e. desert places shall be turned into well-watered meadows.

8. *and a way.* To be omitted (with the Syr.) as a dittograph. The LXX., for the opening sentence, has *And a pure way shall be there.*

The way of holiness. Better, *The holy way*, i.e. confined to the holy people (cf. lxii. 12), the Jews.

holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; [1]but it shall be for those: the wayfaring men, yea fools, shall not err *therein.* 9 No lion shall be there, nor shall any ravenous beast go up thereon, they shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk *there*: 10 and the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads: they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

[1] Or, *for he shall be with them &c.* Or, *and he shall walk in the way for them, and fools &c.*

the unclean. i.e. the heathen (cf. lii. 1).

but it...men. If the text is to be retained, better as in the mg., *and he* (the Lord) *shall walk in the way for them.* But since there is no noun to which the pronoun *them* can refer, the text should be corrected to *but it shall be for his people when journeying* (i.e. to Jerusalem), reading לְעַמּוֹ for לָמוֹ. By Duhm and Cheyne the words are rejected as a gloss because they separate the preceding and following clauses, which are parallel.

yea fools, etc. Better, *and fools* (i.e. impious heathen) *shall not roam there.*

9. *No lion,* etc. The *high way* (*v.* 8) is thought of as being elevated as a causeway (cf. xlix. 11, lvii. 14, lxii. 10) above the thickets wherein wild animals have their lairs (Jer. iv. 7), so that travellers upon it will be secure from molestation by them.

they shall not...there. This clause spoils the metre and is best omitted.

the redeemed. i.e. the Jews who shall be restored from exile (the term being the same as that used in li. 10, lxii. 12).

10. *and the ransomed...return.* This clause belongs to the previous *v.*, being parallel to *the redeemed shall walk there.*

and come. Better, *They shall come* (beginning the *v.*). For the thought cf. Ps. cxxvi. 2.

upon their heads. The redeemed are represented as crowned with joy as with a garland (the wearing of a wreath of flowers being a token of rejoicing, lxi. 3).

they shall obtain, etc. The LXX. has *gladness and joy shall overtake them*—a personification of *gladness* and *joy* parallel to that of *sorrow* and *sighing* in the following clause (cf. xiii. 8 and Hom. *Il.* XVII. 143, ἦ σ' αὔτως κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἔχει).

The *v.* recurs in li. 11, whence it has probably been borrowed: cf. also li. 3, lxi. 3, 7.

HISTORICAL SUPPLEMENT TO ISAIAH'S PROPHECIES. CHAPTERS XXXVI.—XXXIX.

These four cc. consist of an historical narrative, constituting an appendix to the foregoing collected prophecies, and containing an account of certain additional predictions attributed to Isaiah on various occasions in the reign of Hezekiah. The occasions referred to are three: (1) the expedition of Sennacherib against Jerusalem (cc. xxxvi., xxxvii.); (2) a dangerous illness experienced by Hezekiah (c. xxxviii.); (3) an embassy received by that king from Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon (c. xxxix.).

These cc. recur substantially in 2 Kgs. xviii. 13—xx. 19 and are summarized in 2 Ch. xxxii. 9—31. Apart from some minor textual variations, the only important differences between the parallel accounts in Isaiah and Kings are the omission from Isaiah of 2 Kgs. xviii. 14—16, and the absence from 2 Kings of Is. xxxviii. 9—20. A comparison of the two accounts shews that the section in Kings[1] is prior to that in Isaiah, and that the latter has been excerpted from the former, for the narrative in Isaiah (*a*) is shorter than, and seemingly abbreviated from, that in Kings (cf. Is. xxxvi. 2, 3 with 2 Kgs. xviii. 17, 18, Is. xxxvi. 17 with 2 Kgs. xviii. 32, Is. xxxvii. 36 with 2 Kgs. xix. 35, Is. xxxviii. 4, 6 with 2 Kgs. xx. 4, 6, Is. xxxviii. 8 with 2 Kgs. xx. 9), (*b*) departs from the natural order, which is found in Kings (see Is. xxxviii. 21, 22, which should follow xxxviii. 6, cf. 2 Kgs. xx. 6—8), (*c*) exhibits some of the characteristic diction of Kings (cf. Is. xxxvii. 35, *for my servant David's sake*, with 1 Kgs. xi. 13, 32, 2 Kgs. viii. 19, Is. xxxviii. 3, *walked before thee in truth*, with 1 Kgs. ii. 4, iii. 6 (cf. ix. 4), *a perfect heart*, with 1 Kgs. viii. 61, xi. 4, xv. 3, 14, *done that which is good in thy sight*, with 1 Kgs. xi. 33, 38, xiv. 8, xv. 5, 11, 2 Kgs. xviii. 3, Is. xxxviii. 1, *in those days*, with 2 Kgs. x. 32, xv. 37, Is. xxxix. 1, *at that time*, with 1 Kgs. xiv. 1, 2 Kgs. xvi. 6; cf. Driver, *LOT.* p. 200 f.). As the editor of Isaiah who inserted these chapters thus drew upon 2 Kings, he must have been later in date than the editor of the latter work, and lived after the time of Josiah if not after the Exile. The poem ascribed to Hezekiah (xxxviii. 9—20), which does not occur in 2 Kings, must have been derived by the editor from a different source.

Chapters XXXVI., XXXVII.

The proximate source of these cc. (as has been said) is 2 Kings; but their ultimate origin is less clear. The writer of Chronicles (2 Ch. xxxii. 32) cites as an authority for the history of Hezekiah *the vision of Isaiah*, contained in *the book of the kings of Judah and Israel*, the latter being an historical work (distinct from 1, 2 Kings) which drew upon some earlier sources relating to Isaiah and other prophets; and it seems likely that the existing books of Kings were similarly based, for part of their contents, upon prophetical

[1] The compiler of Kings was probably contemporary with Jeremiah (Driver, *LOT.* p. 199).

records. If so, the section of 2 Kings (xviii. 17—xx. 19), which the editor of Isaiah has incorporated, may be derived from a biography of Isaiah.

The unity of the narrative contained in these cc. is open to grave suspicion since it relates *two* demands from Sennacherib for the surrender of Jerusalem, differing in circumstances and sequel but couched in similar language (cf. xxxvi. 15 with xxxvii. 10, xxxvi. 18, 19 with xxxvii. 12, 13, xxxvii. 7 with xxxvii. 34, xxxvii. 1 with xxxvii. 14, xxxvii. 4 with xxxvii. 17). The first demand is made through the Rabshakeh with a strong force; thereupon Hezekiah goes to the Temple, and by his servants intreats Isaiah to pray to the Lord, and Isaiah predicts that Sennacherib will return to Nineveh in consequence of a rumour and there perish by assassination (xxxvi. 2—xxxvii. 7). The second is made through a letter, Hezekiah goes to the Temple with the letter and himself prays to the Lord, and Isaiah, without being appealed to, sends to him a prediction that Sennacherib will return home unsuccessful (xxxvii. 9—21 (22—32), 33—35). It seems rather unlikely that a demand which failed when supported by an army should be renewed by a letter merely (in which no reference is made to any prior demand), and the prediction in xxxvii. 33 seems inconsistent with an investment of Jerusalem by a hostile force a short time previously. Hence many critics hold that the narrative consists of two parallel, but in details divergent, accounts of a *single* summons for the surrender of the city in 701, viz. (*a*) xxxvi. 2—xxxvii. 7 (8), and (*b*) xxxvii. (8) 9—35, and that xxxvii. 37, 38 forms the conclusion of the first (cf. xxxvii. 7), whilst xxxvii. 36 is the conclusion of the second. On the other hand the Assyrian inscriptions furnish evidence that Sennacherib really made two (or more) expeditions in the direction of Palestine[1], the second taking place about 690; and it is to this later occasion that the second of the two narratives is thought by some scholars (e.g. Winckler) to have originally referred. On this hypothesis the events of 701 and 691 have been confused by the writer of 2 Kings, and the records of them combined into one. But the correspondence in language between the two accounts is against this view, and favours the inference that they represent variant traditions of one and the same episode.

XXXVI. 1 [1]Now it came to pass in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, that [2]Sennacherib king of Assyria came up

[1] See 2 Kings xviii. 13, 17, &c. [2] Heb. *Sanherib*.

XXXVI. 1. *in the fourteenth year.* Sennacherib's invasion took place in 701, which was probably Hezekiah's twenty-seventh year (see p. xli). The figure here given seems to be an erroneous inference from xxxviii. 5 (see note) and 2 Kgs. xviii. 2.

Sennacherib. The son and successor of Sargon, the conqueror of Samaria: his reign lasted from 705 to 681. His invasion of Judah was an episode in an expedition against the collective Palestinian states and Egypt (see p. xxvi).

[1] See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II. pp. 171—172.

against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. 2 And the king of Assyria sent [1]Rabshakeh from Lachish to Jerusalem unto king Hezekiah with a great army. And he stood by the conduit of the upper pool in the high way of the fuller's field.

[1] The title of an Assyrian officer.

all the fenced cities. See p. xxvii. The word *all* is not to be pressed; see xxxvii. 8.

After this *v.* it is related in 2 Kgs. xviii. 14—16 that Hezekiah, in consequence of Sennacherib's capture of the Judæan fortresses, submitted to the invader and offered to pay such additional tribute as might be imposed upon him; and the statement is confirmed (with some difference of detail) by the inscriptions (Int. p. xxvii): cf. also xxxiii. 7. The source of the statement seems to be different from that whence the rest of the narrative is derived, for in it Hezekiah's name (in Heb.) is spelt otherwise than in *vv.* 4, 7, etc. (= 2 Kgs. xviii. 19, 22, etc.). The passage was perhaps omitted by the editor of Isaiah because Hezekiah's payment of tribute might seem to impair the completeness of the deliverance which (in accord with Isaiah's prediction) the king experienced.

2—22. A demand from Sennacherib, through an officer accompanied by an army, for the surrender of Jerusalem.

This section, together with xxxvii. 1—7 and xxxvii. 37, 38, constitutes the first of the two parallel narratives. It is more faithful to historical truth than the second, in so far as it implies that Jerusalem was actually invested though not taken, for according to Sennacherib's own account he "shut up Hezekiah like a bird in a cage in the midst of Jerusalem" (p. xxvii). But if xxxvii. 37, 38 is rightly held to be a part of it, the implication that Sennacherib was assassinated shortly after his return to Nineveh is erroneous.

2. *Rabshakeh.* Better, *the Rabshakeh*, a title which in Assyrian is said to mean "chief officer." In 2 Kgs. xviii. 17 it is stated that he was accompanied by two other officers the Tartan (see xx. 1) and the Rab-saris (cf. Jer. xxxix. 3), and their presence seems to be implied in xxxvii. 6. The demand for the surrender of Jerusalem, of which they were the bearers, is not related in the inscriptions.

Lachish. The mod. *Tell-el-Hesy* in the Shephelah, 33 m. S.W. of Jerusalem, and 16 m. E. of Gaza. According to Josh. xv. 39 it was included in Judah (cf. 2 Ch. xi. 9). Recent excavations have shewn that it has been the site of some eight or nine successive cities, the earliest of which dates from about 1700 B.C. (see Driver, *Modern Research*, etc., p. 41)[1]. Sennacherib's siege of it is not mentioned in his inscriptions, but a bas-relief, found at Kouyunjik, and now in the British Museum, represents the Assyrian king receiving the spoils of the place.

the conduit, etc. See on vii. 3.

[1] Driver refers to Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities.*

3 Then came forth unto him Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the household, and Shebna the [1]scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the [2]recorder. 4 And Rabshakeh said unto them, Say ye now to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What confidence is this wherein thou trustest? 5 I say, *thy* counsel and strength for the war are but vain words: now on whom dost thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against me? 6 Behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust on him. 7 But if thou say unto me, We trust in the LORD

[1] Or, *secretary* [2] Or, *chronicler*

3. *the scribe.* Better, *the secretary*, the official who had charge of the state registers and records, and perhaps the king's correspondence.

the recorder. Better, *the remembrancer* (cf. lxii. 6), an official whose duty it was to bring before the king matters of state requiring his consideration, and who was perhaps equivalent to a modern chancellor.

4. *And Rabshakeh said.* The speech that follows implies that a previous demand for the capitulation of the city had been refused; and asserts that neither Hezekiah's own resources (*v.* 8), nor his expectations of foreign aid (*v.* 6), nor his hopes of Divine help (*vv.* 7, 10) could justify further resistance.

5. *I say.* Better (with 2 Kgs. xviii. 20), *Thou sayest* (i.e. deemest, cf. Gen. xx. 11) *that a* (mere) *word of the lips* (i.e. some promise of aid) *is counsel and strength* (xi. 2) *for war.*

6. *this bruised reed.* Cf. Ezek. xxix. 6, 7. This estimate of Egypt agrees with Isaiah's (xx. 6, xxx. 3—7, xxxi. 1—3).

7. *if thou say.* Better (with LXX. and 2 Kgs. xviii. 22), *if ye say* (a change which suits better the plur. *we trust*, etc.). This *v.* (in which Hezekiah is referred to in the 3rd pers.) interrupts the address to the king (*vv.* 5, 6, 8), and its allusion to a matter of religious administration seems a little out of place in a calculation of military resources; so that it is regarded by Cheyne and others as an interpolation. (The order of the words *Judah and Jerusalem* agrees with that in the editorial headings i. 1, ii. 1.) It is implied, both here and in 2 Kgs. xviii. 4 (cf. also 2 Ch. xxix.—xxxi.[1]), that by 701 Hezekiah had anticipated the action of Josiah (2 Kgs. xxiii. 4—20) in centralizing the national worship of the Lord (cf. Deut. xii. 5) and restricting it to Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs. xxi. 3); but the credibility of the statement has been questioned (see Wellhausen, *Proleg.* pp. 46, 47). If such a reform had been initiated by Hezekiah, it could scarcely have failed to be included among those advocated by Isaiah; but Isaiah seems to

[1] By the Chronicler it seems to be implied that Hezekiah's alleged reforms were begun at the outset of his reign.

our God: is not that he, whose high places and whose altars
Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and to
Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar? 8 Now there-
fore, I pray thee, [1]give pledges to my master the king of Assyria,
and I will give thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy
part to set riders upon them. 9 How then canst thou turn away
the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and
put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen? 10 And
am I now come up without the LORD against this land to destroy
it? The LORD said unto me, Go up against this land, and destroy
it. 11 Then said Eliakim and Shebna and Joah unto Rabshakeh,
Speak, I pray thee, unto thy servants in the [2]Syrian language;

[1] Or, *make a wager with* [2] Heb. *Aramean.*

have sought the abolition of idolatry and necromancy merely (i. 29—31, ii. 8, viii. 19, xvii. 8, xxviii. 15, 18, xxx. 22, xxxi. 7), and not of the provincial sanctuaries as such. Of the measures ascribed in 2 Kgs. xviii. 4 to Hezekiah the destruction of the pillars, the *Asherim*, and the brazen serpent are more in accordance with the tenor of contemporary prophetic teaching. At any rate, if the removal of the high places was really undertaken at this time, it cannot have been very complete, since those which were built by Solomon for his foreign wives in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem survived until the time of Josiah (see 2 Kgs. xxiii. 13).

8. *give pledges.* Better, *exchange pledges*, i.e. make a wager (cf. mg.).

the king of Assyria. Better, *the king*, the next word being (in Heb.) an ungrammatical addition (and so in *v.* 16).

horses. The Judæans, even before the war, looked to Egypt for supplies of horses (xxxi. 1—3), and in the course of it must have lost many of those they had (horses being mentioned among Sennacherib's captures).

9. *captain.* The word (literally, *governor* of a province) is irregular in form, and best omitted.

10. *this land.* Better (with 2 Kgs. xviii. 25), *this place*, i.e. Jerusalem with its temple (thus avoiding a duplication of the next clause). The assertion is not impossible for an Assyrian to have made, since the successful invasion of a country was generally deemed to be a token that the national god was angry with his land (cf. the language of Mesha in the Moabite inscription, *l.* 5); but the historian may have had in his mind Isaiah's statements in x. 5. The argument that the Lord *will not* defend Jerusalem is replaced in *v.* 20 by the contention that He *cannot.*

11. *the Syrian language.* i.e. Aramaic, which, as a medium of international intercourse (cf. Ezra iv. 7), was understood by the state officials.

for we understand it: and speak not to us in the Jews' language,
in the ears of the people that are on the wall. 12 But Rab-
shakeh said, Hath my master sent me to thy master, and to thee,
to speak these words? *hath he* not *sent me* to the men that sit
upon the wall, to eat their own dung, and to drink their own
water with you? 13 Then Rabshakeh stood, and cried with a
loud voice in the Jews' language, and said, Hear ye the words of
the great king, the king of Assyria. 14 Thus saith the king,
Let not Hezekiah deceive you; for he shall not be able to deliver
you: 15 neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the LORD, saying,
The LORD will surely deliver us; this city shall not be given into
the hand of the king of Assyria. 16 Hearken not to Hezekiah:
for thus saith the king of Assyria, [1]Make your peace with me,
and come out to me; and eat ye every one of his vine, and every
one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own
cistern: 17 until I come and take you away to a land like your
own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vine-
yards. 18 Beware lest Hezekiah persuade you, saying, The
LORD will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations
delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?

[1] Heb. *Make with me a blessing.*

the Jews' language. In consequence of Assyria's relations with Palestine her officers were naturally acquainted with the Hebrew tongue (for the term here used cf. Neh. xiii. 24). The Jewish officials feared that further representations like those in *vv.* 6—10, if couched in Hebrew, would increase the dismay of their countrymen (cf. 2 Ch. xxxii. 18) and induce disaffection towards Hezekiah.

12. *to thee.* i.e. Eliakim, the chief of the Jewish representatives.

to eat. i.e. who will be reduced by the privations of a siege to eat (2 Ch. xxxii. 11).

with you. i.e. you who support a policy of resistance.

16. *Make your peace*, etc. Literally, *Make a blessing with me* (exchange friendly greetings) *and come out to me*, i.e. surrender (1 Sam. xi. 3) cheerfully.

17. *until I come.* i.e. after bringing to a close the expedition against Egypt.

take you away. For the Assyrian practice of deportation (designed to secure the tranquillity of conquered territories) cf. 2 Kgs. xv. 29, xvi. 9, xvii. 6, 24.

18—20. These *vv.*, which in spirit are inconsistent with *v.* 10, are considered by Cheyne and others to be interpolated (under the influence of x. 9—11); but they are referred to in xxxvii. 4.

19 Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? where are the
gods of Sepharvaim? and have they delivered Samaria out of
my hand? 20 Who are they among all the gods of these
countries, that have delivered their country out of my hand,
that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand? 21 But
they held their peace, and answered him not a word: for the
king's commandment was, saying, Answer him not. 22 Then
came Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, that was over the household,
and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder,
to Hezekiah with their clothes rent, and told him the words of
Rabshakeh.

XXXVII. 1 [1]And it came to pass, when king Hezekiah
heard it, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with
sackcloth, and went into the house of the LORD. 2 And he sent
Eliakim, who was over the household, and Shebna the scribe,
and the elders of the priests, covered with sackcloth, unto Isaiah
the prophet the son of Amoz. 3 And they said unto him, Thus
saith Hezekiah, This day is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and
of contumely: for the children are come to the birth, and there
is not strength to bring forth. 4 It may be the LORD thy God
will hear the words of Rabshakeh, [2]whom the king of Assyria
his master hath sent to reproach the living God, and will rebuke

[1] See 2 Kings xix. [2] Or, *wherewith the king of Assyria...hath sent him*

19. *Sepharvaim.* Identified variously with Sippar in Babylonia on the left bank of the Euphrates, and Sibraim in Syria between Hamath and Damascus (see Ezek. xlvii. 16).

have they delivered Samaria. Before this clause the sense requires the insertion (with 2 Kgs. xviii. 34, LXX. Luc.) of *and where are the gods of the land of Samaria?*

21. *they held,* etc. 2 Kgs. xviii. 36 has *the people held their peace.*

the king's commandment, etc. Hezekiah did not wish his own decision forestalled either by his ministers or by the clamours of the populace.

XXXVII. 1—7. Hezekiah's appeal to Isaiah to pray to the Lord for deliverance and the Lord's answer through the prophet.

3. *rebuke.* Or *punishment*; cf. the use of the verb in Ps. vi. 1, xxxviii. 1.

contumely. Better, *rejection.* The word is an acknowledgment that the nation's extremity was caused by the Lord, Who had cast it off for its sins: cf. the verb in Deut. xxxii. 19, Jer. xiv. 21.

for the children, etc. For the metaphor, describing a critical position, cf. Hos. xiii. 13.

the words which the LORD thy God hath heard: wherefore lift up thy prayer for the remnant that is left. 5 So the servants of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah. 6 And Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith the LORD, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. 7 Behold, I will put a spirit in him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return unto his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

8 So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria

4. *the living God.* The Lord is so termed in contrast to idol gods (styled *the dead* in Ps. cvi. 28).

the remnant. Cf. xxxvii. 32. Numbers of the people had perished or been captured in the course of the war (Int. p. xxvii).

5. *So the servants,* etc. Better, *And when the servants...Isaiah,* 6 *Isaiah said,* etc.

7. *a spirit.* i.e. of alarm, the Lord being regarded as the inspirer of all emotions or impulses beyond the ordinary (see xix. 14, xxix. 10, xxviii. 6, 1 Sam. xvi. 14, 1 Kgs. xxii. 23). Cf. the ascription by the Greeks of extreme fear to Pan.

a rumour. If cc. xxxvi., xxxvii. are a unity, this must refer to the news of the approach of Tirhakah (*v.* 9). But a serious objection to regarding xxxvii. 1—7 and xxxvii. 8—36 as continuous is the absence from Isaiah's response here of any reference to the *repulse* of Sennacherib which is implied in the later part of the c. (see *vv.* 29 and 36); and if *vv.* 1—7 here are independent of *vv.* 8—36 the *rumour* probably relates to tidings from home of a rebellion in Babylon, where, after expelling Merodach-baladan in 703, he had set up a vassal king called Bel-ibni, who shortly afterwards revolted, and against whom he directed a campaign in 700 (cf. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem,* II. 154, 161, Rogers, *HBA.* II. p. 205). In the combination of the narratives mention of the fulfilment of the prediction about the rumour may have been lost; but the return of Sennacherib to his own land is described in *vv.* 37, 38 which form the sequel of this account.

8—36. A demand from Sennacherib by letter for the surrender of Jerusalem, a prayer of Hezekiah for deliverance, and a response from the Lord through Isaiah.

This seems to be a second account of the incidents recorded in xxxvi. 2—xxxvii. 7. It differs from the first in representing the summons for the capital's surrender as sent from Libnah (not Lachish) by letter (not through Rabshakeh with an army); and in thus implying that the Assyrians did not approach the city in force (cf. *vv.* 33, 34) is less plausible than the parallel narrative (see also on *vv.* 9, 36).

8. *So Rabshakeh,* etc. This *v.* appears to be an editorial link to connect the two accounts.

warring against Libnah: for he had heard that he was departed
from Lachish. 9 And he heard say concerning Tirhakah king
of Ethiopia, He is come out to fight against thee. And when he
heard it, he sent messengers to Hezekiah, saying, 10 Thus shall
ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God in
whom thou trustest deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be
given into the hand of the king of Assyria. 11 Behold, thou
hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by
[1]destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered? 12 Have
the gods of the nations delivered them, which my fathers have
destroyed, Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of
Eden which were in Telassar? 13 Where is the king of Hamath,

[1] Heb. *devoting them.*

Libnah. A city in the Shephelah (Josh. xv. 42); its site is not known with certainty, but is supposed to be near the mod. *Beit Jibrin.* If so, it lay between Ekron and Jerusalem, and would naturally be besieged before Lachish.

9. *And he heard.* The pronoun refers to Sennacherib, not (as the connection in which the *v.* now stands suggests) to Rabshakeh.

Tirhakah. An Ethiopian who became sovereign of all Egypt in 691[1]. The writer of this narrative, if it relates to the year 701, has mistaken the name of the Egyptian king, who in 701 was Shabaka[2].

he sent messengers. The LXX. implies the reading *he sent messengers again* (cf. 2 Kgs. xix. 9); but this is probably a harmonizing correction.

10. *Thus shall ye speak...saying.* Inasmuch as *v.* 14 implies that the Assyrians' demand was conveyed by letter, this direction to the bearers of it (which is omitted in 2 Kgs. xix. 10, LXX.) to carry an oral message seems superfluous and is perhaps an interpolation.

11. *by destroying.* Literally, *by devoting* (see on xxxiv. 2).

12. *fathers.* Probably equivalent to "predecessors": Sennacherib inherited the throne from his father Sargon, but the latter was a usurper.

Gozan. A district near the Habor (Chaboras), to which a part of the population of the Ephraimite kingdom was transported (2 Kgs. xvii. 6, xviii. 11).

Haran. Better, *Harran*, a city in N.W. Mesopotamia on the Balikh (or Baliar), the Latin *Carrhae.*

Rezeph. A place between Palmyra and Thapsacus (on the Euphrates), the name remaining in the mod. *Rusâfa.*

Eden. A district between the Euphrates and Balikh, called in the inscriptions *Bît-Adini.*

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[1] According to Breasted, 688.

[2] Possibly identical with the *So* (otherwise vocalized as *Seve*) mentioned in 2 Kgs. xvii. 4.

and the king of Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim,
of Hena, and [1]Ivvah? 14 And Hezekiah received the letter
from the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah
went up unto the house of the LORD, and spread it before the
LORD. 15 And Hezekiah prayed unto the LORD, saying, 16 O
LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, that [2]sittest upon the cherubim,
thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the
earth; thou hast made heaven and earth. 17 Incline thine ear,
O LORD, and hear; open thine eyes, O LORD, and see: and hear
all the words of Sennacherib, which hath sent to reproach the
living God. 18 Of a truth, LORD, the kings of Assyria have laid
waste all the countries, and their land, 19 and have cast their
gods into the fire: for they were no gods, but the work of men's
hands, wood and stone; therefore they have destroyed them.
20 Now therefore, O LORD our God, save us from his hand, that
all the kingdoms of the earth may know that thou art the LORD,
even thou only.

[1] In 2 Kings xvii. 24, *Avva.* [2] Or, *dwellest between*

Telassar. A town (perhaps deriving its name from the god Asshur, *Asshur's mound*) which has not yet been identified.

13. *Hena...Ivvah.* The first of these towns is not elsewhere mentioned, the second is probably the same as *Avva* (named in 2 Kgs. xvii. 24): they were both presumably in Syria.

14. *spread it.* Perhaps in order that the Lord might be the more induced to resent the impiety to which it gave expression. Cf. 1 Macc. iii. 48.

16. *that sittest upon*, etc. The Lord was believed to be locally present (in the *Shechinah*) above the Ark, which was placed in the innermost chamber of the Temple.

the cherubim. These, which were attached to the *mercy seat*, a slab of gold covering the ark (Ex. xxv. 18—22), were probably composite figures, perhaps with the body of an ox or lion, the wings of an eagle, and the face of a man. Their original significance is conjectural. It is possible that they personified the wind (cf. Ps. xviii. 10), similar figures being shewn on Assyrian monuments in the act of fertilizing the date palm by conveying pollen to the female flowers; but they also represented guardian powers of sacred places (see Gen. iii. 24; cf. Ezek. xxviii. 16). In the Temple they appear to have symbolized the Lord's chariot (see 1 Ch. xxviii. 18, Ezek. i., x., and cf. Ps. xviii. 10).

18. *have laid waste*, etc. The text, which literally is *all the lands and their land*, is obviously in error, and should be emended (from *v.* 11 and 2 Kgs. xix. 17) to *have destroyed* (strictly *devoted*) *all the nations and their lands.*

20. *that thou art the LORD.* Better (after 2 Kgs. xix. 19), *that*

21 Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent unto Hezekiah, saying,
Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Whereas thou hast
prayed to me against Sennacherib king of Assyria, 22 this is the
word which the LORD hath spoken concerning him: The virgin
daughter of Zion hath despised thee and laughed thee to scorn;
the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head [1]at thee.
23 Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against
whom hast thou exalted thy voice and lifted up thine eyes on
high? *even* against the Holy One of Israel. 24 By thy servants
hast thou reproached the Lord, and hast said, With the multitude
of my chariots am I come up to the height of the mountains, to
the innermost parts of Lebanon; and I will cut down the tall
cedars thereof, and the choice [2]fir trees thereof: and I will
enter into his farthest height, the forest of his fruitful field.

[1] Heb. *after.* [2] Or, *cypress*

thou, O Lord, art alone God. The conflicts of Semitic nations were generally thought of as involving conflicts between their gods likewise (cf. Ex. xv. 11); but the writer of the present passage had attained to a developed monotheistic faith (cf. xliii. 10, xliv. 6, Deut. xxxii. 39).

21. *Whereas*, etc. The text in its present context has to be emended (after the LXX. and 2 Kgs. xix. 20) to *That which thou hast prayed...I have heard* (inserting שָׁמַעְתִּי). But originally it most likely in its existing form preceded *v.* 33 (see note).

22—36. This section contains *two* oracles, viz. (*a*) 22—32, and (*b*) 33—35, which duplicate one another (cf. *v.* 29 with *v.* 34). The second probably linked on originally to *v.* 21 (see note on *v.* 33). The first, which consists of a taunt-song, hurling defiance at the Assyrian king (*vv.* 22[b]—29), followed by an address to Hezekiah and his people, displays much of Isaiah's vigour and something of his diction, though the latter is combined with some non-Isaianic phrases (especially in *v.* 25, cf. xix. 6): in its present position it appears to be an insertion.

22. *hath shaken*, etc. Literally, *hath shaken her head after thee*, a gesture of contempt (Ps. xxii. 7, cix. 25, Jer. xviii. 16, Lam. ii. 15, Ecclus. xiii. 7, Matt. xxvii. 39) at the baffled and retreating foe.

23. *Whom hast thou*, etc. Better (in accord with the Heb. accents), *Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed, and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice? that thou hast lifted up thine eyes on high against the Holy One of Israel.*

24. *Lebanon.* The name is merely representative of high mountains, which had proved no obstacle to the progress of his arms.

I will cut down, etc. Better (pointing differently, with the LXX.), *I have cut down...I have entered.*

his farthest height. 2 Kgs. xix. 23 has *his* (or *its*) *farthest lodging place* (or *camping-ground*), reading מְלוֹן for מְרוֹם (which occurs earlier).

25 I have digged and drunk water, and with the sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of [1]Egypt. 26 Hast thou not heard how I have done it long ago, and formed it of ancient times? now have I brought it to pass, that thou shouldest be to lay waste fenced cities into ruinous heaps. 27 Therefore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as [2]a field *of corn* before it be grown up. 28 But I know thy sitting down, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy raging against

[1] Or, *defence* Heb. *Mazor*. See ch. xix. 6. [2] In 2 Kings xix. 26, *corn blasted*.

the forest of...field. Better, *his forest-like* (i.e. dense) *plantations* (of cedar and other valuable trees): for the form of the expression cf. Gen. xvi. 12, Heb.

25. *drunk water.* Better (as in 2 Kgs. xix. 24), *drunk strange waters* (inserting זָרִים). The expression implies the conquest of foreign lands (contrast Prov. v. 15).

will I dry up, etc. Better (with the LXX.), *I have dried up* (pointing וָאַחֲרִיב) *all the rivers of Egypt.* The mouths of the Nile formed one of Egypt's chief means of defence (cf. Nah. iii. 8), but these (it is implied) had been no barrier against the Assyrian king. For the hyperbole cf. Judith xvi. 4, Hdt. VII. 21 (of Xerxes), κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; Claudian, *de Bell. Get.* 527 (of Alaric), *subsidere nostris sub pedibus montes, arescere vidimus amnes.* In the lips of Sennacherib the claim to have subdued Egypt is an idle boast. His successor Esar-haddon was the first Assyrian king to invade it successfully.

26. *Hast thou not*, etc. The Lord's reply to the Assyrians: whatever the latter had achieved had been subservient to the Lord's own purpose; see x. 5 f., and cf. xxii. 11.

that thou shouldest be. Better (by a slight correction), *that thou hast been* (וַתְּהִי for וּתְהִי).

27. *as the grass of the field.* i.e. short-lived and transient: cf. xl. 6, Ps. xxxvii. 2, xc. 5, 6, ciii. 15, 16, cxxix. 6.

and as a field...grown up. The text is defective, and the concluding words belong to the next *v.* (see note). A plausible correction (proposed by Marti) is (*as the grass on the house-tops*) *blasted by the east wind* (שְׁדוּף קָדִים (cf. 2 Kgs. xix. 26 וּשְׁדֵפָה) for וּשְׁדֵמָה; cf. Ps. cxxix. 6).

28. *But I know*, etc. Better (transferring hither, and emending, the final words of *v.* 27), *Before me are thy rising up, and thy sitting down, and I know thy going out and thy coming in* (reading לְפָנַי קֻמְךָ for לִפְנֵי קָמָה), i.e. all thy proceedings; cf. Deut. xxviii. 6, Ps. cxxi. 8, cxxxix. 2.

and thy raging against me. These words are probably an accidental duplication of the beginning of *v.* 29.

me. 29 Because of thy raging against me, and for that [1]thine
arrogancy is come up into mine ears, therefore will I put my
hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee
back by the way by which thou camest. 30 And this shall be
the sign unto thee: ye shall eat this year that which groweth of
itself, and in the second year that which springeth of the same;
and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and
eat the fruit thereof. 31 And [2]the remnant that is escaped of
the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear
fruit upward. 32 For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant,
and out of mount Zion they that shall escape: the zeal of the
LORD of hosts shall perform this. 33 Therefore thus saith the
LORD concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come unto
this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before

[1] Or, *thy careless ease* [2] Heb. *the escaped of the house of Judah that remain.*

29. *arrogancy.* The original (שאנן) means *at ease* (cf. mg.), and should be corrected to *uproar* (שאון, xxiv. 8, xxv. 5).

will I put my hook, etc. i.e. the Assyrian will be treated like a brute beast that is led by bridle and nose-ring: cf. xxx. 28, Ezek. xix. 4, xxix. 4, xxxviii. 4.

30. *And this shall be the sign*, etc. The occurrences described are not thought of as a pledge of the retreat of the Assyrians (since they are in the main subsequent to it), but as events which, by happening just as predicted, are calculated to deepen the people's belief in the Lord's prescience, already created by the deliverance experienced (cf. Ex. iii. 12), and to strengthen their faith in His promise of security for the future (*vv.* 31, 32).

that which groweth, etc. Though Sennacherib's campaign occupied only a single year, it presumably prevented both the sowing of the corn in the spring of that year and the preparation of the soil in the autumn, without which the next year's crop would be a failure. Only in the third year (reckoned inclusively) would the regular succession of agricultural operations be renewed.

31. *shall again take root*, etc. i.e. the nation is destined to revive like a plant that has been cut down; cf. xxvii. 6, Hos. xiv. 5—7.

32. *shall go forth a remnant.* i.e. the population hitherto cooped up in the city will once more be free to occupy the country. The thought of the survival of a remnant is one common in Isaiah (see vii. 3, and cf. iv. 3), but the word here used (which occurs in xiv. 30) is not the same as that in the passage just cited. The expression *they that escape* is found in iv. 2, x. 20.

33—36. This section, which contains an oracle given in response to Hezekiah's prayer (*vv.* 15—20), is probably the sequel of the

it with shield, nor cast a mount against it. 34 By the way that
he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come
unto this city, saith the LORD. 35 For I will defend this city to
save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

36 And the angel of the LORD went forth, and smote in the

(second) narrative in xxxvii. 9—21, for it presupposes, like the latter, that no Assyrian army was at the time encamped before Jerusalem, and the Lord's motive in *v.* 35 corresponds to the consideration to which Hezekiah appeals in *v.* 20. If it was originally attached to *v.* 21, the two *vv.* perhaps dovetailed thus: *Because* (1 Sam. xv. 15, xx. 42, Heb.) *thou hast prayed to me against Sennacherib king of Assyria, therefore thus saith the Lord*, etc. Both the contents (see on p. 231) and the phraseology of the oracle (see below) attest that it is not in its existing form contemporary with the circumstances to which it relates (contrast *v.* 33 with xxii. 5, xxix. 3).

34. This *v.*, which agrees better with the first narrative (see xxxvii. 7) than with the second, is supposed by Cheyne to be an insertion (based on *v.* 29) to link together the two narratives.

35. *for mine own sake.* The phrase (with its equivalent *for my name's sake*) is characteristic of the post-Isaianic prophets Deutero-Isaiah (cf. xliii. 25, xlviii. 9, 11), Jeremiah (xiv. 7, 21), and Ezekiel (xx. 14, xxxvi. 22).

for...David's sake. i.e. in fulfilment of the promise recorded in 2 Sam. vii. 16; cf. 1 Kgs. xi. 13, 34, xv. 4, 2 Kgs. viii. 19.

36. *And the angel*, etc. The cause of the destruction of the Assyrian host (which is perhaps thought to have been at Libnah xxxvii. 8) was probably a pestilence (cf. the representation in Ex. xii. 23, 29, 2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16, Ps. lxxviii. 49, 50) infecting the low-lying N.E. frontier of Egypt (cf. Am. iv. 10, Jos. *Ant.* x. i. 5). By Herodotus (II. 141) it is related that the Assyrians, whilst invading Egypt, sustained a great disaster near Pelusium, a multitude of field-mice devouring their bow-strings, their leathern quivers, and the thongs of their shields, and thereby leaving them defenceless; and as a mouse was possibly a symbol of plague or pestilence[1] (cf. 1 Sam. vi. 4, and the epithet Σμινθεύς[2] (from the Cretan and Æolic σμίνθος, *mouse*) given to Apollo, the author of the pestilence in Hom. *Il.* I. 43 f.), both the Greek and Hebrew accounts may preserve traditions of the same calamity.

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[1] Such symbolism has been curiously justified by the modern discovery that mice and rats are agents in the propagation of plague. But it is far from certain that the golden mice in 1 Sam. vi. 4 were emblems of the disease from which the Philistines suffered: the LXX. implies that they had relation to a plague of field-mice.

[2] The true significance of the title Σμινθεύς is doubtful. Marti compares the epithets λυκοκτόνος and σαυροκτόνος likewise applied to Apollo, and suggests that Apollo was entitled Σμινθεύς because he drove away mice from cornfields: whilst some scholars have held that he was a god of totemistic origin (cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV. pp. 130, 256).

camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. 37 So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. 38 And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esar-haddon his son reigned in his stead.

Whether, indeed, Sennacherib really retired from Jerusalem in consequence of some such disaster to his troops as Isaiah expected (x. 33, 34, xiv. 25, xxix. 7, 8, xxx. 27—33, xxxi. 8) or for a different reason (as xxxvii. 7 represents) is doubtful; but that the threatened city really experienced the deliverance which Isaiah predicted is certain.

a hundred and fourscore, etc. The enormous number of those related to have perished, and their annihilation in a single night (see 2 Kgs. xix. 35), must be imaginative details to enhance the marvel.

37—38. These *vv.* are probably the conclusion of the first narrative xxxvi. 2—xxxvii. 8 (cf. *v.* 7).

37. *dwelt at Nineveh.* The words are meant to imply that Judah was henceforth left undisturbed by him.

38. *And it came to pass*, etc. The death of Sennacherib is probably regarded by the writer as following closely upon his return; but in point of fact his life did not end till 681 (20 years later).

Nisroch. This name does not occur elsewhere, and has been conjectured to be a corruption of *Nusku* (a solar god), *Merodach*, or *Asshur* (cf. LXX. A. Ἀσαράχ).

Adrammelech...Sharezer. The murder of Sennacherib in an insurrection is recorded on the monuments, but is represented as perpetrated by his *son* (not *sons*). The murderer, according to the historian Abydenus, was Adrammelech. The name *Sharezer*, though occurring in Zech. vii. 2, is possibly abbreviated, since it is a common element in several appellations, e.g. *Bel-sharezer* (Belshazzar), *Nebo-sharezer*, *Nergal-sharezer* (cf. Jer. xxxix. 13)[1].

Ararat. i.e. Armenia. The escape of the murderer or murderers to Armenia (cf. Tob. i. 21) is not mentioned outside the O.T. By Abydenus Adrammelech is stated to have been killed by Esar-haddon, who, at the time of his father's death, was himself in Armenia.

Esar-haddon. The *Sarchedonus* of Tob. i. 21. His reign lasted from 681 to 668.

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[1] Cf. *Ahaz* for *Jehoahaz* (as that king's name appears in the inscriptions, Schrader, *COT.* I. p. 249).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

This c. consists of two parts, (1) a narrative of Hezekiah's illness and its cure (*vv.* 1—8, 21, 22), (2) a song of thanksgiving for his recovery (*vv.* 9—20).

The narrative is taken from 2 Kgs. xx. 1—11, where the account of the king's recovery (*vv.* 1—7) precedes that of the sign requested and given as a pledge of it (*vv.* 8—11); and the unnaturalness of this makes it probable that *vv.* 8—11 there are a later addition to the original version. In Isaiah this awkwardness is obviated by the omission of *vv.* 7, 8 (=Is. *vv.* 21, 22), which were afterwards supplied and inserted in their present unsuitable position. Certain features in the narrative suggest that it was originally connected with the account contained in xxxvii. 9—36 (p. 225); cf. xxxviii. 2 with xxxvii. 15, xxxviii. 7 with xxxvii. 30, xxxviii. 6 with xxxvii. 35.

The song, which does not occur in 2 Kings, seems to have been extracted from a liturgical collection of Psalms (see *v.* 20). It is appropriate enough to one suffering from a dangerous illness, and Hezekiah, to whom it is attributed, is credited with an interest in literature and music (see Prov. xxv. 1, 2 Ch. xxix. 30). But there is nothing in it specifically suggestive of a royal sufferer; and as several of its figures of speech have parallels in Job (cf. *v.* 10 with Job xxxviii. 17, *v.* 12 with Job vii. 6, vi. 9, *v.* 13 with Job x. 16), and part of its vocabulary appears to be late, many critics conclude that it proceeds from a more recent age than Hezekiah's, and Cheyne assigns it to the fourth century.

XXXVIII. 1 [1]In those days was Hezekiah sick unto
death. And Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz came to him,
and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in
order; for thou shalt die, and not live. 2 Then Hezekiah turned
his face to the wall, and prayed unto the LORD, 3 and said,
Remember now, O LORD, I beseech thee, how I have walked
before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done

[1] See 2 Kings xx. 1, &c.

XXXVIII. 1. *In those days.* As this narrative is at present arranged these words imply that Hezekiah's illness occurred about the time of Sennacherib's campaign in 701; but inasmuch as it preceded the embassy from Babylon (c. xxxix.), and this took place before 701 (see on xxxix. 1), the arrangement of cc. xxxviii., xxxix. after cc. xxxvi., xxxvii. is misleading.

2. *turned...wall.* The posture indicated a wish to be alone (cf. 1 Kgs. xxi. 4), in consequence of which Isaiah left the king (see on *v.* 4).

3. *how I have walked...in truth.* i.e. steadfastly: cf. 1 Sam. xii. 24, 1 Kgs. ii. 4. Loyalty to the Lord was expected to be rewarded by length of days (Deut. xxx. 16).

with a perfect heart. i.e. with undivided allegiance (cf. 1 Kgs. xv 14, 2 Kgs. xviii. 5, 6 and contrast 1 Kgs. xi. 4, xv. 3).

that which is good in thy sight. And Hezekiah wept sore.
4 Then came the word of the LORD to Isaiah, saying, 5 Go, and
say to Hezekiah, Thus saith the LORD, the God of David thy
father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold,
I will add unto thy days fifteen years. 6 And I will deliver thee
and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria: and I will
defend this city. 7 And this shall be the sign unto thee from
the LORD, that the LORD will do this thing that he hath spoken:
8 behold, I will cause the shadow on the steps, which is gone
down on the [1]dial of Ahaz [2]with the sun, to return backward ten
steps. So the sun returned ten steps [3]on the dial whereon it
was gone down.

[1] Heb. *steps.* [2] Or, *by* [3] Or, *by which steps it &c.*

4. *came...to Isaiah.* The prophet, after leaving the king, had not yet reached the middle court (i.e. the courtyard surrounding the palace, 2 Kgs. xx. 4 mg.), when he received the Divine communication.

5. *fifteen years.* On the editor's assumption that Hezekiah's illness happened in 701, the deduction of the fifteen years of life here promised to him from the 29 years of his reign (2 Kgs. xviii. 2) probably explains the statement in xxxvi. 1 that Sennacherib's invasion occurred in Hezekiah's 14th year.

6. *And I will deliver*, etc. This *v.* (=2 Kgs. xx. 6[b]), which assumes that the king's sickness synchronized with Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem, is probably an insertion of the compiler of Kings (cf. xxxvii. 35, 2 Kgs. xix. 34). The *sign* of *v.* 7 relates only to Hezekiah's recovery (*v.* 5), not to the deliverance of his capital.

7. *the sign.* According to the parallel account in 2 Kgs. xx. 8—11 Hezekiah requested a sign as a pledge of the promised recovery, and was given a choice of two, an accelerated advance of the sun's shadow (2 Kgs. xx. 9 LXX.) or a return of it, and chose the latter.

8. *the shadow on the steps*, etc. Better (with the LXX.), *the shadow on the steps which the sun has gone down on the steps of Ahaz*[1]. The *steps* may have been those which led up to the entrance of the palace (the LXX. inserts *the ten steps of the house of thy father*), or they may have formed part of a structure specially designed to measure the time (cf. Vulg. *lineae...in horologio Achaz*), such as a stepped pedestal surmounted by a column. Ahaz may have learnt of the device when he went to Damascus to meet the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser (2 Kgs. xvi. 10), and the Assyrians (or the Syrians) may have derived it from the Babylonians who, according to Herodotus (II. 109), taught the Greeks the division of the day into 12 parts, and the use of a concave sundial on which a shadow was cast by a gnomon.

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[1] A more complete reconstruction of the text is Cheyne's, *I will cause the shadow to return backward the steps which the sun has gone down on the steps of Ahaz.*

9 The writing of Hezekiah king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness.

10 I said, In the [1]noontide of my days I shall go into the gates of [2]the grave:
I am deprived of the residue of my years.

11 I said, I shall not see [3]the LORD, *even* [3]the LORD in the land of the living:
I shall behold man no more [4]with the inhabitants of the world.

[1] Or, *tranquillity* [2] Heb. *Sheol.* [3] Heb. *Jah.*
[4] Or, when I am *among them that have ceased to be*

So the sun returned. The writer obviously has in mind an actual retrogression of the sun in the heavens (cf. Hom. *Il.* II. 413, XVIII. 239 f.). The narrative has been thought to be a distorted account of some real phenomenon connected with an eclipse or caused by refraction, Sir C. Wren (who was Gresham Professor of Astronomy) suggesting that it was caused by a parhelion, the sun being under the horizon or hidden by a cloud[1]. But the late date of these cc. really renders such speculations superfluous; the account may be merely a prosaic interpretation of a metaphor (parallel to "setting back the clock of life" or the like): cf. the literal construction put on a poetic phrase in Josh. x. 12—14.

9. *The writing.* Some critics emend the text to *a Michtam*, a term of unknown meaning, found in the titles of several psalms (Pss. xvi. lvi.—lx.), and perhaps signifying *a golden* (i.e. choice) *poem.*

The poem that follows seems to consist of two parts—a prayer during illness and a thanksgiving on recovery (see *v.* 19), the transition probably occurring at *v.* 17 (and not, as usually thought, at *v.* 15). But Duhm considers it to be a prayer only, and changes the past tenses in *v.* 17 to imperatives.

10. *I said.* i.e. I thought; and so in *v.* 11 (cf. on xxxvi. 5).

In the noontide, etc. Literally, *In the pause* (or *quiet*) *of my days*, i.e. (if the metaphor be taken from the apparent stationariness of the sun at noon) in the prime of age (cf. Vulg. *in dimidio dierum meorum*). But some take it to mean, in the midst of a tranquil life (cf. mg.).

I shall go, etc. Duhm and others render *I must go away* (i.e. die, Ps. xxxix. 13): *within the gates of Sheol* (Ps. ix. 13, cvii. 18, Matt. xvi. 18, cf. the Homeric πύλαι Ἀΐδαο) *I am consigned* (Jer. xxxvii. 21) *for the residue of my years.*

11. *see the LORD.* i.e. visit His sanctuary (cf. i. 12 note). The duplication of the Lord's name does not occur in the LXX.

with the...world. The rendering implies a tacit correction (supported by some MSS.): the Heb. text has (when I am) *with the inhabitants of cessation*, i.e. of Sheol, where all activity ceases.

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[1] Wren's explanation was brought to my notice by Professor H. H. Turner, of Oxford. The same suggestion was made by Spinoza (see Gesenius, *Is.* I. 987).

12 Mine [1]age is removed, and is carried away from me as a
shepherd's tent:
I have rolled up like a weaver my life; he will cut me off
from the [2]loom:
From day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.
13 [3]I quieted *myself* until morning; as a lion, so he breaketh
all my bones:
From day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.
14 Like a swallow *or* a crane, so did I chatter;
I did mourn as a dove: mine eyes fail *with looking* upward;
O LORD, I am oppressed, be thou my surety.

[1] Or, *habitation* [2] Heb. *thrum.*
[3] Or, *I thought until morning, As a lion, so will he break &c.*

12. *Mine age.* Better, *My abode* (cf. the cognate verb in Ps. lxxxiv. 10), i.e. the body as the habitation of the soul: cf. 2 Cor. v. 4, 2 Pet. i. 13.

a shepherd's tent. A figure of transitoriness (since such a tent might be pitched one day and struck the next).

I have rolled up. Better (with Duhm), *He* (the Lord) *has rolled up* (cf. the next clause). For the metaphor, expressive of completion, cf. the Greek τολυπεύω, "to wind wool into a clew," as used in Hom. *Od.* I. 238, ἐπεὶ πόλεμον τολύπευσε.

he will...loom. Better, *he cuts me off from the thrum.*

From day...end of me. Better, *From day even to night* (i.e. between morn and eve, cf. Job iv. 20) *thou dost make an end of me*, or (after the LXX.) *thou surrenderest me* (to suffering).

13. *I quieted* myself. i.e. sought to be resigned: cf. Ps. cxxxi. 2. But better (by a slight emendation), *I cry out* (with pain) *until morning* (reading שִׁוַּעְתִּי for שִׁוִּיתִי). The clause, which should be attached to the end of *v.* 12, implies that the night, as well as the day, is a time of pain.

From day...end of me. This clause has perhaps been accidentally repeated from *v.* 12.

14. or *a crane.* The words are better omitted with the LXX. (as having been introduced from Jer. viii. 7): the crane's note, which is a kind of trumpeting, is unsuitable as an illustration of a sick man's anguished cries.

chatter. Or, *scream.* The *swallow* is perhaps a *swift.*

as a dove. i.e. plaintively; cf. lix. 11, Nah. ii. 7, Ezek. vii. 16, Theoc. VII. 141, ἔστενε τρυγών.

fail...upward. Better, *look languishingly upward.*

my surety. The speaker, under the fear of death, compares himself to a debtor in the hands of a creditor from whose power he desires release (cf. Ps. cxix. 122). The Lord, Who in *vv.* 12, 13 is represented as bringing death near, is here appealed to for aid against it: cf. Job xix. 25.

15 What shall I say? he hath both spoken unto me, and himself
hath done it:
I shall go [1]softly all my years because of the bitterness of
my soul.
16 O Lord, by these things men live,
And wholly therein is the life of my spirit:
[2]Wherefore recover thou me, and make me to live.
17 Behold, *it was* for *my* peace *that* I had great bitterness:
But [3]thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the pit
of [4]corruption;
For thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back.

[1] Or, *as in solemn procession* See Ps. xlii. 4.
[2] Or, *So wilt thou recover me*
[3] Heb. *thou hast loved my soul from the pit.*
[4] Or, *nothingness*

15. *What shall I say*, etc. Many critics assume that at this point the sick man's illness takes a turn, and he cannot find words to express his gratitude both for the promise of recovery (cf. *v.* 5) and the actual change for the better. But the prayer for recovery seems to be renewed in *v.* 16[b], and the text should perhaps be emended (with Duhm) to *What shall I speak and say unto him* (reading וְאֹמַר־לוֹ for וְאָמַר־לִי), *seeing that it is he that hath done it?* i.e. what avails an appeal to One who is Himself the cause of my suffering?

I shall go, etc. Better (if the ordinary view of the preceding clause is correct), *I shall go softly* (i.e. tranquilly) *all my years following upon* (or *in spite of*) *the bitterness of my soul.* But the verb elsewhere (Ps. xlii. 4) means *to go in procession* (see mg.), and the text is perhaps corrupt. Duhm renders *I must toss to and fro all my sleeping hours because of bitterness of soul*, reading אֶדְדָה (from נדד) for אֲדַדֶּה, and connecting שְׁנוֹתַי with שֵׁנָה.

16. *by these things.* i.e. by the Divine power and mercy (as recently illustrated). But the R.V. rendering of the *v.* cannot be got from the text as it stands, and the passage seems to be incurably corrupt.

17. that *I had great bitterness.* Or, *that bitterness was bitter to me* (cf. Vulg. *amaritudo mea amarissima*). For the sentiment cf. Job v. 17. It is probably here that the sick man's recovery is assumed to have taken place.

hast in love, etc. Better (after the LXX. and Vulg.), *hast withheld my soul from the pit of annihilation* (reading חָשַׂכְתָּ for חָשַׁקְתָּ): cf. Job xxxiii. 18.

For thou hast cast, etc. Since suffering was regarded as retribution for sin, the relief implied forgiveness (cf. xxxiii. 24, Matt. ix. 2). With the figure employed contrast the converse in Ps. xc. 8, Hos. vii. 2.

18 For [1]the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate
thee:
They that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.
19 The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day:
The father to the children shall make known thy truth.
20 The LORD is *ready* to save me:
Therefore we will sing my songs to the stringed instruments
All the days of our life in the house of the LORD.
21 [2]Now Isaiah had said, Let them take a cake of figs, and lay it for a plaister upon the boil, and he shall recover.

[1] Heb. *Sheol.* [2] See 2 Kings xx. 7, 8.

18. *the grave.* Better, *Sheol.* In the Underworld the relations of man with God, constituting the religious life, were believed to be permanently interrupted (cf. Ps. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxxviii. 5, 10, 11, cxv. 17).

thy truth. Better (after the LXX.), *thy mercy* (or, *thy loving kindness*), reading חַסְדֶּךָ for אֲמִתֶּךָ: cf. Ps. lxxxviii. 11.

19. *The father.* i.e. Hezekiah himself (if he is the author of the poem) who is now restored to health: cf. Ps. lxxviii. 4.

20. *to save me.* Better (after the Syr.), *to save us.*

we will sing, etc. Better (after the Vulg.), *we will play our stringed music*; cf. Lam. v. 14, Heb. The plural pronoun seems to refer to the Temple singers, and to imply that the poem had been adapted to liturgical use.

in the house. Better, *by the house,* probably in the Temple court.

21—22. These *vv.* are a misplaced portion of the narrative xxxviii. 1—8 and occur in 2 Kgs. xx. 1—11 in their proper position, after *v.* 6. They must have been added by a copyist who fancied that their absence was due to an accidental oversight, and who did not notice that the editor had omitted in *v.* 5 the prophet's reference to *the house of the* LORD in 2 Kgs. xx. 5 (without which the king's question in *v.* 22 is obscure), and had modified in *v.* 7 (note *and this shall be,* etc.) the language of 2 Kgs. xx. 9.

21. *Now Isaiah had said.* Strictly, *And Isaiah said* (the sentence in its original context linking on to *v.* 6: see 2 Kgs. xx. 7).

a cake of figs. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXIII. 63, mentions the use of figs for opening ulcers and softening or dispersing tumours and other swellings.

lay it for a plaister. Better, *rub it.*

the boil. It has been suggested that the boil was a plague boil, and that Hezekiah suffered from the same malady that destroyed Sennacherib's host. But the date of the incident here recounted is against this (see on *v.* 1, xxxix. 1), and the Heb. term is used of any kind of ulcerated swelling or sore, including the eruption of leprosy (see Ex. ix. 9, Lev. xiii. 18, Job ii. 7, etc.).

22 Hezekiah also had said, What is the sign that I shall go up to the house of the LORD?

22. *Hezekiah also had said.* Strictly, *And Hezekiah said* (as in 2 Kgs. xx. 8).

the sign that I shall go up, etc. An allusion to Isaiah's assurance (preserved in 2 Kgs. xx. 5) that within three days the Lord would heal the king, and he would be able to go to the Temple to render thanks.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

This c., extracted from 2 Kgs. xx. 12—19, recounts a congratulatory embassy received by Hezekiah from Merodach-baladan of Babylon, the king's display of his treasures, and a prediction by Isaiah that his descendants would be carried into exile at Babylon.

XXXIX. 1 [1]At that time Merodach-baladan the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah: for he heard that he had been sick, and was recovered. 2 And

[1] See 2 Kings xx. 12, &c.

XXXIX. 1. *At that time.* The determination of the date of the incident here recorded fixes approximately that of Hezekiah's illness which occurred shortly before it. The Babylonian king named was a Chaldean, the ruler of a small state called Bit-Jakin (at the mouth of the united Tigris and Euphrates), who made himself master of Babylon on two occasions. The first was in 721, his occupation of it lasting till 710 or 709, when he was expelled by Sargon. The second was early in the reign of Sennacherib, between 704 and 701; but he retained possession for a few months only (see McCurdy, *History, Prophecy*, etc., II. pp. 273, 274). Even if his embassy to Hezekiah occurred during his second occupation of the throne it cannot have synchronized (as the historian seems to imply) with Sennacherib's invasion of Judah in 701 (for by that time he had been driven into exile), but must have preceded it (perhaps by two or three years). The longer tenure of his power on the first occasion (721—710) makes that the more likely date for what is here related. It is possible that the 14th year of Hezekiah's reign, to which the invasion of Sennacherib is (probably) wrongly assigned in xxxvi. 1, was really the date of the mission from Babylon, which, if 727 was the date of Hezekiah's accession, would be 713 (cf. Burney, *Kings*, p. 340).

Merodach-baladan. Called in 2 Kgs. xx. 12 (by error) *Berodach-baladan.*

sent letters. The LXX. adds *and ambassadors*, to whom the words *them* (*v.* 2) and *these men* (*v.* 3) refer.

for he heard. So the LXX. and 2 Kgs. xx. 12: the Heb. here has *and he heard.* The writer represents as the cause of the embassy

Hezekiah was glad of them, and shewed them the house of his
[1]precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and
the precious oil, and all the house of his [2]armour, and all that
was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor
in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not. 3 Then
came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him,
What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee?
And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country unto me,
even from Babylon. 4 Then said he, What have they seen in
thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All that is in mine house
have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that I
have not shewed them. 5 Then said Isaiah to Hezekiah, Hear
the word of the LORD of hosts. 6 Behold, the days come, that
all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid
up in store until this day, shall be carried to Babylon: nothing

[1] Or, *spicery* [2] Or, *jewels*

Merodach-baladan's desire to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery, and the Chronicler (2 Ch. xxxii. 31) the Babylonians' interest in the wonder that was the sign of it; but probably the real motive was political (cf. mention of the *present* with xxx. 6 and see p. xxiv).

2. *the house of his precious things.* The Heb. term is supposed to be of Assyrian origin (*bît-nakamâti*, "treasure-house"): the mg. follows Aq., Sym. and the Vulg. Hezekiah's wealth at this time (cf. 2 Ch. xxxii. 27—29) confirms the conclusion that the incident here related preceded the exactions of Sennacherib (2 Kgs. xviii. 15).

spices...precious oil. The first were probably foreign importations, the second a native product (2 Ch. xxxii. 28, Ezek. xxvii. 17).

the house of his armour. i.e. the house of the forest of Lebanon (xxii. 8). The word *all* is best omitted (with 2 Kgs. xx. 13).

4. *All that is in mine,* etc. Probably Hezekiah's display of his treasures was in part designed to impress the Babylonians with the extent of his resources, in the event of an alliance being contracted between them against Assyria. To Isaiah an alliance with Babylon would be as objectionable as one with Egypt (xxx. 1, 2, xxxi. 1).

6. *shall be carried to Babylon.* The prophecy, so far as it is authentic, is more likely to be a prediction of the success of Assyria over Babylon and its allies (some of whom might be deported to Babylon as to a subjugated province, cf. 2 Ch. xxxiii. 11) than a prediction of Babylon's success over Assyria and an exchange of tyrants for the Jews, for Isaiah expected the eventual repulse of the Assyrians to be followed by the inception of the Messianic age (ix. 2—7). But it is probable that the post-exilic writer of the narrative, being acquainted with the deportation of the Jews to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar, has

shall be left, saith the LORD. 7 And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon. 8 Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah, Good is the word of the LORD which thou hast spoken. He said moreover, For there shall be peace and truth in my days.

regarded that event as the fulfilment of the prophecy, and modified the latter accordingly.

7. *which thou shalt beget.* This superfluous clause has been thought to be an insertion, referring to the imprisonment of Manasseh, Hezekiah's son, at Babylon by the *Assyrian* king Asshurbanipal (2 Ch. xxxiii. 11).

eunuchs. For the emasculation of captives see Dan. i. 3.

8. *Good is the word.* The postponement of the merited chastisement to another generation is regarded as an act of clemency, as in 1 Kgs. xxi. 29, 2 Kgs. xxii. 18—20.

He said. i.e. he reflected (cf. on xxxviii. 10).

truth. Better, *stability* (Jer. xiv. 13, xxxiii. 6).

PART II. DEUTERO-ISAIAH.
CHAPTERS XL.—LV.

First Collection. Chapters XL.—XLVIII.

The prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah fall into two divisions in consequence of a difference in the subject-matter of the first nine cc. and the last seven. The principal topics in the former cc. are the Divine commission given to Cyrus by the Lord to overthrow Babylon and to release the Jewish exiles held captive there, and the proof afforded, by events transpiring when the prophet wrote, of the supremacy of the God of the Jews and the impotence of the idols of Babylon. In the later cc. these topics are discontinued; and the distinction established between the two groups by the nature of their contents is confirmed by the fact that cc. xl.—xlviii., which begin with a consolatory address to the desolate Jerusalem, end with an exhortation to its exiled population to depart from Babylon and commence their homeward march. Hence it is probable that the first nine cc. constitute a separate collection of prophecies, to which others were appended at a slightly later date.

Chapter XL.

The contents of this c., divided according to the subject-matter, fall into three principal divisions: (1) an announcement to Jerusalem of the termination of her chastisement, and of the approaching restoration, by the Lord, of her exiled people (*vv.* 1—11); (2) an assertion of the Lord's incomparable power (*vv.* 12—26); (3) a remonstrance to Israel in exile not to doubt His purpose and power to right them (*vv.* 27—31).

XL. 1 Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.
2 Speak ye [1]comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that

[1] Heb. *to the heart of.*

XL. 1—11. This opening passage is an appropriate introduction to the series of consolatory addresses that follow. In it expression is given to the thoughts most calculated to cheer the despondent exiles—the tie between the Lord and themselves (*my people...your God*, cf. Hos. ii. 23), the Divine compassion that magnified the punishment undergone in comparison with the offence it requited, the predicted removal of all obstacles that would else retard the homeward journey, the Lord's ability to coerce their enemies, and His tender care for their own helplessness.

her [1]warfare is accomplished, that her [2]iniquity is pardoned; that she hath received of the LORD'S hand double for all her sins.

[1] Or, *time of service* [2] Or, *punishment is accepted* See Lev. xxvi. 43.

1, 2. A command from the Lord to declare to Jerusalem the expiration of her period of affliction.

The speaker who conveys the command is the prophet. The persons addressed are undefined, and probably include all who are sufficiently in sympathy with the depopulated Jerusalem to become the bearers to it of good news: cf. lii. 7—9.

1. *Comfort...comfort.* For the duplication see p. xlviii. That there was need amongst the exiles for comfort appears from *v.* 27, xlix. 14. This passage was probably the source of the expectation cherished by Simeon and others, who looked for the *consolation of Israel* (Luke ii. 25).

2. *comfortably.* Better, *kindly* (Gen. l. 21) or *tenderly*, the original phrase being usually appropriated to the addresses of a wooer or a bridegroom (see Gen. xxxiv. 3, Jud. xix. 3, Hos. ii. 14).

Jerusalem. The city had suffered in, and with, her exiled people, and their deliverance was hers (cf. xlix. 14, lii. 9).

warfare. Better, *hard service.* The word, primarily applicable to military service, is used (as in Job vii. 1, x. 17, xiv. 14) of a period of hardship from which relief is desired.

accomplished. i.e. expired (1 Sam. xviii. 26, Jer. xxv. 12, xxix. 10).

her iniquity, etc. Better, *her penalty is discharged* (or *worked off*), cf. Job xiv. 6, Lev. xxvi. 41, 43 (Heb.). The substantive used in the original may denote, like the Latin *piaculum*, both guilt and its punishment (liii. 11, Gen. iv. 13, Lam. v. 7).

double. A rhetorical hyperbole (like its counterpart the prediction in Jer. xvi. 18) for an ample penalty; cf. Rev. xviii. 6. Indeed, in xlvii. 6 (cf. Zech. i. 15) the Babylonians, whom the Lord employed to chastise His offending people, are declared to have actually gone beyond their mandate: on the other hand, see xlii. 18—25, xliii. 22—28, xlviii. 1—11 (?)[1].

2—5. A celestial voice bids preparation be made for the advance of the Lord to Zion at the head of the returning exiles.

The unseen speakers in *vv.* 3—6 (cf. lvii. 14, Rev. iv. 1, x. 4) are probably heavenly powers, the Lord's *avant-coureurs*, who herald His approach. Those here addressed by them are other celestial spirits who are directed to remove all natural obstacles which obstruct the passage through the desert, and would ordinarily have to be circumvented by circuitous routes. The idea finds some parallel in what is related of Oriental sovereigns, for Justin (II. x. 24) says of Xerxes, *Montes in planum deducebat, et convexa vallium aequabat*, and Diodorus

[1] Burney suggests that *double* means double compensation, the perfect being a prophetic perfect. If so, cf. lxi. 7.

3 The voice of one [1]that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness
the way of the LORD, make [2]straight in the desert a high way
for our God. 4 Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain
and hill shall be made low: and [3]the crooked shall be made
straight, and the rough places [4]plain: 5 and the glory of the
LORD shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for

[1] Or, *that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way &c.* [2] Or, *level*
[3] Or, *the uneven shall be made level* [4] Or, *a plain*

Siculus (II. 13) records that Queen Semiramis, when, in her march to Ecbatana, she reached a mountainous district, instead of making a détour round it, constructed a direct road across it by digging down the precipices and filling up the hollows.

3. *The voice of...crieth.* Better, *Hark! one crying* (cf. xiii. 4, lii. 8, lxvi. 6). The LXX. and Vulg. connect *in the wilderness* with *crying*, and the same construction is followed by the citations of the passage in the N.T. (Mk. i. 3, Matt. iii. 3, Luke iii. 4, Joh. i. 23), where it is applied to the preaching of John the Baptist and his exhortation to prepare for the advent of the kingdom of heaven; but the fact that the voice is a heavenly voice, and the parallelism and accentuation of the Heb., are decisive for the construction in the text. The *wilderness* and the *desert* (Heb. *Arabah*, xxxiii. 9) designate the barren region separating Babylonia from Palestine.

Prepare. Or *Clear*, by the removal of obstacles, cf. Gen. xxiv. 31, Lev. xiv. 36. Though the preparation is for the Lord, Who is thought of as coming in person to Zion (cf. lii. 8, 12, lxii. 10, 11), the process described has in view the needs of the human beings whom He is about to bring back.

make straight. Better (as in the mg.), *make level* or *even*: Sym. ὁμαλίσατε. For *high way* see on xxxv. 9.

4. *the crooked*, etc. More literally, *the uneven shall be made a plateau and the ridges a vale.* The word rendered *rough places* (or *ridges*), which does not occur elsewhere, perhaps denotes a mountain chain. The language is somewhat imaginative, for the desert between Babylonia and Palestine is, in reality, tolerably level.

5. *the glory of the LORD.* i.e. the visible splendour that indicated the Divine Presence: cf. iv. 5, xxxv. 2, lviii. 8, lx. 1, 2, lxvi. 18, 1 Kgs. viii. 11, Ex. xl. 34, 35, Ezek. xliii. 4. The conception is a refinement of the earlier belief that the Lord sometimes appeared on earth in human form (Gen. iii. 8, xviii. 1 f.); and a transitional stage between the two seems marked in Ezek. i. (cf. *vv.* 26 and 28).

all flesh. i.e. mankind at large, as in Gen. vi. 12, Jer. xxv. 31.

shall see it. The unexpressed object is supplied in the LXX. by τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, see lii. 10 and cf. Luke iii. 6.

The *v.* is rejected as an interpolation by Duhm and Cheyne on grounds of metre. The phrase *the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it* does not recur in Deutero-Isaiah, though found in i. 20, lviii. 14.

the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it. 6 The voice of one saying, Cry. And [1]one said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field: 7 the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; because the breath of the LORD bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass. 8 The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: but the word of our God shall stand for ever.

[1] The Sept. and Vulgate have, *I said.*

6—8. A proclamation of the transitoriness of human pride and power contrasted with the changelessness of the purpose and promise of the Lord.

Duhm and Cheyne consider that *vv.* 6—8 should exchange places with *vv.* 9—11 and that the latter *vv.* should be inserted here (see on p. 252), partly because they maintain better the thought and exultant tone of *vv.* 3, 4, and partly on grounds of metre.

6. *The voice*, etc. Better (as in *v.* 3), *Hark! one crying.* A second celestial spirit is heard, to whom a third speaker replies.

And one said. If the text is sound, the answer may come from any one of the audience left undefined in *vv.* 1, 2; but the LXX. and Vulg. (which have *I said*) take it to proceed from the prophet: cf. vi. 8.

All flesh, etc. The words are the response returned to the question by the heavenly voice. The expression *all flesh*, though sometimes merely a synonym for all mankind (*v.* 5, cf. Jer. xxv. 31), is generally suggestive of humanity in its frailness (see on xxxi. 3).

the goodliness thereof. The original is elsewhere always used of human and Divine goodness or mercy (xvi. 5, lvii. 1, liv. 8, Gen. xx. 13, xxiv. 27); but here may be employed with the same comprehensiveness of meaning as the English *grace* and the Latin *gratia* (which are used in the sense of both "graciousness" and "gracefulness"): cf. also the Greek χάρις. The LXX., however, has δόξα (cf. 1 Pet. i. 24), the Vulg. *gloria* (perhaps reading הוֹדוֹ or הֲדָרוֹ for חַסְדּוֹ).

The comparison of mankind to fading herbage and flowers is here designed to illustrate not so much the transitoriness of human *life* (as in Ps. xc. 5, 6, ciii. 15, 16, Job xiv. 2, James i. 10, 11, cf. also the similes in Bacchylides, 63—4, Verg. *A.* VI. 309—10) as the transitoriness of human *glory*, the rapid flourishing and fading of the world's most splendid empires (cf. xxxvii. 27). Assyria had already perished, and Babylon, after enjoying a brief supremacy, was about to perish in its turn (cf. xiii. 19).

7. *the breath of the LORD.* Or perhaps, *a wind of the LORD*, cf. Hos. xiii. 15, Ezek. xvii. 10; see also Ps. ciii. 16.

the people. i.e. mankind at large, as in xlii. 5, xliv. 7. The final clause spoils the balance of the verse, and is perhaps an addition. The whole *v.* is omitted by the LXX. and O.L.

8. *the word*, etc. In contrast to the abortive schemes of earthly

9 [1]O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion, get thee up into
the high mountain; [2]O thou that tellest good tidings to Jerusalem,
lift up thy voice with strength; lift it up, be not afraid; say
unto the cities of Judah, Behold, your God! 10 Behold, the
Lord GOD will come as a mighty one, and his arm shall rule for
him: behold, his reward is with him, and his recompence before
him. 11 He shall feed his flock like a shepherd, he shall gather

[1] Or, *O Zion, that bringest good tidings*
[2] Or, *O Jerusalem, that bringest good tidings*

potentates, the Lord's will, as expressed by His *fiats* and as revealed by His prophets, will be unalterably accomplished (cf. xlv. 23, lv. 11, xxxi. 2, xiv. 24). The writer doubtless has particularly in mind the promise of the Lord respecting Israel (xliv. 26, xlvi. 10, lv. 11, cf. lii. 6, lxiii. 1). Verses 6 and 8 are quoted in 1 Pet. i. 24, 25 (*the word* being interpreted to mean the Gospel).

9—11. Directions for messengers to report the approach of the Lord with His people, like a conqueror with his booty or a shepherd with his flock.

If the order of the *vv.* is preserved (see on *vv.* 6—8), the speaker is probably the prophet, but if Duhm's transposition be adopted, it is the invisible voice of *v.* 3.

9. *O thou*, etc. Better, *O band that tellest good tidings to Zion* (cf. LXX. ὁ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Σιών, Vulg. *tu qui evangelizas Sion*), and similarly in the next clause. The fem., used in the original, is a collective expression (cf. xii. 6) for those of Jerusalem's friends who are prepared to be the first to watch for (cf. lii. 8), and announce to her, the approach of the train of returning exiles. The mg. *O Zion, that bringest good tidings* follows Aq., Th., Sym., who have εὐαγγελιζομένη Σιών; but Zion is the receiver of good news (cf. xli. 27, lii. 7), not the bringer of it to other Judæan cities.

into the high mountain. i.e. in order that they may soonest descry the advancing train, and that their voices, as they communicate the welcome sight, may carry farthest (cf. Jud. ix. 7, 1 Sam. xxvi. 13).

afraid. Or *diffident*, as though their joyous tidings would gain no credence.

10. *as a mighty one.* The LXX. and Vulg. have *with strength* (בְּחָזָק for בְּחָזָק).

his arm. The Lord's arm, like His *face, name* (xxx. 27), *hand*, denotes a particular aspect of His self-manifestation or activity, which is hypostatized almost like a separate entity, as the embodiment of His control over human history: cf. lxiii. 12.

reward...recompence. The terms describe, not the requital which the Lord has in store for His people (lxi. 8), but that which has accrued to Himself from His overthrow of Babylon, viz. the rescued exiles who, as His spoil, precede Him in His triumphal march; cf. lxii. 11. The phrase is adopted by St John in Rev. xxii. 12.

the lambs in his arm, and carry them in his bosom, *and* shall gently lead those that give suck.

12 Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in

11. *He shall feed*, etc. The figure is abruptly changed from that of a spoil-laden conqueror to that of a shepherd—the latter being expressive of the Lord's love and sympathy for the way-worn people as they traverse the desert. The comparison of Israel to a flock shepherded by the Lord (not found in cc. i.—xxxix.) recurs in xlix. 9, lxiii. 11, cf. also Jer. xiii. 17, xxiii. 1, xxxi. 10, Ezek. xxxiv. 11—16, Ps. lxxvii. 20, lxxviii. 52, lxxx. 1, xxiii. 1, c. 3. The same figure was adopted by our Saviour (Joh. x. 14, cf. Luke xii. 32); cf. also Heb. xiii. 20, 1 Pet. ii. 25, v. 4.

he shall gather. A slight omission, favoured by many scholars, gives the reading, *he shall gather it* (the flock) *with his arm, he shall carry the lambs in his bosom.*

gently lead. Displaying the same care not to overdrive them as was shewn by a flock-master like Jacob (Gen. xxxiii. 13).

12—26. A declaration of the Lord's supremacy over both physical nature and human fortunes.

The transposition of *vv.* 9—11 and 6—8 (see on p. 251) produces in connection with this section a better sequence of thought, the assertion of the unchangeableness of the Lord's word being naturally followed by an assertion of His transcendent power. Though the address is not formally directed to the Jewish exiles, it seems to be designed to reassure such of them as might question whether the Lord could really effect His people's redemption from so great an empire as the Babylonian, supported, as it was imagined to be, by mighty gods whose images were visible everywhere. The prophet, to re-establish their faith, appeals to the nation's traditional belief (*v.* 21) that the Lord is the Creator and Controller of the universe: His comprehensive sovereignty ensures His designs against failure.

12—17. The Lord is the sole Author of the physical world (cf. Job xxxviii. 4 f., Ps. civ.); and beside Him collective humanity is insignificant.

12. *Who hath*, etc. The rhetorical questions, here and in *vv.* 13, 14, differ in their implication, the first being equivalent to "Think who..." whilst the others expect the negative reply "No one" (cf. li. 19, Num. xxiii. 10).

the hollow, etc. All the instruments of measurement, relatively to things of such great extent or bulk as the sea, the firmament, and the earth, are small; and mention of them in such a connection is suggestive of the completeness of the Almighty's mastery over the elements that constitute the universe (cf. Job xxviii. 25, Wisd. xi. 20). The *span* was the distance between the tip of the thumb and the little finger of the spread hand, and considered equivalent to half a

scales, and the hills in a balance? 13 Who hath [1]directed the
spirit of the LORD, or being his counsellor hath taught him?
14 With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him, and
taught him in the path of judgement, and taught him knowledge,
and shewed to him the way of understanding? 15 Behold, the
nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small
dust of the balance: behold, [2]he taketh up the isles as a very
little thing. 16 And Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the
beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt offering. 17 All the nations
are as nothing before him; they are counted to him [3]less than
nothing, and [4]vanity. 18 To whom then will ye liken God? or

[1] Or, *meted out* [2] Or, *the isles are as the fine dust that is lifted up*
[3] Or, *as a thing of nought* [4] Or, *confusion*

cubit. A *measure* is properly a *tierce*, the third of an *ephah*, and contained approximately 22 pints. The word rendered *scales* probably means the beam of the balance. Instead of *the dust of the earth* the LXX. has *the whole earth* and the other Greek versions have merely *the earth* (omitting *dust*).

13. *Who hath directed*, etc. As the Lord's handling of the vast masses of the earth and sea attested His power, so His independence of any counsel but His own in the arrangement of them attested His wisdom. The *spirit* of the Lord is the seat of the Divine intelligence: a different word (*heart*) is usually employed for the seat of human intelligence (xxxii. 4, li. 7, Ps. xxxvii. 31, xl. 8). The LXX. has τίς ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, whence it is quoted by St Paul, in respect of the Divine scheme of salvation through Christ, in Rom. xi. 34; cf. also 1 Cor. ii. 16.

14. *the path of judgement.* Better, *the right* (or *model*) *path*, i.e. the suitable course; cf. xxviii. 26. The word mistranslated *judgment* is used in Ex. xxvi. 30, 1 Kgs. vi. 38, Ezek. xlii. 11 of a pattern or plan. The writer has in mind the *order* that prevails in the physical world. The clause *and taught him knowledge*, which awkwardly repeats the preceding word *taught* and separates two parallel clauses, is omitted by the LXX.

15. *a drop of a bucket.* Better, *a drop hanging from a bucket*, which, whether it clings or falls, is unnoticed by the bearer.

dust of the balance. Better, *dust on the balance*, which is ignored in weighing.

he taketh up, etc. Or, *he could take up the isles like fine dust.*

16. *And Lebanon*, etc. There is no disparagement of sacrifice as a symbolic practice, but only a reminder that no holocaust can be commensurate with God's dignity, even though the forests of Lebanon (ii. 13) be the fuel, or all their wild creatures the victims: cf. Judith xvi. 16.

17. *less than nothing.* More strictly, *a bit of nothing. Vanity*

what likeness will ye compare unto him? 19 The graven image, a workman melted *it*, and the goldsmith spreadeth it over with gold, and casteth *for it* silver chains. 20 He that is too

(perhaps better, *vacancy*) in the Heb. is the same word as *waste* (xlv. 18, Gen. i. 2).

18—20. The folly of regarding idols as having any likeness to what is Divine.

The argument is probably designed to counteract the dispiriting effect which the pretensions of the Babylonian religion were likely to have upon the Jewish exiles; but it follows a different course from that which might have been expected. In form it is not a direct comparison between Israel's God and the gods of Babylon, but an exposure of the folly of all representations of the Divine by artificial imagery. But in effect it carries the conclusion that the gods of Babylon were nonentities, for since idol worshippers in general believed their divinities to be embodied in their images (cf. xlvi. 1, 2), to shew the unreason of supposing objects made by human art to have in them anything Divine was to deprive the Babylonian idols of all claim to godhead. The passage is the first of a series dealing with the same subject, see xliv. 9—20, xlv. 20, xlvi. 1 f.; and has parallels in Hab. ii. 18, 19, Jer. x. 1—9, li. 15—19, Ps. cxv. 4—7, Deut. iv. 15 f., Wisd. xiii. 10 f., xv. 7—19, Bar. vi., Acts xvii. 29.

18. *God.* Heb. *El* (not JEHOVAH), which is the most widely distributed of the various Semitic words for Deity, and so most appropriate to express the unity of God (and so in xlv. 14, xlvi. 9).

19. *graven image.* The word, as the context shews, is used also of a molten image. The idol, whose claim to represent God is exposed by a description of its manufacture, consists of a core of inferior metal, cast (or forged, xli. 7) by one workman, which is covered by another (the goldsmith) with gold plating; cf. xxx. 22, Jer. x. 9. In a Cyprian inscription the king of Idalion speaks of "a plating of gold" given by him to the god Resheph (G. A. Cooke, *NSI.* p. 75).

casteth...chains. The meaning of the clause, which is omitted by the LXX., is uncertain, since the text is defective, if not corrupt. The word rendered *casteth* (צֹרֵף) is identical with the word for *goldsmith* (xli. 7, xlvi. 6), and probably disguises a verb (Kittel suggests *adds thereto*, יוֹסִיף). The chains would be used to fasten it to a pedestal.

After this *v.* Duhm, Cheyne, and others think that the text has undergone some displacement, and that xli. 6, 7 should follow here, the opening words of *v.* 6, *They helped every man his neighbour*, being then referred to the *workman* and *goldsmith* of xl. 19, and *carpenter* in *v.* 7 being corrected to *workman*. The account of the image of metal certainly becomes more complete by the addition of a passage describing its erection (as is the case with the idol of wood, see *v.* 20[b]), and the two *vv.* in question are, at first sight, rather out of keeping with their present context; but see note there.

20. *He that is too impoverished*, etc. More literally, *He that is*

impoverished for *such* an oblation chooseth a tree that will not rot; he seeketh unto him a cunning workman to [1]set up a graven image, that shall not be moved. 21 Have ye not known? have ye not heard? hath it not been told you from the beginning? have ye not [2]understood from the foundations of the earth? 22 *It is* he that sitteth [3]upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as [4]a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell

[1] Or, *prepare* [2] Or, *understood the foundations* [3] Or, *above* [4] Or, *gauze*

impoverished in regard to an oblation. A worshipper who has not much to spend upon an idol, instead of having an image of metal, has to content himself with one of wood. But the word *oblation* (תרומה), which means strictly "a heave-offering," a part lifted or separated from a larger quantity (Lev. vii. 14, Ex. xxv. 2, Ezek. xlv. 1, xlviii. 8), is very inappropriate to describe an idol; and the LXX., which has ὁμοίωμα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτόν, seems to have read תמונה. Guided by this Duhm has proposed the correction, *He that carveth a likeness chooseth*, etc. (הַמַּסְכִּין תְּמוּנָה[1] for הַמְסֻכָּן תְּרוּמָה), and Kittel, *As a base* (or *pedestal*) *for the image he chooseth* (לִמְכּוֹן תְּמוּנָה).

be moved. i.e. totter and fall (xli. 7, Jer. x. 4, Wisd. xiii. 15, 16). This would be a bad omen, cf. 1 Sam. v. 3.

21—26. The Lord is the disposer of human fortunes.

21. *Have ye not known*, etc. Or, *Know ye not? hear ye not?* It seems to be assumed that a knowledge of the Lord was possessed at the beginning of human history, cf. Gen. iv. 26.

understood from the foundations. The rendering implies the correction מִיסֻדוֹת for מוֹסְדוֹת. The Heb. text, supported by the LXX. and Vulg., requires (as in the mg.), *understood the foundations*, etc., i.e. discerned what they have to teach (cf. Rom. i. 20), which disturbs the parallelism.

22. *upon the circle*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *above the circle* (or *disc*) *of the earth*, bounded by the horizon (cf. Prov. viii. 27 and the corresponding verb in Job xxvi. 10). Others take *the circle of the earth* to mean the vault (of heaven) over-arching the earth (cf. Job xxii. 14 mg.). The Lord is throned so high (Ps. cxiii. 5, 6) that men look as small as grasshoppers (a figure for what is insignificant, Num. xiii. 33).

as a curtain. The heavens are usually conceived by O.T. writers as a solid firmament rather than as a texture of cloth or gauze (though cf. Ps. civ. 2, xix. 4). The LXX. has ὡς καμάραν, *as a vaulted chamber*, and the Heb. כַּדֹּק may really be a mutilated corruption of כְּרָקִיעַ (*as a firmament*). The phrase *a tent to dwell in* means a habitable tent in general, not a tent for the Lord in particular.

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[1] This is a conjectural derivative from שַׂכִּין (סַכִּין), "knife" (Prov. xxiii. 2).

in: 23 that bringeth princes to nothing; he maketh the judges of the earth as [1]vanity. 24 [2]Yea, they have not been planted; yea, they have not been sown; yea, their stock hath not taken root in the earth: moreover he bloweth upon them, and they wither, and the whirlwind taketh them away as stubble. 25 To whom then will ye liken me, that I should be equal *to him?* saith the Holy One. 26 Lift up your eyes on high, [3]and see who hath created these, that bringeth out their host by number: he calleth them all by name; by the greatness of his might, and for that he is strong in power, not one is lacking.

[1] Or, *confusion*
[2] Or, *Scarce are they planted, scarce are they sown, scarce hath their stock taken root in the earth, when he bloweth upon them &c.*
[3] Or, *and see: who hath created these? he that &c.*

23. *that bringeth*, etc. Cf. Job xii. 17 f., Dan. ii. 21. The writer perhaps has in mind the recent overthrow of Astyages of Media and Crœsus of Lydia by Cyrus.

24. *Yea, they have not*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *Yea, scarcely have they been planted...when he bloweth upon them* (for the construction cf. 2 Kgs. xx. 4). The idea is similar to that of *v.* 7.

25. *the Holy One.* As the Lord had come to be regarded as the sole God, the epithet *holy*, which was the commonest expression to connote what was Divine (see on i. 4), from being a title for the Lord, became equivalent to a proper name for Him, and is here used without the article as in Job vi. 10, Hab. iii. 3 and (pl.) Hos. xi. 12 (= xii. 1 Heb.), Prov. ix. 10, xxx. 3.

26. *and see who hath.* Better, *and see: who hath—?* The prophet is not arguing from nature to a creator—the existence of such is assumed—but appealing to the vastness of nature in order to enlarge his countrymen's conception of the greatness of its Creator. The Heb. term rendered *created* is exclusively used of the originating activity of the Deity, and implies independence of mechanical means, but not production out of nothing (see Driver on Gen. i. 1).

bringeth out. Better, *leadeth forth* in a military sense, cf. 2 Sam. v. 2. The comparison of the stars to a living host is probably not a mere poetic fancy but a survival from an early stage of belief in which the heavenly bodies were regarded as animated and intelligent powers, to which worship was often rendered. Amongst the Israelites the stars were commonly thought of as subservient to the Lord (Jud. v. 20, Job xxxviii. 7), though occasionally they are represented as defying, and rebelling against, His authority (xxiv. 21, Enoch xviii. 15, lxxx. 6).

he calleth...name. i.e. like a general acquainted with the names of the soldiers entered on his muster-roll (cf. Ps. cxlvii. 4). By man even knowledge of their number was unattainable (Gen. xv. 5).

by the greatness, etc. Better (after the LXX. and other Greek

27 Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, My
way is hid from the LORD, and my judgement is passed away
from my God? 28 Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard?
[1]the everlasting God, the LORD, the Creator of the ends of the
earth, fainteth not, neither is weary; there is no searching of
his understanding. 29 He giveth power to the faint; and to
him that hath no might he increaseth strength. 30 Even the
youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly
fall: 31 but they that wait upon the LORD shall renew their
strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall
run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint.

[1] Or, *the* LORD *is an everlasting God, the Creator...he fainteth not &c.*

versions), *because of the greatness of his might and the strength of his power* (אֹמֶץ for אַמִּיץ). The stars, as animated beings, are represented as influenced by motives (awe and fear), not merely acted upon by physical forces.

27—31. Israel's fear that the Lord is indifferent to its claims to redress is unjustifiable in view of His changelessness and inexhaustible resources.

27. *My way is hid*, etc. Israel's fortunes (for this sense of *way* cf. xlv. 13, xlviii. 15, Ps. xxxvii. 5) had not been ameliorated as might have been expected (see Jer. xxx. 18).

my judgement. Better, *my right* (or *due*): cf. xlix. 4, x. 2, Ps. ix. 4. Though in regard to the Lord Israel had sinned (xlii. 24, xlvii. 6, l. 1) and deserved chastisement, yet in respect of Babylon it was sinned against (cf. lii. 5), and could appeal to the Lord to do it justice. Compare the similar complaints in xlix. 14, lix. 9.

28. *the everlasting God*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *the Lord is an everlasting God, the Creator*, etc.

no searching, etc. Or, *no fathoming of his insight* (cf. lv. 8, Job xi. 7). Israel's condition does not escape the Lord's notice.

29. *He giveth*, etc. The thought contained in the final clause of *v.* 28 is here developed. The Lord is not only possessed of tireless energy Himself but He sustains the flagging energy of others.

30. *Even the youths.* These are representatives of human strength at its best; but the writer is no doubt thinking in particular of the *military* resources of Israel's enemies, *youths* and *young men* (literally, "picked men") often designating warriors (see xxxi. 8, 2 Sam. ii. 14, xviii. 15, Lam. i. 15).

31. *wait upon.* i.e. wait for His intervention to vindicate or deliver; cf. xxvi. 8, Ps. xxv. 5.

mount up, etc. Better, *grow pinions like* those of *eagles* (LXX. πτεροφυήσουσιν ὡς ἀετοί, Vulg. *assument pennas sicut aquilae*). The verb is the causative of *to grow* or *come up* (lv. 13); cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 6, Jer. xxx. 17, xxxiii. 6. The thought is not that of the renewal of

decayed powers (as the eagle[1] in age was supposed to renew its plumage, and so, in a measure, its youth, Ps. ciii. 5), but of the acquisition of altogether new capacities for vigorous action, of which the large and powerful wings of eagles are so suggestive (cf. 2 Sam. i. 23). Elsewhere the Lord is represented as bearing Israel upon eagles' wings (Ex. xix. 4, Deut. xxxii. 11); but here Israel is to get for itself eagles' wings, i.e. become endowed with extraordinary powers of activity and endurance.

run...walk. No distinction between the verbs is intended, they are parallel as in Prov. iv. 12. The clause is rejected by Duhm as outside the metre.

Chapter XLI.

This c. develops three thoughts that are contained in c. xl.: (1) the Lord's claim to control the destinies of mankind, illustrated by the success of Cyrus (*vv.* 1—7, cf. xl. 6, 7, 17, 23, 24); (2) His benevolent purpose towards Israel (*vv.* 8—20, cf. xl. 1—5, 9—11, 27—31); (3) the futility of idols as proved by the test of prophecy (*vv.* 21—29, cf. xl. 18—20).

XLI 1 Keep silence before me, O islands; and let the peoples renew their strength: let them come near; then let them speak: let us come near together to judgement. 2 Who hath raised up one from the east, [1]whom he calleth in right-

[1] Or, *whom righteousness calleth to its foot* Or, *whom righteousness meeteth whithersoever he goeth*

XLI. 1—7. The Lord's challenge to the heathen peoples to shew who, He or their idol-gods, had set in motion the conqueror from the east. (For the movements alluded to see Introd. p. lvii.)

1. *Keep...me.* Perhaps better, *Come in silence unto me*, to hear my contention (for the construction cf. xi. 10, Gen. xlii. 28).

renew their strength. i.e. let them collect all their energies (cf. Job xxxviii. 3) to make a counter-contention for their idols. But there is nothing suggestive of previous discouragement on the part of the heathen, and the expression, following closely upon the same phrase in xl. 31, is suspicious: hence Klostermann and Cheyne read *and, ye peoples, wait for my argument* (יַחֲלוּ לְתוֹכַחְתִּי for יַחֲלִיפוּ כֹחַ).

2. *raised up.* i.e. stirred into activity (*v.* 25, xlv. 13, xiii. 17, Jer. l. 9, li. 1). The allusion is to the conquering career of Cyrus, which was begun by the overthrow of Astyages, king of Media, about 549.

from the east. i.e. from Anshan, S.E. of Babylonia (cf. *v.* 25, xlvi. 11).

whom he...foot. i.e. whom with faithfulness to His purpose (cf.

[1] The Hebrew term is a generic one, denoting both eagles and vultures, the latter being specially meant in Mic. i. 16; cf. also Prov. xxx. 17.

eousness to his foot? he giveth nations before him, and maketh
him rule over kings; [1]he giveth them as the dust to his sword,
as the driven stubble to his bow. 3 He pursueth them, and
passeth on safely; even by a way that he had not gone with
his feet. 4 Who hath wrought and done it, calling the genera-
tions from the beginning? I the LORD, the first, and with the
last, I am he. 5 The isles saw, and feared; the ends of the

[1] Or, *he maketh as the dust their sword, as the driven stubble their bow*

xlii. 6, 21) He calleth to follow Him (for the sense of לְרַגְלָיו cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 42). If the rendering is correct, the thought is parallel to xlv. 2, 3. But a preferable translation is, *whom victory meeteth whithersoever he turneth*—literally, *whom righteousness meeteth at his foot*—the verb קָרָא being taken as equivalent to קָרָה (as in xiv. 9, li. 19) and the term *righteousness* being interpreted of the success which, under the rule of a just God, was believed to be ordinarily its outward sign and vindication (cf. xlv. 8, xlvi. 13, li. 5). The words *at his foot* can be understood in the sense they have in Gen. xxx. 30. The Vulg. has *qui excitavit ab Oriente iustum et creavit eum ut sequeretur se,* reading צַדִּיק (perhaps *a victor*) for צֶדֶק.

giveth. i.e. giveth up (Deut. vii. 2, Josh. x. 12, 1 Kgs. viii. 46).

maketh him rule over. The original is irregular in form, and the LXX. has ἐκστήσει, *terrifieth* (יַחֲרִיד for יַרְדֶּ). Suggested emendations are *subdueth* (יָרַד, cf. xlv. 1) and *bringeth down* (יוֹרִיד).

he giveth them as the dust, etc. The R.V. follows the Vulg. The Heb. text, if correct, must mean *he* (the Lord) *maketh like* (flying) *dust his* (Cyrus') *sword, like driven stubble his bow,* the comparison describing the Persian king's rapidity of movement. But slight corrections produce renderings which yield a better sense: (1) *he* (Cyrus) *maketh them* (יִתְּנֵם for יִתֵּן) *as dust with his sword, as driven stubble with his bow*; (2) *his sword maketh them* (תִּתְּנֵם for יִתֵּן) *like dust, his bow like driven stubble*; (3) *he maketh as the dust their sword* (חַרְבָּם for חַרְבּוֹ), *as the driven stubble their bow* (קַשְׁתָּם for קַשְׁתּ), after the LXX., which is followed by the mg.

3. *even by a way,* etc. The tense of the original requires the rendering *even by a way that he doth not go with his feet,* i.e. the Persian conqueror will press towards his aim like a winged bird of prey (xlvi. 11), with more than human directness and speed: cf. Dan. viii. 5.

4. *calling.* Better, *He that calleth* (i.e. bringeth into existence, cf. Ps. xc. 3), the clause that begins here being the answer to the preceding question.

the first...last. The phrase is equivalent to *the everlasting God* of xl. 28 (cf. xliv. 6, xlviii. 12), and is the original of Rev. i. 17, ii. 8, xxii. 13.

I am he. The expression (which recurs in xliii. 10, 13, xlvi. 4, xlviii. 12, Ps. cii. 27, Heb.) designates the Lord as the abiding initiator

earth trembled: they drew near, and came. 6 They helped every one his neighbour; and *every one* said to his brother, Be of good courage. 7 So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, *and* he that smootheth with the hammer him that smiteth the anvil, saying of the soldering, It is good: and he fastened it with nails, that it should not be moved.

8 But thou, Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen,

of all that happens in space and time: cf. Deut. xxxii. 39. The same pronoun (Heb. *hu*), probably with the same connotation, enters into the composition of personal names like *Abihu* and *Elihu*. The evidence for the assertion, here made, that it was the Lord who had raised up Cyrus is supplied in *v.* 27.

5. *The isles saw*, etc. The heathen nations, agitated and alarmed, in answer to the Lord's challenge, assemble for the trial (which begins in *v.* 21). After *came* Duhm (guided by the LXX.) plausibly supplies *together to judgment* (cf. *v.* 1).

6—7. These *vv.*, as has been previously noticed, are by some recent commentators transferred to c. xl. and inserted between *vv.* 19 and 20, where they suit the context excellently; whereas here there is considerable abruptness in the transition from the assembling of the heathen to the operations of the idol factory. On the other hand their retention in their present position seems desirable in view of *vv.* 21—24, where the address to the idol gods (see especially *v.* 23) appears to require some previous mention of them.

6. *Be of good courage.* Literally, *Be strong*, an exhortation to increased alacrity and energy (Zech. viii. 9) in the work of manufacture.

7. *the carpenter.* Better, *the workman*, the same word as in xl. 19, and here, as well as there, denoting the metal worker, who makes the core of the idol. From this workman the image is passed to the goldsmith to plate.

he that smootheth. A synonym for the goldsmith who with the hammer adjusts the gold plate to the core of inferior metal.

him that...anvil. The rendering, if correct, probably describes a workman who produces an image at a forge (cf. xliv. 12). But another suggested translation is *he that smiteth with the mallet*, descriptive of a second workman engaged with the plating.

the soldering. i.e. which attaches the plating to the core of the image.

fastened it. i.e. to its pedestal (cf. xl. 19, note).

8—20. A consolatory address to Israel, assuring it of success over all its enemies and relief from all its wants.

At the end of *v.* 7 the trial begun in *v.* 1 is interrupted and not resumed till *v.* 21. The dislocation caused by the position of *vv.* 8—20 in the middle of the debate with the idol-gods (for *vv.* 1—7 and 21—28 are manifestly intended to be consecutive) is so violent that the section must be regarded as misplaced. Its proper position is presumably at the end of the chapter.

the seed of Abraham my friend; 9 thou whom I have taken hold
of from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the corners

8. *my servant.* This term, naturally applicable to any person from whom the Lord, as the universal Ruler, requires service, is used not only of individual Hebrews like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Gen. xxvi. 24, Deut. ix. 27), Moses (Num. xii. 7, Deut. xxxiv. 5), Caleb (Num. xiv. 24), Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 29), David (2 Sam. vii. 8, Ps. lxxviii. 70, lxxxix. 3), Eliakim (Is. xxii. 20), Zerubbabel (Hag. ii. 23), the prophets generally (Am. iii. 7, 2 Kgs. ix. 7, Jer. vii. 25, xxv. 4), and the Messiah (Zech. iii. 8), but likewise of foreigners like Job (i. 8, ii. 3) and Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. xxv. 9, xxvii. 6). It is also employed in a collective sense of Israel as a people, and is thus used by Jeremiah (xxx. 10, xlvi. 27) and in Ps. cxxxvi. 22 (cf. Luke i. 54)[1]; but in this sense it is particularly characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah. The idea here conveyed by it is that Israel is the Lord's witness and messenger (xlii. 19), designed to make known among the heathen His superiority over other gods (xliii. 10, lv. 4): and so to bring them into allegiance to Him (xlv. 14, 24, lv. 5). In the qualities expected of it in this capacity Israel is, in these cc., for the most part described as sadly deficient (xlii. 19, 20, xliii. 8); but in certain passages, usually known as the Servant Songs, it is depicted so differently that it seems impossible for the conflicting representations to proceed from the same author (see on xlii. 1—4).

whom...chosen. By the Lord's *choosing* Israel, a term frequent in Deutero-Isaiah, but found also in Ezek. xx. 5, Deut. iv. 37, Ps. cv. 6, cvi. 5, the prophetic writers express the preferential relations with the Almighty to which they believed their race had been admitted (as manifested, for example, by its possession of a religious faith superior to that of other nations, Deut. iv. 7, 8). No reason is given by them for God's seemingly arbitrary choice of Israel as the object of His love (xliii. 4, cf. Mal. i. 2, 3), but though the difficulty occasioned by this unequal treatment is not completely solved, the gravity of it is greatly lightened by the consideration, developed elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah, that the privileges conferred upon a few are entrusted to them for the eventual good of all (cf. p. lxii). The same consideration is of value in connection with the similar problem raised by the superior intellectual endowment of certain peoples, races, and individuals above the rest.

the seed of...friend. Cf. Ps. cv. 6. The title *my friend* (literally, *my lover*) which is here applied to Abraham is reproduced in 2 Ch. xx. 7, James ii. 23, and the Vulg. of Judith viii. 22 (*Abraham...per multas tribulationes probatus, Dei amicus effectus est*), and appears likewise in the Koran (Sura iv.).

9. *whom I have taken,* etc. What the Lord had done for Israel in the past was an earnest of what He would do for it in the future.

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[1] In Ezek. xxviii. 25, xxxvii. 25 the words *my servant Jacob* seem to designate the patriarch, not the nation.

thereof, and said unto thee, Thou art my servant, I have chosen
thee and not cast thee away; 10 fear thou not, for I am with thee;
[1]be not dismayed, for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee;
yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right
hand of my righteousness. 11 Behold, all they that are incensed
against thee shall be ashamed and confounded: they that strive
with thee shall be as nothing, and shall perish. 12 Thou shalt
seek them, and shalt not find them, even them that contend
with thee: they that war against thee shall be as nothing, and
as a thing of nought. 13 For I the LORD thy God will hold thy
right hand, saying unto thee, Fear not; I will help thee.
14 Fear not, thou worm Jacob, and ye men of Israel; I will
help thee, saith the LORD, and [2]thy redeemer is the Holy One of
Israel. 15 Behold, I will make thee a new sharp threshing

[1] Or, *look not around thee* [2] Or, *thy redeemer, the Holy One &c.*

The event referred to is probably not the Exodus of the nation from Egypt, but the call of its ancestor from Ur (Gen. xi. 31) or Mesopotamia (Gen. xii. 4). These places, though near Babylon, where Israel now was, are described as *the ends of the earth*, because viewed in thought from Palestine, the nation's home; cf. on *v.* 26.

10. *be not dismayed.* More literally, *look not* despairingly *around* (cf. *v.* 23): see xl. 27.

will strengthen thee. Perhaps, *will secure thee for myself;* cf. xliv. 14, Ps. lxxx. 15 (Heb.).

the right hand of my righteousness. Better, either *my faithful right hand* or *my vindicating* (or *victorious*) *right hand*: cf. *v.* 2.

11. *ashamed.* Better, *disappointed* (and so in xlv. 16, 17, liv. 4).

14. *thou worm.* A figure for humiliation and degradation (Ps. xxii. 6, Job xxv. 6).

ye men of Israel. The parallelism requires a synonym for *worm*; and a plausible emendation is *thou wormlet Israel* (reading רִמָּת for מְתֵי): cf. xiv. 11, Job xxv. 6.

thy redeemer. The original term (*Goel*) denotes the next-of-kin whose duty and right it was to redeem a fellow-kinsman's person or property, if either had been sold (Lev. xxv. 25, Ruth iii. 12, 13, iv. 4, 6), or to avenge his death, if he had been the victim of violence (Num. xxxv. 12, 19, cf. 2 Sam. iv. 11). The equivalent of this tie the Lord recognized as subsisting between Himself and Israel, and claimed the consequent right of avenging the nation's wrongs (cf. Ex. xv. 13).

the Holy One of Israel. See on i. 4. This is one of the few characteristic phrases of Isaiah that are common in Deutero-Isaiah (see *vv.* 16, 20, xliii. 3, 14, xlv. 11, xlvii. 4, xlviii. 17, etc.).

15. *sharp.* The word so rendered is itself used for *threshing instrument* (or *sledge*) in xxviii. 27, and is perhaps here a gloss.

instrument having teeth: thou shalt thresh the mountains, and
beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff. 16 Thou
shalt fan them, and the wind shall carry them away, and the
whirlwind shall scatter them: and thou shalt rejoice in the
LORD, thou shalt glory in the Holy One of Israel. 17 The poor
and needy seek water and there is none, and their tongue
faileth for thirst; I the LORD will answer them, I the God of
Israel will not forsake them. 18 I will open rivers on the bare
heights, and fountains in the midst of the valleys: I will make
the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of
water. 19 I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia
tree, and the myrtle, and the [1]oil tree; I will set in the desert
the fir tree, the [2]pine, and the [3]box tree together: 20 that
they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together,
that the hand of the LORD hath done this, and the Holy One
of Israel hath created it.

21 Produce your cause, saith the LORD; bring forth your

[1] Or, *oleaster* [2] Or, *plane* [3] Or, *cypress*

the mountains. Probably symbols for formidable foes (who are the objects of *threshing* in Mic. iv. 13).

Since in *vv.* 15, 16 Israel is described as being itself the destroyer of all that opposes or obstructs it, whereas elsewhere in these cc. it owes its deliverance to others, Marti thinks that *vv.* 11—16 proceed from another writer than Deutero-Isaiah.

17. *The poor and needy.* Expressions designating the Jewish community; see Ps. lxxiv. 21, Hab. iii. 14.

18. *I will open rivers.* Similar promises occur in xliii. 19, 20, xlviii. 21, xlix. 10, lv. 13.

19. *I will plant*, etc. Of the trees, planted to shade the travellers, the *oil tree* is taken by some (see mg.) for the oleaster or wild olive (cf. Neh. viii. 15), but is more probably a resinous tree like the pine. The *fir* (so Vulg.), according to some, should be the *cypress* (so Sym.; cf. lx. 13 LXX.). What is here called the *pine* (so LXX. in lx. 13) is probably the plane (see mg.) though Sym. has πτελέα and Vulg. has *ulmus*; whilst *the box tree* (Vulg.) may be the sherbin-tree, a variety of cypress (cf. mg.).

20. *that they*, etc. The pronoun seems to refer to men in general, who, from beholding the transformation of the wilderness just described, will come to understand better the character and power of Israel's God, see lv. 13.

21—29. The Lord's challenge to the idol-gods to substantiate their claims to divinity by predictions like His own respecting Cyrus (see p. lxi).

strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. 22 Let them bring them forth, and declare unto us what shall happen: declare ye the former things, what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or shew us things for to come. 23 Declare the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may [1]be dismayed, and behold it together. 24 Behold, ye

[1] Or, *look one upon another*

The trial scene, introduced in *vv.* 1—7, and interrupted by the intrusion of *vv.* 8—20, is here resumed.

21. *Produce.* The challenge is addressed to the idols (but see next note).

bring forth...reasons. i.e. to prove that you are not nonentities. Grätz, assuming that the idol-worshippers are addressed, emends the text to *bring forth your idols* (עַצְבוֹתֵיכֶם for עֲצֻמוֹתֵיכֶם).

the King of Jacob. The appellation distinguishes the Lord from the gods of the heathen who were also entitled kings (viii. 21, Am. v. 26).

22. *Let them...forth.* This must be addressed to the idol-worshippers, but the LXX. and Vulg. have *Let them* (the idol-gods) *approach* (יִגְּשׁוּ for יַגִּישׁוּ), which is preferable.

declare unto us, etc. True predictions (made through their prophets) would be evidence for the reality of the Babylonian gods, because only from beings controlling events could foreknowledge of them be derived. On the other hand, though isolated predictions which the events falsified might only discredit the prophets who uttered them (see Deut. xviii. 22), complete failure to predict the future correctly would discredit the gods themselves.

the former things. Instances of past predictions, with which the actual sequel (*the latter end of them*) could be compared. But the balance of the clauses is greatly improved if (with Duhm and others) the words (*that we may*) *know the latter end of them* are placed at the end of the verse.

things for to come. i.e. predictions concerning what is still future, which time will verify or disprove. By the plur. pron. *us* and *we* (see *vv.* 23, 26) the Lord probably associates with Himself His people who are present as His witnesses (see xliii. 9, 10).

23. *do good*, etc. If the idol-gods shrink from the test proposed, they may select their own conditions, so long as they do something to shew that they are alive (cf. Jer. x. 5).

may be dismayed. Better (cf. mg.), *may look around on one another* in astonishment: LXX. θαυμασόμεθα.

24. *Behold*, etc. After *v.* 23 it must be assumed that there is a pause whilst an answer is awaited. But the idols are silent and motionless, and the conclusion here drawn is inevitable. In reality, no doubt, the oracles and prophets of Babylon, like those of Greece and Rome, could

are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he that chooseth you.

25 I have raised up one from the north, and he is come; from the rising of the sun one that calleth upon my name: and he shall come upon [1]rulers as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay. 26 Who hath declared it from the beginning, that we may know? and beforetime, that we may say, *He is*

[1] Or, *deputies*

have cited many coincidences between their predictions and the ensuing events[1].

your work. i.e. your achievements. The rendering *nought* is a necessary correction (based on xl. 17, xli. 12, 29 and confirmed by the Vulg.) of the Heb., which contains a scribal error.

an abomination, etc. i.e. an object of abhorrence is he who chooses you for worship (Jud. v. 8, x. 14).

25. *I have raised,* etc. A reiteration of the assertion of *vv.* 2—4 that it was the Lord who was the Author of Cyrus' successful career; to which is now added (*vv.* 26, 27) the proof supplied by the prior prediction of it.

the north...the rising of the sun. A designation of the N.E., the direction in which Media lay relatively to Babylon.

that calleth, etc. Better, *that will call upon* (i.e. worship, lxiv. 7, Gen. iv. 26), or perhaps *that will proclaim* (i.e. make known, Ex. xxxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5) *my name.* The passage is an anticipation that Cyrus will eventually acknowledge the Lord as the Author of his success, not (as the R.V. implies) a statement that he, as king of a nation which (like the Jews) did not worship images, is already a genuine, even though an unconscious, worshipper of the true God (see xlv. 4, 5). There is not sufficient evidence, notwithstanding Ezra i. 2 (= 2 Ch. xxxvi. 23), that Cyrus ever worshipped the Lord (as here foretold), and in his own inscriptions he attributes his success over Babylon to the Babylonian gods Nabu (Nebo) and Marduk (Merodach); but by the Hebrews the restoration of the Israelite exiles, which rendered feasible the re-building of the Temple, might be regarded as an act of homage satisfying the present prediction. It is possible, however, that the text is at fault: the parallelism is improved by the emendation *I call him by his name* (אֶקְרָא בִשְׁמוֹ for יִקְרָא בִשְׁמִי); cf. xlv. 4, xlviii. 15.

come upon. Many critics adopt the conjecture *trample upon* (יָבֹס for יָבֹא) as affording a better parallel to *treadeth*; cf. xiv. 25, lxiii. 6.

rulers. The original word (said to be an Assyrian loan-word) only occurs elsewhere in exilic and post-exilic writings (Jer. li. 23, Ezra ix. 2, Neh. ii. 16, etc.), and so supports an exilic date for these cc.

26. *the beginning.* i.e. of Cyrus' advance (xlviii. 16).

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[1] For Greek oracles verified by the event see Hdt. I. 46—48, 52, 53, VII. 178, 188, 189, VIII. 36, 37.

righteous? yea, there is none that declareth, yea, there is none that sheweth, yea, there is none that heareth your words. 27 *I* first *will say* unto Zion, Behold, behold them; and I will give to Jerusalem one that bringeth good tidings. 28 And when I look, there is no man; even among them there is no counsellor, that, when I ask of them, can answer a word. 29 [1]Behold, all of them, their works are vanity *and* nought: their molten images are wind and confusion.

[1] Or, *Behold, they are all vanity; their works are nought*

He is *righteous*. Better, *He* (or *It*) *is correct*, LXX. ὅτι ἀληθῆ ἐστιν.

27. I *first*, etc. The sentence in the original is defective, and it is doubtful whether the tenor of it is *Beforehand* (literally, *As a first one*) *to Zion I declared*, or *A precursor* (literally, *A first one*) *to Zion I sent*. The latter suits best the parallel clause, and is favoured by the LXX. There is a reference to xl. 9.

Behold, etc. i.e. the approaching train of returning exiles; cf. xlix. 18. Some critics think the words conceal the missing verb of the preceding clause, and substitute *I declared it* (הִגַּדְתִּיהָ or הִגַּדְתִּים for הִנֵּה הֵנָּם).

I will give. Better, *I give*.

28. *And when I look*. The Lord, as it were, gives a final glance round to see whether there is any among the idol-gods who will dispute His conclusion (*v.* 26) and furnish evidence of prophetic power. But Duhm would read, *But as for them* (וְאֵלֶּה for וְאֶרֶא).

counsellor. i.e. predicter; cf. the meaning of *counsel* (i.e. prediction) in xliv. 26 and the corresponding verb in Num. xxiv. 14.

29. *all of them*, etc. Better (cf. mg.), *all of them are vanity* (or by the substitution of אין for און, *nothing*), *their works* (i.e. their activities and achievements) *are nought*: cf. *v.* 24.

their molten images. The possessive pronoun refers to the makers and worshippers of the idols. For *wind* as a symbol of nothingness cf. Job vii. 7, Eccles. i. 14, 17. *Confusion* is literally *wasteness* or *emptiness*, see xl. 17 and cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21.

Chapter XLII. 1—4.

This section describes a mission to the heathen with which the Lord's Servant is entrusted, his methods of working, and his constancy of purpose. It is written in three symmetrical quatrains, and constitutes the first of the passages already alluded to (p. 262) as the Servant Songs, the others being xlix. 1—6, l. 4—9, lii. 13—liii. 12. These differ from the rest of the prophecy partly in their style, which is less impetuous than that of the rest of cc. xl.—lv., and partly in their contents. Elsewhere in this prophecy the Servant is portrayed as expected by the Lord to witness before the world to His Divine

power (xliii. 10), but as failing to understand and promote the Divine purposes (xlii. 18—20), as having incurred suffering by sinning (xlii. 24, 25, xliii. 25, xlvii. 6, l. 1), as complaining under tribulation (xl. 27, xlix. 14), as owing his approaching redemption to the Lord's spontaneous mercy (xliii. 25, xliv. 27), and as meriting compensation only because his guilt has been exceeded by his punishment (xl. 2, xlvii. 6). But in these poems, wherein he appears as expressly commissioned to acquaint the heathen with the religion of the Lord (xlii. 1—4, xlix. 6), he is depicted as resolute in the discharge of his duty (xlii. 4, xlix. 4), as obedient to the Divine will even at the cost of many indignities (l. 5—7), as patiently submitting to affliction and persecution though innocent of wrong (liii. 7—9), as expiating by his undeserved sufferings, which end in death, the offences of others (liii. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12), and as being rewarded by a renewal of life and by the success of his mission (liii. 10). Since the Servant seems to designate the actual nation of Israel in the Songs just as in the rest of cc. xl.—lv. (his death and revival representing the nation's political extinction and subsequent restoration), it is probable that the Songs (which in their respective contexts begin abruptly) are insertions in the prophecy, since it is unnatural that two such dissimilar conceptions of Israel's character and bearing should originate with the same author. The insertion of them, however, seems to have been effected by Deutero-Isaiah himself, who in two instances appears to have expanded them (see on xlii. 5–9, xlix. 7–13). For alternative views see on p. 345.

XLII. 1 Behold my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen,
in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him;
he shall bring forth judgement to the [1]Gentiles. 2 He shall

[1] Or, *nations* (and elsewhere)

XLII. 1. *Behold my servant*, etc. The LXX. here explicitly identifies the Servant with Israel (cf. xlix. 3) by inserting *Jacob* before *my servant* and *Israel* before *my chosen*.

whom I uphold; my chosen. Both expressions are used of historic Israel, the former in xli. 10 (though the construction differs), the latter in xliii. 20, xlv. 4.

in...delighteth. Cf. Ps. cxlvii. 11, Prov. iii. 12. The *soul*, in Heb., denotes the seat of the higher affections as well as the lower appetites (xxix. 8).

I have put my spirit, etc. Cf. xliv. 3 (of Israel). It was through the bestowal of the spirit of the Lord that both individuals and nations were empowered to undertake duties or achieve enterprises beyond ordinary capacity (see on xi. 2). It is with the qualifications of a religious teacher that Israel is here represented as endued; cf. l. 4.

judgement. The word, here and in *vv.* 3, 4, li. 4, lvi. 1, is the same as that which in lviii. 2, Jer. viii. 7 is rendered by *ordinance.* It is a collective expression for the Divine requirements both ceremonial (2 Kgs. xvii. 26, 27) and moral (Jer. v. 4); and so is practically equivalent to the religion of JEHOVAH. It was the destiny of Israel to be the channel of the Divine revelation, which, hitherto confined within

not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street.
3 A bruised reed shall he not break, and the [1]smoking flax shall
he not quench: he shall bring forth judgement in truth. 4 He
shall not [2]fail nor be [3]discouraged, till he have set judgement
in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law.

[1] Or, *dimly burning wick* [2] Or, *burn dimly* [3] Or, *bruised*

the limits of a small people, was to be disseminated amongst the Gentiles (see xlix. 6, li. 4 (cf. ii. 2—4)). For the diffusion of a knowledge of the true God Israel had been designed and equipped from the first (xlix. 1, 2), but with the exile all prospect of success seemed to be cut short (see on xlix. 4); and it was only after its marvellous rescue therefrom that its influence could begin to prevail (xlix. 7, lii. 15, liii. 10—12).

2. *He shall not cry.* The command is a prohibition of excited efforts to win adherents or proselytes[1]. Israel, in its endeavour to convert the Gentiles, must not emulate the procedure of its own prophets when working amongst their countrymen (see lviii. 1 and cf. Isaiah's conduct, viii. 1, xx. 2): its methods must be gentle and unobtrusive, as befitted its situation in the midst of powerful heathen peoples; and the knowledge of the Lord which it is designed to spread is to penetrate the world quietly (cf. the description of Israel's influence amongst the nations in Mic. v. 7).

lift up. i.e. his voice (*v.* 11, iii. 7, Num. xiv. 1, Job xxi. 12).

3. *A bruised reed,* etc. Better, *A broken reed he shall not break off, and a flickering* (or *dimly burning*) *wick he shall not quench.* The expression *not break off...not quench* is probably a litotes. The faint elements of faith and goodness in the heathen world, almost extinct through the prevalence of idolatry and wickedness (and so likened to a broken reed and an expiring taper), are not to be discouraged by a rigid and exacting temper, but to be revived by a gentle and conciliatory attitude. For this aspect of the Servant's work see l. 4; cf. the conduct of Elisha towards the Syrian Naaman (2 Kgs. v. 18, 19) and of St Paul at Athens (Acts xvii. 23 f.).

he shall bring forth, etc. This clause belongs to *v.* 4, being the first line of the third quatrain.

in truth. i.e. faithfully (x. 20, xlviii. 1). But the LXX. has εἰς ἀλήθειαν, i.e. *unto stability* (cf. the meaning of *truth* in xxxix. 8).

4. *shall not fail,* etc. Better, *shall not flicker nor break* (reading יִרוּץ, cf. Ezek. xxix. 7). The expressions are chosen with reference to those used in *v.* 3: there will be no flagging in Israel's resolution as in the struggling efforts of heathendom.

set judgement, etc. i.e. establish everywhere the practice of true religion.

the isles, etc. Better, *the coastlands shall wait for* (expect hopefully) *his instruction* (ii. 3). It is implied that the heathen peoples are ripe

[1] Cf. our Lord's condemnation of the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 15).

for Israel's teaching, partly because of dissatisfaction with their own religious condition, and partly (as will appear later) because of what Israel's wonderful experiences will have revealed of the character and power of its God. The passage is quoted in Matt. xii. 18—21 in connection with our Lord's desire to avoid publicity[1], when engaged in His works of healing.

XLII. 5—25.

The remainder of the c., in which the thread of the prophecy, broken by the introduction of the Song, is recovered, consists of affirmations of what the Lord intends to do with and for His people (*vv.* 5—17), followed by a lament over their spiritual insensibility (*vv.* 18—25).

5 Thus saith God the LORD, he that created the heavens, and stretched them forth; he that spread abroad the earth and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people

5—9. A re-statement of Israel's vocation, which the Lord purposes to promote by effecting its release from captivity.

These *vv.*, in which the Lord addresses Israel, re-affirm Israel's mission to the Gentiles, but add a reference to the approaching deliverance from Babylon, to which there is no allusion in the preceding Song. They are in the manner of Deutero-Isaiah, and are probably a comment by him upon the Song which he has incorporated as being calculated to encourage the people with the thought of having a noble destiny to fulfil. But Cheyne, who considers that the Songs were inserted by an editor, holds that *vv.* 5—7 were composed by him as a link to connect the inserted song with its framework, and that the original prophecy is not resumed till *v.* 8 (with which cf. xli. 26—29).

5. *that created*, etc. The Lord's creative power (described in similar terms in xlv. 12, 18, xlviii. 13, li. 13) is recalled in order to encourage belief in His ability to fulfil all His promises (cf. on xl. 12—26).

spread abroad. The verb means "to stamp, beat firm," see Ex. xxxix. 3, Num. xvi. 39 (= xvii. 4, Heb.): cf. Driver on Gen. i. 6.

that which...of it. i.e. plant and animal life (xxxiv. 1). The term used recurs in xliv. 3, xlviii. 19, lxi. 9, lxv. 23. As the text stands, the verb *spread forth* can apply to this object only by a violent zeugma; possibly an appropriate verb (such as *bringeth forth*, Ps. civ. 14) has been accidentally lost.

the people. i.e. mankind in general (xl. 7), who, for God's gracious purposes, are one people.

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[1] The citation in *v.* 1 omits (with the Heb.) the names *Jacob* and *Israel*; in the last clause of *v.* 3 it has *till he send forth judgment unto victory*, implying the Aramaic לְנִצָּח for לֶאֱמֶת; and, omitting the first half of *v.* 4, renders the last (with the LXX.) *in his name shall the Gentiles hope.*

upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein: 6 I the LORD have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will [1]keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles; 7 to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out

[1] Or, *form*

6. *have called...will hold.* Similar expressions are used in connection with the historic Israel in xli. 9.

in righteousness. i.e. with fixity of purpose; the end for which Israel was designed from the first will be pursued unalterably: cf. the sense of *righteousness* in xlv. 13, and perhaps xli. 2, and see Rom. xi. 29.

keep thee. The original is ambiguous and may mean either *preserve thee* (xlix. 8, xxvi. 3) or *form thee* (xliv. 21, xlix. 5). If the latter be adopted, it goes closely with the following verb—*will constitute and render thee a covenant*, etc. The Vulg. makes all the verbs in the *v.* perfects (*vocavi...apprehendi...servavi...dedi*), probably correctly, cf. the tenses in xlix. 2.

a covenant of the people. i.e. an agency to bring mankind into covenant with the Lord: cf. xlix. 8. *The people* denotes collective humanity (as in *v.* 5, xl. 7), and Israel is styled *a covenant* of mankind (instead of being termed a messenger, or mediator, of such a covenant) in the same way as it is styled *a light* of the Gentiles, as being the effective agency whereby the heathen peoples are to be brought into fellowship with the true God and receive spiritual illumination (cf. parallel expressions in xlix. 6, Mic. v. 5, Joh. xi. 25). But Giesebrecht explains the phrase to mean *a confederation of people*, i.e. Israel, now scattered in exile, will, by the approaching release from it, once more become united.

7. *to open...to bring out.* The R.V. appears to distinguish between the Servant and Israel (cf. xlix. 5, 6) and to represent the former as the means of liberating the latter. But since the Servant and Israel are probably identical, it is necessary to render *by opening...by bringing out* (for the construction cf. xxxvii. 11, Gen. xxxiv. 7)[1]. The proceedings are those of the Lord (Whose activity is emphasized in *vv.* 5, 6) and directed to the promotion of Israel's task of enlightening the Gentiles. The wonderful release of the Jews from exile was calculated to attract the attention of the heathen to the God Who so mightily intervened on behalf of His people, and their restoration to comparative independence would enable them to become a centre of religious influence. The words *blind eyes* mean eyes prevented from seeing by the darkness of imprisonment (cf. xlix. 9).

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[1] Cf. the parallel use of the infinitive in Acts xv. 10, *τί πειράζετε τὸν θεὸν, ἐπιθεῖναι* (=by imposing) *ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθητῶν;*

of the prison house. 8 I am the LORD; that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, neither my praise unto graven images. 9 Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them.

10 Sing unto the LORD a new song, and his praise from the end of the earth; ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein, the isles, and the inhabitants thereof. 11 Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up *their voice*, the villages that Kedar doth inhabit; let the inhabitants of [1]Sela sing, let

[1] See ch. xvi. 1.

8. *I am the LORD.* Better (after the LXX.), *I am JEHOVAH the* (sole) *God.*

my glory...my praise. The expressions allude to the distinction of being universally acknowledged as the only God, a distinction which will accrue from the fulfilment of the prediction just made (*v.* 7) of Israel's restoration.

9. *the former things.* i.e. probably earlier prophecies (like those of Jeremiah xxx. 3, xxxi. 4 f.) which had portended, without explicitly predicting, the success of Cyrus, and which had been verified by the event. Contrasted with them are *new things*, i.e. fresh predictions respecting the future and destined to be fulfilled with equal certainty.

spring forth. The expression is common in cc. xl.—lxvi. in connection with conditions or events coming into existence (xliii. 19, xlv. 8, lviii. 8, lxi. 11).

10—17. A song in praise of the Lord for championing His people, and a declaration from Him of His purpose to guide and safeguard them.

10. *a new song.* The phrase is perhaps suggested by the *new things* which are to be celebrated, though the expression is a common one (Ps. xxxiii. 3, xl. 3, xcvi. 1, etc., and cf. Rev. v. 9, xiv. 3).

ye that...sea. The combination of this phrase (for which cf. Ps. cvii. 23) with the next (which is literally *its fulness*) has seemed to some critics so harsh that it has been proposed to read instead, *let the sea roar and all that is therein* (יִרְעַם for יוֹרְדֵי); cf. Ps. xcvi. 11, xcviii. 7.

11. *the wilderness.* The expression represents the inland regions, as contrasted with the seaboard, or stands for the eastern peoples as the *isles* (*v.* 10) for the western (cf. Jer. ii. 10).

the cities thereof. i.e. those which were built at the oases of the desert and along the trade routes (such as Tadmor, 2 Ch. viii. 4). Cheyne substitutes *the steppe* (עֲרָבָה for עָרָיו), after Klostermann. Instead of *lift up* (their voice), for which cf. *v.* 2, iii. 7, the LXX. has *rejoice* (יָשִׂישׂוּ for יִשְׂאוּ).

Kedar. See on xxi. 16. The *villages* are perhaps merely temporary habitations (cf. Gen. xxv. 16 of the Ishmaelites), since elsewhere the tribe is described as nomadic (Ps. cxx. 5, Cant. i. 5).

them shout from the top of the mountains. 12 Let them give glory unto the LORD, and declare his praise in the islands. 13 The LORD shall go forth as a mighty man; he shall stir up [1]jealousy like a man of war: he shall cry, yea, he shall shout aloud; he shall do mightily against his enemies. 14 I have long time holden my peace; I have been still, and refrained myself: *now* will I cry out like a travailing woman; I will [2]gasp and pant together. 15 I will make waste mountains and hills, and dry up all their herbs; and I will make the rivers islands, and will dry up the pools. 16 And I will bring the

[1] Or, *zeal* [2] Or, *destroy and devour*

Sela. i.e. Petra, the capital of Edom (xvi. 1, 2 Kgs. xiv. 7). But the word literally means *rock*, and the rendering *inhabitants of rocky fastnesses* affords a somewhat better parallel to the next clause; cf. Jer. xlix. 16.

12. This *v.* is rejected by Duhm and Cheyne as duplicating the thought of *v.* 10[b], of which it may be a variant or an illustration.

13. *shall go forth.* i.e. on a campaign (cf. 2 Sam. v. 24). For the comparison of the Lord to a warrior see xl. 10, lix. 17, lxiii. 1 f., Ex. xv. 3, Zech. ix. 13, 14, xiv. 3, Ps. xxxv. 1 f., lxxviii. 66.

jealousy. Better, *ardour*; cf. lix. 17, lxiii. 15.

cry...shout. i.e. raise His war-cry. For the shouting of warriors cf. Ex. xxxii. 17, 18, 1 Sam. xvii. 52, 2 Ch. xiii. 15.

14. The Lord is again the speaker, as in *v.* 9; but the thought of *v.* 13 is continued.

holden my peace. i.e. abstained from action on Israel's behalf (cf. lxii. 1, lxiv. 12, Ps. xxviii. 1, Hab. i. 13). The *long time* probably refers to the Exile, the length of which (really only 50 or 60 years) the Lord in His sympathy magnifies (cf. xl. 2); though some think it describes the interval of more than 150 years that had elapsed since the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 (cf. lii. 4). The LXX. and O.L. have *I have holden my peace; shall I be still and refrain myself for ever?* (reading הַלְעוֹלָם for מֵעוֹלָם).

cry out. i.e. in distress for His people's state.

gasp...pant. i.e. in the excitement of conflict (*v.* 13).

The anthropopathic language in this *v.* expresses crudely the truth that in Divine, as in human, personality, feeling, as well as thought and will, must be an element; and is designed to represent the Lord's sympathy with His people and His longing to help them.

15. *I will make waste.* The country traversed by the Divine warrior is thought of as blasted by His rage (cf. xl. 24).

rivers. Probably the streams and canals of Babylonia.

islands. If the text is sound, the word must here be equivalent to dry ground; but a plausible conjecture is *dry places* (צִיּוֹת for אִיִּים).

blind by a way that they know not; in paths that they know
not will I lead them: I will make darkness light before them,
and crooked places straight. These things will I do, [1]and I
will not forsake them. 17 They shall be turned back, they
shall be greatly ashamed, that trust in graven images, that say
unto molten images, Ye are our gods.

18 Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see.
19 Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger
that I send? who is blind as he that is [2]at peace *with me*, and

[1] Or, *and will not forbear* [2] Or, *made perfect* Or, *recompensed*

16. *the blind.* i.e. the exiles (cf. *v.* 7), who, though possessed of sight, could not, in their ignorance of the road, see to any purpose if left to themselves.

darkness. A description of the desert where no path could be traced; cf. Jer. ii. 6, 31, Job xxx. 3.

crooked places straight. Better, *rugged ground a plateau*, cf. xl. 4.

will not forsake them. Perhaps better, *will not leave these things undone* (cf. Gen. xxiv. 27, Ruth ii. 20, Ezra ix. 10).

17. *turned back.* i.e. put to shame (Ps. xxxv. 4, xl. 14, Jer. xlvi. 5), in consequence of the inferiority of their deities to the Lord, the champion of Israel.

18—25. A complaint over the insensibility which Israel has hitherto shewn to the lessons of its experience.

The passage is a remonstrance to Israel for having failed to understand and profit by the educative process which the Lord had pursued with it. It had not realized its vocation, or profited by the sufferings it had incurred.

18. *ye deaf...ye blind.* The terms do not here describe the solitude and darkness of imprisonment (as in *v.* 7), but moral and spiritual obtuseness (cf. xliii. 8). Israel is exhorted to discern at last the significance of what had befallen it.

19. *but my servant...messenger.* Israel had a mission to discharge for the Lord, viz. to be His witness before the world (xliii. 10), but it had been faithless to its duties and unresponsive to correction.

he that is at peace, etc. i.e. admitted to friendship with me (cf. xliii. 4). This, however, seems to require מְשֻׁלָּם (Job v. 23) or שׁוֹלְמִי (Ps. vii. 4) for מְשֻׁלָּם; and the text, as pointed, perhaps means (as in the mg.) *he that is recompensed* (cf. Prov. xi. 31), i.e. one whose service has been fully requited and from whom faithfulness might accordingly be expected. Sym. has ὁ τέλειος (cf. mg.). The LXX., which is briefer than the Heb., and which has *my servants*[1] instead of *my servant*, may have read the word as *their rulers* (מֹשְׁלִים or מֹשְׁלֵיהֶם).

[1] The Old Latin (*ap.* Cyprian) has *servi Dei*, probably implying the same reading. In the Heb. text of Deutero-Isaiah, the plur. *servants* only occurs in liv. 17, but see xliv. 26 (note).

blind as the LORD'S servant? 20 Thou seest many things, but
thou observest not; his ears are open, but he heareth not.
21 It pleased the LORD, for his righteousness' sake, to [1]magnify
the law, and make it honourable. 22 But this is a people
robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and
they are hid in prison houses: they are for a prey, and none
delivereth; for a spoil, and none saith, Restore. 23 Who is
there among you that will give ear to this? that will hearken
and hear for the time to come? 24 Who gave Jacob for a spoil,
and Israel to the robbers? did not the LORD? he against whom
we have sinned, and in whose ways they would not walk, neither
were they obedient unto his [2]law. 25 Therefore he poured

[1] Or, *make the teaching great and glorious* [2] Or, *teaching*

blind as...servant. Probably an accidental error for *deaf as the Lord's servant* (Sym. καὶ κωφὸς ὡς ὁ δοῦλος κυρίου). The *v.* interrupts the direct address to Israel, and is regarded by Marti as a gloss.

20. *many things.* i.e. the wonderful experiences of Hebrew history, the import of which had not been understood; cf. Deut. iv. 32, v. 26, Ps. cv. 5.

his ears are open. Israel had faculties for receiving Divine instruction (as imparted through the prophets) but did not use them. For the change of person cf. xxii. 16 (though see note), lii. 14.

21. *for his righteousness' sake.* i.e. in pursuance of a consistent purpose (cf. *v.* 6, xli. 2).

to magnify, etc. Better (cf. mg.), *to magnify and glorify the instruction* (i.e. the Divine self-revelation). The blessings attendant upon a knowledge of the Lord Israel was designed to illustrate, and thereby attract the heathen world to Him.

22. *But this is*, etc. The Lord's purpose had not been promoted by Israel, which had been intractable and was now suffering the penalties of disobedience. By *holes* are meant dungeons; but this description is rhetorical, for the exiles in general seem to have enjoyed considerable liberty (cf. Jer. xxix. 5 f.).

24. *for a spoil.* Duhm and others, in the interest of the parallelism, substitute *to the spoiler* (לְמִשּׁוֹסָה for the Heb. mg. לְמִשֻּׁסָה).

did not the LORD, etc. These words (to the end of the *v.*) in which the people are abruptly introduced as speaking, and which supply an unnecessary answer to the preceding rhetorical question, are regarded by Duhm and Cheyne as an insertion. The syntax presents some indication of a late origin. In place of *we have sinned* (the writer including himself among the erring people as in lix. 9, lxiii. 7) the LXX. has *they sinned*, and preserves the 3rd plur. throughout *v.* 25.

25. *Therefore he poured.* Better, *and poured*, etc. (probably part of the question in *v.* 24[a]).

upon him the fury of his anger, and the strength of battle; and it set him on fire round about, yet he knew not; and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart.

the strength of battle. Better, *the violence of war*, which is likened to a fire (cf. ix. 19, x. 16).

yet he knew not. The nation did not recognize, as it was meant to do, that its calamities were a judgment upon it, and so the chastisement had not brought about the reformation desired.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The contents fall into four sections: (1) an assurance to Israel of the Lord's purpose to redeem it (*vv.* 1—7); (2) a re-assertion of the Lord's sole godhead by the appeal to prophecy (*vv.* 8—13); (3) a declaration of Babylon's approaching overthrow and of the exiles' safe passage to their homes (*vv.* 14—21); (4) a renewed expostulation with Israel for its sinfulness and ingratitude (*vv.* 22—28).

XLIII. 1 But now thus saith the LORD that created thee,
O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel: Fear not, for I
have redeemed thee; I have called thee by thy name, thou art
mine. 2 When thou passest through the waters, I will be with
thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee:

XLIII. 1—7. The Lord will redeem Israel because of His love for it, and will gather its dispersed members from all quarters of the world.

This opening section of the c. is closely connected with the final section of the preceding c. (xlii. 18—25). Israel's obduracy (it is implied) was not to be allowed permanently to frustrate the Lord's designs. Israel had been created for the purpose of manifesting to the world His glory, and the Lord would seek to bring about, by a signal act of redemption, the conditions which were essential for the achievement of this end.

1. *But now.* The expression introduces a contrast or turning-point; cf. xliv. 1, xlvii. 8, xlix. 5.

that created. The term must refer, not to the primal creation of mankind, but to the constitution of Israel as a nation. The fact that the Lord was the controller of its fortunes was an assurance that its calamities were not beyond His power to relieve.

called thee by thy name. To be called by name was to be singled out for some special honour, position, or function, see Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxiii. 12, 17, and cf. (below) xlv. 3, 4. *Thou art mine* expresses the thought of Ex. xix. 5, 6.

2. *waters...fire.* Figures for extreme dangers, as in Ps. xviii. 16,

when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned;
neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. 3 For I am the LORD
thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy saviour; I have given
Egypt as thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. 4 Since thou
hast been precious in my sight, [1]*and* honourable, and I have
loved thee; therefore will I give men for thee, and peoples for
thy life. 5 Fear not; for I am with thee: I will bring thy seed
from the east, and gather thee from the west; 6 I will say to
the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back; bring
my sons from far, and my daughters from the end of the earth;
7 every one that is called by my name, and whom I have created
for my glory; I have formed him; yea, I have made him.

[1] Or, *thou hast been honourable &c.*

xxxii. 6, xlii. 7, lxvi. 12, lxix. 1, 2, cxxiv. 4, Lam. iii. 54: cf. also Dan. iii. 27.

3. *Egypt as thy ransom*, etc. Egypt and the adjoining countries were regarded as exceptionally wealthy (xlv. 14), so that the fact that these are named as Israel's ransom attests the high value placed upon it by the Lord. But the thought prompting the utterance is probably not (as some have explained) that an indemnity was due to Cyrus for the loss involved in the emancipation of Israel, but that the conquering power (Persia) set in motion to release Israel by overthrowing Babylon would subjugate other nations also, which the Lord was ready to sacrifice. The conquest of Egypt, contemplated by Cyrus (Hdt. I. 153), was actually effected by his successor Cambyses (Hdt. III. 1 f.).

Ethiopia. Heb. *Cush* (see on xi. 11).

Seba. i.e. Meroë, between the Blue and White Niles, near Khartoum, though some place it on the W. coast of the Red Sea.

4. *men.* Literally, *man*, i.e. mankind at large (cf. Jer. xxxii. 20). If the text is sound, Israel to the Lord was worth more than the rest of humanity put together. But the parallelism is somewhat improved by Duhm's emendation *lands* (אֲדָמוֹת for אָדָם).

5. *from the east...west.* After the Fall of Jerusalem in 587 only a portion of its population was carried to Babylon; others dispersed to different parts of the world (see Jer. xliii. 7, xliv. 1, cf. Is. xi. 11, xlix. 12, Zech. viii. 7).

6. *my sons...daughters.* The terms accentuate the nearness and dearness of Israel to the Lord (see on i. 2): cf. 2 Cor. vi. 18.

7. *for my glory.* Israel was to promote the Divine glory both by the visible illustration which its deliverance would afford of God's power and grace, and by the knowledge which it possessed of His laws and which it was to be instrumental in diffusing: cf. xlv. 14, 22—24.

I have formed him, etc. The clause is part of the preceding relative sentence, and so better, *whom I have formed, yea, and made.*

8 Bring forth the blind people that have eyes, and the deaf
that have ears. 9 [1]Let all the nations be gathered together,
and let the peoples be assembled: who among them can declare
this, and shew us former things? let them bring their witnesses,
that they may be justified: [2]or let them hear, and say, It is
truth. 10 Ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, and my servant
whom I have chosen: that ye may know and believe me, and

[1] Or, *Gather yourselves together, all ye nations* [2] Or, *and that they may hear*

8—13. A renewal of the controversy with the idols, and a second assertion of the Lord's sole godhead, as evinced by His predictive powers which Israel could attest.

The section reproduces the trial scene of xli. 1—5 (7), 21—29; but here the Lord's speech is, in the main, addressed to Israel, not to the idols and their votaries.

8. *Bring forth.* i.e. produce my witnesses at the trial. The rendering assumes a slight correction of the original, which has *He has brought forth.*

the blind people. i.e. Israel (see xlii. 18—20). Though Israel lacked spiritual insight enough to understand all that its experiences were meant to teach it, it was capable of testifying whether it had witnessed the verification of the Lord's predictions or not, and so of furnishing evidence as to the reality of the Lord's foreknowledge.

9. *Let all,* etc. Better (by a change of points in the second clause), *All the nations are gathered together, and the peoples are assembled.*

among them. i.e. the idol-gods and the peoples who worship them.

this. Probably the prediction of Israel's restoration (*vv.* 1—7), which the idols cannot parallel. By *us* are meant the Lord and His people (xli. 22).

former things. Earlier predictions verified by the event (as in xli. 22).

be justified. i.e. corroborated and proved correct in their contention (cf. xli. 26).

or let them hear, etc. i.e. let them (the idols) listen to the evidence produced by the Lord and acknowledge its cogency. But a slight emendation (יַצְדִּיקוּ for יִצְדְּקוּ) gives a better text: (*let them bring their witnesses*) *that they* (the witnesses) *may justify them, and may hear and say* (in regard to their claim), *It is true* (cf. Job xxvii. 5).

10. *Ye are my witnesses.* The idols can produce no witnesses in support of their claim to prophetic powers, but the Lord can appeal to Israel (xliv. 8).

and my servant. The words constitute a second predicate (not a second subject): "ye are my witnesses and ye are my servant, qualified to render this and similar service." But Duhm and others would read the plural (עֲבָדַי for עַבְדִּי), perhaps correctly; cf. on xliv. 26.

that ye may know. The 3rd pers. plur. might be expected (referring to the heathen who are to be convinced), and Kittel and others would

understand that I am he; before me there was no God formed,
neither shall there be after me. 11 I, even I, am the LORD;
and beside me there is no saviour. 12 I have declared, and I
have saved, and I have shewed, and there was no strange *god*
among you: therefore ye are my witnesses, saith the LORD, and
I am God. 13 Yea, [1]since the day was I am he; and there is
none that can deliver out of my hand: I will work, and who
shall [2]let it?

14 Thus saith the LORD, your redeemer, the Holy One of
Israel: For your sake I have sent to Babylon, and I will bring

[1] Or, *from* this *day forth I &c.* [2] Or, *reverse*

substitute it in this and the two following verbs. But the 2nd pers. may be defended on the ground that it is Israel whose doubts of the Lord's power the debate is really designed to remove.

11. *I am the LORD.* i.e. the same God that under that name had intervened in the early history of Israel (see Ex. iii. 14): cf. xxxvii. 20.

12. *I have declared,* etc. i.e. I have predicted beforehand providential events in Israel's earlier history which came to pass as foretold. *I have saved* is perhaps an unerased scribal error; cf. xliv. 8.

no strange god. Literally, *no stranger* (see on xvii. 10). Though many strange gods had been worshipped by Israel at different times (cf. xlviii. 5), none had shewed signs of intelligence and activity such as the Lord had manifested (cf. Deut. xxxii. 12).

therefore ye, etc. Better, *and ye are my witnesses* (cf. *v.* 10).

and I am God. These words should go with *v.* 13.

13. *Yea, since,* etc. The symmetry of the *v.* requires a parallel for this clause; and Duhm is doubtless right in transferring here the closing words of *v.* 12, and prefixing מֵעוֹלָם (suggested by the LXX.). The first half of the *v.* should then be rendered, *From of old I am God; yea, from this day forth* (cf. Ezek. xlviii. 35) *I am he.*

none...deliver, etc. Perhaps better, as suggested by Haupt, *nothing can deliver more than my hand,* cf. *v.* 11.

who shall let it? i.e. who can reverse it (xiv. 27, Job ix. 12, xi. 10, xxiii. 13)?

14—21. The Lord's resolve to destroy Babylon and to lead the exiled Israelites home through the desert amid marvellous displays of power.

The section explains more explicitly than before how Israel's release and return are to be accomplished.

14. *For your sake.* Though Israel's rescue was the immediate reason for Babylon's overthrow, the ultimate motive for the Lord's action in delivering Israel was the vindication of His own honour (cf. *v.* 21, xlviii. 11).

I have sent. Cyrus and his Perso-Median army are regarded as the Lord's agents (cf. xiii. 3).

down [1]all of them as fugitives, even the Chaldeans, in the ships
of their rejoicing. 15 I am the LORD, your Holy One, the
Creator of Israel, your King. 16 Thus saith the LORD, which
maketh a way in the sea, and a path in the mighty waters;
17 [2]which bringeth forth the chariot and horse, the army and
the power; they lie down together, they shall not rise; they are
extinct, they are quenched as [3]flax: 18 Remember ye not the
former things, neither consider the things of old. 19 Behold, I

[1] Or, as otherwise read, *all their nobles, even &c.*
[2] Or, *which...power: They shall lie &c.* [3] Or, *a wick*

I will bring down, etc. The text, if correct, must mean that the Babylonians will be compelled to seek escape from the invaders (advancing from the N.) by descending the Euphrates in their ships as Merodach-baladan did when Babylon was attacked by Sennacherib[1]. *The ships of their rejoicing* is literally *the ships of their ringing cry*, the *cry* being usually understood of the loud vaunts with which the Babylonians expressed their pride in their vessels; but it perhaps denotes the call by which the rowers were made to keep time (like the Greek κέλευσμα). The passage, however, is obscure, and probably corrupt. For the first three words the Vulg. has *detraxi vectes universos*, whilst for the last three the LXX. (A) has καὶ Χαλδαῖοι ἐν κλοίοις δεθήσονται, and a combination of these readings would produce the rendering, *I will bring down* (i.e. overthrow) *all their nobles* (literally *bars*, see on xv. 5), *and the Chaldeans shall be bound in fetters* (reading בְּרִיחִים and בַּעֲנָקוֹת יֻרְתָּקוּ[2] for בָּרִיחִים and בָּאֳנִיּוֹת רִנָּתָם). Among conjectural emendations of the two parts of the clause may be mentioned (1) *I will make all of them descend into holes* (i.e. dungeons, בַּחוּרִים for בָּרִיחִים, cf. xlii. 22); (2) *as for the Chaldeans with sighings I will still their rejoicing* (בַּאֲנִיּוֹת for בָּאֳנִיּוֹת and inserting וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי).

16. *which maketh*, etc. An allusion to the passage of the Red Sea, the memory of which was calculated to inspire renewed confidence in the Lord (cf. lxiii. 11—13).

17. *which bringeth forth*, etc. Apparently a reminiscence of what the Lord did to the host of Pharaoh, which was induced to pursue Israel to its own destruction (see Ex. xiv. 4, and cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 4, of the army of Gog). But possibly the statement is general, and expresses the Lord's control over all the agencies of war, which He both brings into existence and annihilates at His pleasure (cf. liv. 16, 17).

as flax. i.e. as a taper (xlii. 3).

18. *Remember ye not*, etc. i.e. former providential deliverances (such as the Exodus) will be dwarfed by the new marvel about to be wrought (cf. Jer. xvi. 14, 15, xxiii. 7, 8).

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[1] Schrader, *COT.* II. p. 36.
[2] This word elsewhere denotes chains hung round the necks of camels as ornaments (Jud. viii. 26).

will do a new thing; now shall it spring forth; shall ye not
know it? I will even make a way in the wilderness, and rivers
in the desert. 20 The beasts of the field shall honour me, the
jackals and the ostriches: because I give waters in the wilder-
ness, and rivers in the desert, to give drink to my people, my
chosen: 21 the people which I formed for myself, [1]that they
might set forth my praise. 22 Yet thou hast not called upon
me, O Jacob; but thou hast been weary of me, O Israel.
23 Thou hast not brought me the small cattle of thy burnt
offerings; neither hast thou honoured me with thy sacrifices.

[1] Or, *they shall set forth*

19. *shall ye not know it?* Better, *will ye not note it?* The people are bidden to mark fresh signs of the unprecedented deliverance which is on the point of resulting from Cyrus' successes.

20. *The beasts of the field*, etc. The waters created to supply the needs of the returning Israelites will also refresh the wild animals, and this relief will redound to the Divine glory. *Jackals* should be replaced by *wolves* (cf. on xiii. 22).

because I give, etc. This part of *v.* 20 and the whole of *v.* 21 are omitted by Cheyne and others on the ground of the repetition of *v.* 19[b] and the reference to Israel in the 3rd pers. But repetitions are in the manner of Deutero-Isaiah.

22—28. Israel's transgressions and indifference contrasted with the Lord's forbearance and forgiveness.

The purport of this section is to accentuate the fact that Israel owes its coming deliverance to God's free grace (*v.* 25), and not to any merits of its own. In the exile, when some fruits of repentance might have been expected from it, none were forthcoming; neither by prayer nor by sacrifice had Israel manifested devotion to the Lord.

22. *Yet thou*, etc. Better, *Yet not upon me hast thou called, so that thou didst weary thyself about me* (for the construction cf. xxix. 16, Ps. xliv. 18, 19, Gen. xl. 15). But both the LXX. and Vulg. have a negative before the second verb, so that the true text may be, *and about me thou hast not wearied thyself.*

23. *Thou hast not brought*, etc. i.e. no merit could be claimed by Israel on the ground of its having offered numerous or costly sacrifices, for in the land of its exile it had suspended its sacrifices altogether. Such suspension, indeed, if judged by the provisions of the Deuteronomic law, which limited sacrifice to a single Palestinian sanctuary (Deut. xii. 13, 14), could not in strictness be a ground of complaint. But the Deuteronomic law does not seem to have been universally regarded as obligatory by Jews in foreign lands, as is shewn by the existence of an altar to the Lord at Yeb in Egypt (see on xix. 19); and the prophet, like the Egyptian Jews, may have considered that the Deuteronomic restriction was not binding under

I have not made thee to serve with [1]offerings, nor wearied thee
with frankincense. 24 Thou hast bought me no [2]sweet cane
with money, neither hast thou [3]filled me with the fat of thy
sacrifices: but thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, thou
hast wearied me with thine iniquities. 25 I, even I, am he that
blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake; and I will

[1] Or, *a meal offering* [2] Or, *calamus* [3] Or, *satiated*

circumstances which the law in question did not originally contemplate, and that consequently the neglect of sacrifice among the Babylonian exiles was a sin of omission, even though the Lord was not exacting.

offerings. i.e. cereal offerings (cf. mg.), as contrasted with animal sacrifices (cf. lxvi. 20, xix. 21, Am. v. 25).

frankincense. This under the Levitical law was generally an accompaniment of other sacrifices (Lev. ii. 1 f., vi. 15, Num. v. 15).

24. *sweet cane.* A scented reed (Jer. vi. 20), said by Pliny (*H. N.* XII. 48) to grow in Arabia, India, and Syria (though Jeremiah (vi. 20) and Ezekiel (xxvii. 19) imply that it was not indigenous in Palestine and Phœnicia). In the ritual directions of the Pentateuch it is only mentioned as a constituent of the sacred anointing oil (Ex. xxx. 23).

neither...filled me. In the case of certain varieties of sacrifice the original idea was that of affording material gratification to the deity (cf. Bel and the Dragon *v.* 3, Hom. *Il.* IX. 535, θεοὶ δαίνυνθ' ἑκατόμβας); and sensuous conceptions of sacrifice and its purpose sometimes prevailed in connection with the religion of JEHOVAH (see Gen. viii. 21 and cf. Hom. *Il.* I. 66, ἀρνῶν κνίσης αἰγῶν τε...ἀντιάσας), and rendered protests necessary (see Ps. l. 13). Here, however, language embodying such conceptions is used without risk of misunderstanding. Instead of *neither hast thou filled me with* the LXX. has *neither have I desired.*

the fat. This, in peace-offerings (which were for the most part consumed by the priest or the worshippers), was appropriated to the Lord; see Lev. iii. 4, 10, and cf. on xxxiv. 6.

made me to serve. The words are used for the sake of correspondence with *v.* 23, and must be understood generally of the Lord's distress caused by Israel's sins.

25. *I...am he that blotteth out*, etc. The Lord, Who was known to the heathen only as the God of Israel, would be deemed by them inferior to their own gods if Israel were permanently left in the power of its foes (see lii. 5, cf. Ezek. xx. 9, 14, xxxvi. 21—23, Ps. cxv. 1, 2), whilst His design to reveal Himself to all the world, for which Israel was to be His instrument, equally required its release. As the nation did not merit this, its rescue could only be an act of grace, following upon free and spontaneous forgiveness (cf. xlviii. 9, 11, Deut. xxxii. 26, 27, Ps. xxiii. 3, cvi. 8. The LXX. (ℵ, A) and O.L. omit the words *for mine own sake*, which may have been introduced from xlviii. 9, 11.

not remember thy sins. 26 Put me in remembrance; let us plead together: set thou forth *thy cause*, that thou mayest be justified. 27 Thy first father sinned, and thine [1]interpreters have transgressed against me. 28 Therefore I [2]will profane the [3]princes of the sanctuary, and I [4]will make Jacob a [5]curse, and Israel a reviling.

[1] Or, *ambassadors* [2] Or, *have profaned* [3] Or, *holy princes*
[4] Or, *have made* [5] Or, *devoted thing*

26. *Put me*, etc. i.e. remind me of any considerations in thy favour which I have overlooked, and which render forgiveness superfluous.

set thou forth, etc. Literally, *tell up* or *recount* any service that can be set against thy demerits.

be justified. The verb is here used in a forensic sense—proved to be in the right: cf. *v.* 9, Gen. xxxviii. 26.

27. *Thy first father.* i.e. Jacob (cf. lviii. 14, Hos. xii. 2, 3): from its earliest origin the nation had been a transgressor (see Gen. xxvii. 36). But the LXX. has οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν πρῶτοι (meaning either the nation's ancestors generally (cf. lxiii. 16) or its leaders).

thine interpreters. i.e. the professed expounders of the Divine will (cf. Job xxxiii. 23), especially the prophets: for the unfaithfulness of such, see Jer. xxiii. 11—18, xxvi. 8—15, 1 Kgs. xxii. 11, 12.

28. *I will profane.* Better (by a slight change of pointing), *I have profaned consecrated princes* (cf. mg.), the reference being to the humiliations undergone by the chief personages of Jerusalem at its capture (2 Kgs. xxv. 18—21). To *profane* (see on xlvii. 6) is more commonly used of a land or place (cf. xxiii. 9) than of persons, but see Ezek. xxviii. 16 Heb., Lam. ii. 2. The LXX., however, has *And thy princes profaned my holy things*, continuing the description of Israel's offences; cf. 2 Kgs. xxi. 3—5, 7, Ezek. viii. 7—17.

and I will make. Better (by a change of points), *and I made.* On *curse* (mg. *devoted thing*, literally *ban*) see xxxiv. 5 and cf. Mal. iv. 6.

Chapter XLIV. 1—23.

The contents of this section are: (1) an announcement of the growth and expansion of Israel in the near future (*vv.* 1—5); (2) a renewed declaration of the Lord's sole godhead, as evinced by His foreknowledge (*vv.* 6—8); (3) a sarcastic description of the manufacture of an idol (*vv.* 9—20); (4) an announcement of pardon for Israel (*vv.* 21—23).

XLIV. 1 Yet now hear, O Jacob my servant; and Israel, whom I have chosen: 2 thus saith the Lord that made thee, and

XLIV. 1—5. Israel in the future is destined to enjoy such prosperity that aliens will seek to attach themselves to a people so highly blessed.

This opening section connects closely with the conclusion of c. xliii.,

formed thee from the womb, who will help thee: Fear not, O
Jacob my servant; and thou, Jeshurun, whom I have chosen.
3 For I will pour water upon [1]him that is thirsty, and streams
upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and
my blessing upon thine offspring: 4 and they shall spring up
among the grass, as willows by the watercourses. 5 One shall
say, I am the LORD'S; and another shall [2]call *himself* by the
name of Jacob; and another shall [3]subscribe with his hand unto
the LORD, and [4]surname *himself* by the name of Israel.

[1] Or, *the thirsty* land
[2] Or, *proclaim the name*
[3] Or, *write on his hand, Unto the* LORD
[4] Or, *give for a title the name of Israel*

being intended as a contrast to it, just as xliii. 1—7 contrasts with xlii. 18—25.

2. *Jeshurun.* A new name for Israel, appropriate to the new future awaiting it (cf. lxii. 2). The appellation, which occurs elsewhere only in Deut. xxxii. 15, xxxiii. 5, 26, seems to be connected with the adjective *jâshâr*, "straight," "upright" (which is applied to Israel in Num. xxiii. 10, and in the title given to a record of Israelite achievements—the Book of Jashar—in Josh. x. 13, 2 Sam. i. 18), and is rendered in the Vulg. here by *rectissimus* and in Aq., Th., Sym. by εὐθύτατος. It is perhaps meant to contrast pointedly with the name *Jacob*, which carried with it associations of deceit (Gen. xxvii. 36, cf. Jer. ix. 4). The LXX. has ὁ ἠγαπημένος Ἰσραήλ, a title which later was transferred from the nation to the Messiah, see Eph. i. 9, Asc. of Is. i. 4, 5, iii. 13, iv. 3, etc.; cf. also ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mk. i. 11, ix. 7).

3. *him that is thirsty.* Better, *that which is thirsty* (cf. mg.). This passage does not refer to the assuaging of actual thirst (like xli. 17, 18), but is meant figuratively. Israel, in its desolate condition, is compared to a parched land, and the restoration to it of God's favour is likened to the rain which renews vegetation (cf. Ps. lxviii. 9).

my spirit. The Divine spirit is here regarded as the source not so much of moral and spiritual life as of national revival and increase: cf. xxxii. 15, Ps. civ. 30, Ezek. xxxvii. 9 (mg.).

4. *among the grass.* Better (after the LXX.), *like grass amidst waters* (כְּבֵין מַיִם for בְּבֵין): Israel's offspring are to be as numerous as the blades of grass in well-irrigated meadows. For grass as a figure for vigorous growth cf. lxvi. 14, Job v. 25, Ps. lxxii. 16.

willows. The Biblical *willow* is said to be a poplar—*populus Euphratica*—common in Babylonia (Ps. cxxxvii. 2).

5. *One shall say*, etc. The persons represented as speaking are foreigners who become Jewish proselytes, and help to swell the nation's numbers, being attracted by the prosperity and honour which are seen to accrue to Israel under the blessing of the Lord: cf. lv. 5, lvi. 6, 8, Zech. viii. 23.

shall call himself. The rendering tacitly assumes the emendation יִקְרָא for יִקְרָא (cf. xlviii. 1); Sym. κληθήσεται.

6 Thus saith the LORD, the King of Israel, and his redeemer
the LORD of hosts: I am the first, and I am the last; and beside
me there is no God. 7 [1]And who, as I, shall call, and shall
declare it, and set it in order for me, since I appointed the
ancient people? and the things that are coming, and that shall

[1] Or, *And who, as I, can proclaim? let him declare it &c.*

shall subscribe, etc. The original admits of two explanations: (1) *shall write with his hand*, (I am) *the Lord's* (Vulg. *scribet manu sua*), i.e. shall make a written declaration of his adhesion to the Lord (cf. Neh. ix. 38); (2) *shall write upon his hand, The Lord's* (LXX. B, ἐπιγράψει χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, for the construction cf. Ex. xxxi. 18, Ezek. ii. 10), i.e. shall imprint marks upon his hand to indicate that he belongs to the Lord. The latter explanation is the more probable, it being the practice among the votaries of a divinity to tattoo consecration marks upon their persons: see Hdt. II. 113, ἢν οἰκέτης ὁτέῳ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱρὰ, ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ κ.τ.λ., Lucian, *de dea Syra*, c. 59 (of those who were consecrated to the service of the Syrian goddess) στίζονται πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας. The practice was analogous to that of imprinting on slaves some letter or other sign indicative of ownership (cf. Hdt. VII. 233, τοὺς πλεῦνας αὐτέων, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα). Probably the "cuttings" attributed to the priests of Baal in 1 Kgs. xviii. 28 were similar in character; and the heathen associations of such incisions led to their being eventually prohibited among the Jews (Lev. xix. 28). Allusions to the custom occur in Gal. vi. 17, Rev. vii. 3, xiii. 16, xiv. 1, 9: cf. also Ezek. ix. 4.

surname himself. i.e. call himself "a son of Israel," or the like, as a title of honour: cf. the use of the same verb in xlv. 4, Job xxxii. 21. The rendering assumes the emendation יִכְּנֶה or יִקָּנֶה for the received יִכָּנֶה. The use, among European peoples, of Hebrew names like Joshua, Samuel, John, etc., on account of their religious associations, still realizes in a sense, the purport of the passage.

6—8. Predictions, which Israel can attest, prove that the Lord is the only God.

The argument is the same in substance as that of xli. 21—24, xlii. 9, xliii. 9—12.

7. *And who, as I*, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *And who, as I, can proclaim* (i.e. predict)? *let him declare it and set it in order for me* (i.e. let him produce and arrange the evidence for his possession of prophetic power): cf. xliii. 9. But the LXX. B has a preferable text: *Who is like me? Let him stand* (inserting יַעֲמֹד) *and proclaim* (i.e. speak out) *and declare it* (i.e. his prediction) *and set it in order for me.*

since I appointed the ancient people. i.e. since I brought into existence the past generations of mankind. If the text is sound, it connects with the question *who, as I, can proclaim?* i.e. who can shew foreknowledge, as I have done ever since the creation of the world? But the dislocation of clauses which should be closely connected is very

come to pass, let them [1]declare. 8 Fear ye not, neither be afraid: have I not declared unto thee of old, and shewed it? and ye are my witnesses. Is there a God beside me? yea, there is no Rock; I know not any. 9 They that fashion a graven image are all of them [2]vanity; and their delectable things shall not profit: and their own witnesses see not, nor know; that they may be ashamed. 10 Who hath fashioned a god, or molten a graven image that is profitable for nothing? 11 Behold, [3]all his fellows shall be ashamed; and the workmen,

[1] Or, *declare unto them* [2] Or, *confusion* [3] Or, *all that join themselves thereto*

violent, and the sense is greatly improved by Oort's emendation, *Who hath announced from of old future things, and that which shall come to pass let them declare unto us* (מִי הִשְׁמִיעַ מֵעֹלָם אֹתִיּוֹת for מְשׁוּמִי עַם־עוֹלָם וְאֹתִיּוֹת and לָנוּ for לָמוֹ): cf. *v.* 8.

8. *unto thee.* Better (with the LXX.), *unto you,* in harmony with the other plur. pronouns.

yea, there is no Rock. Duhm emends to, *or is there any Rock?* (reading וְאִם for וְאֵין).

9—20. An exposure of the powerlessness of idols manufactured out of metal or timber by men whose own powers flag in the process of making them.

These *vv.* (for which cf. xl. 18—20) are regarded by Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti as an insertion, partly on the grounds of their rhythm (they read like prose) and partly because their spirit is thought to differ from that of Deutero-Isaiah, since in tone they are sarcastic and polemical. Verse 21 certainly connects better with *vv.* 6—8 than with the intervening passage.

9. *their delectable things.* i.e. their idols; cf. the verb in i. 29 and see Dan. xi. 37.

their own witnesses, etc. i.e. their votaries (xliii. 9) are spiritually blind and unreflecting.

that they may be, etc. The consequence is expressed as a purpose (cf. vi. 10, xxviii. 13, xxx. 1).

10. *Who hath fashioned,* etc. i.e. who hath been so foolish as to fashion, etc. But the word rendered *who* may mean *whoso* (Ex. xxiv. 14), and Duhm translates, *Whoso hath fashioned* (i.e. has purposed to fashion) *a god hath* (only) *molten a graven image,* etc. (for the Heb. construction cf. 1 Kgs. viii. 31, 32, 2 Ch. vi. 22, 23).

11. *all his fellows,* etc. Better (cf. mg.), *all its adherents* (its company of worshippers, cf. Hos. iv. 17) *shall be brought to shame; and the workmen, they are of men* (i.e. of merely human descent and so incapable of making anything divine). But the expression *are of men* is rather unnatural in connection with *workmen* (who could not claim to be of any other origin), and there is some plausibility in Duhm's emendation *all his* (i.e. the idol-maker's) *spells* (חֲבָרָיו for חֲבֵרָיו, cf. xlvii.

they are of men: let them all be gathered together, let them stand up; they shall fear, they shall be ashamed together. 12 The smith [1]*maketh* an axe, and worketh in the coals, and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it with his strong arm: yea, he is hungry, and his strength faileth; he drinketh no water, and is faint. 13 The carpenter stretcheth out a line; he marketh it out with [2]a pencil; he shapeth it with planes, and he marketh it out with the compasses, and shapeth it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man, to dwell in the house. 14 He heweth him down cedars, and taketh the

[1] Or, sharpeneth *a tool* [2] Or, *red ochre*

9, 12, Heb.) *shall be brought to shame; and the enchantments* (חַרָשִׁים from חָרֵשׁ, cf. iii. 3) *are of men* (i.e. of human, not superhuman, origin). If the emendation be adopted, the spells and enchantments must be those employed to conjure a spirit into the image when constructed.

let them all. i.e. the makers of idols, who are ironically exhorted to combine for a united effort (cf. xli. 6). A fresh *v.* should begin here.

12. *The smith.* Literally, *The worker in iron.* The words that follow, which describe the fabrication of a metal idol, are corrupt, and have been emended in various ways. Some critics supply *sharpeneth* (יָחֵד) before *axe*, after the LXX., which has ὤξυνεν τέκτων σίδηρον. But the LXX., which has obviously misunderstood the expression *worker in iron*, has probably got its verb by duplicating the last word (יַחַד) of the preceding sentence. Duhm omits *axe* as a mistaken gloss on the word *iron*, and renders *The smith worketh in the coals*, reading יִפְעַל for וּפָעַל. But perhaps a better remedy is to omit (with the LXX.) *in the coals*, and to render *The smith worketh it* (the image, *v.* 10) *with the axe*, reading בְּמַעֲצָד יִפְעַל for מַעֲצָד וּפָעַל. The iron image on which the smith is engaged is the core of common metal which is afterwards plated with gold (xl. 19, xli. 7).

yea, he is hungry. The idol god is the production of one who himself grows faint in the work of making it.

13. *The carpenter*, etc. In *vv.* 13—17 is described the origin and manufacture of a wooden idol.

stretcheth out a line. i.e. measures on the block of timber the required size.

a pencil. Or, *a stilus* (Aq. παραγραφίς).

he shapeth...compasses. These two clauses seem to be omitted by the LXX., and needlessly duplicate the rest of the description (the *compasses* serving the same purpose as the *pencil*).

the house. Better, *a house*, i.e. a temple or domestic shrine (cf. 2 Kgs. xxiii. 7, Wisd. xiii. 15).

14. *He heweth.* The Heb. text is corrected after the LXX. and Vulg. The trees named are Palestinian, and said not to be natives of

holm tree and the oak, and strengtheneth for himself one among the trees of the forest: he planteth [1]a fir tree, and the rain doth nourish it. 15 Then shall it be for a man to burn; and he taketh thereof, and warmeth himself; yea, he kindleth it, and baketh bread: yea, he maketh a god, and worshippeth it; he maketh it a graven image, and falleth down thereto. 16 He burneth [2]part thereof in the fire; with [2]part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast, and is satisfied: yea, he warmeth himself, and saith, Aha, I am warm, I have seen the fire: 17 and the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it and worshippeth, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me; for thou art my god. 18 They know not, neither do they consider: for he hath [3]shut their eyes, that they cannot see; and their hearts, that they cannot understand. 19 And none calleth to mind, neither is there knowledge nor understanding to say, I have burned part of it in the fire; yea, also I have baked bread upon the coals thereof; I have roasted flesh and eaten it: and shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? shall I fall down to the stock of a tree?

[1] Or, *an ash* [2] Or, *the half* [3] Heb. *daubed.*

Babylonia; but they may have been introduced from subjugated territories.

strengtheneth for himself. Better, *secureth for himself* (cf. xli. 10).

he planteth a fir tree. The LXX. has *which* (i.e. one of the trees previously mentioned) *the Lord hath planted* (reading אֵל for אֹרֶן).

15. The spirit of the *v.* may be illustrated by Hor. *Sat.* I. viii. 1 f.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,
Maluit esse deum.

16. *part...part.* Literally, *the half...the half.* If this reading is correct the same half must be meant in both clauses, since mention is made of *a residue* (*v.* 17); but probably the text should be corrected to *He burneth part thereof in the fire; and with the coals* (or *on the embers*) *thereof*, etc. (the emendation גֶּחָלָיו for חֶצְיוֹ finding some support in the Syr. and in LXX. B); cf. *v.* 19.

he eateth...satisfied. The LXX. favours the more natural order *he roasteth flesh, he eateth roast and is satisfied.*

seen. i.e. felt (cf. Eccles. v. 18).

18. *he hath shut.* Better, *their eyes are shut* (literally, *besmeared* or *plastered over*, cf. mg.).

19. *an abomination.* i.e. an idol (xli. 24, 1 Kgs. xiv. 24, 2 Kgs. xvi. 3, xxi. 2, etc.).

20 He feedeth on ashes: a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?

21 Remember these things, O Jacob; and Israel, for thou art my servant: I have formed thee; thou art my servant: O Israel, [1]thou shalt not be forgotten of me. 22 I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me; for I have redeemed thee. 23 Sing, O ye heavens, for the LORD hath done it; shout, ye lower parts of

[1] Some ancient versions have, *thou shouldest not forget me.*

20. *He feedeth*, etc. Better, *Him that takes pleasure in* (רעה = רצה, cf. Prov. xv. 14, Hos. xii. 1) *ashes* (i.e. worships and trusts a wooden god which fire can reduce to ashes) *a deceived heart hath turned aside* (or, *led astray*), *so that he cannot deliver*, etc., i.e. so that, in his time of need, he fails to obtain the deliverance prayed for (*v.* 17) and does not reflect that what he relies upon is an unreality (Jer. x. 14).

The writer in his polemic obviously has in view only the attitude of mind which considered idols to be the actual seats or embodiments of divine powers; he does not take into account the purely symbolic use of images in connection with religion.

21—23. A re-statement of the Lord's forgiveness of Israel's offences (see xliii. 25), and a brief thanksgiving at the prospect of redemption.

21. *these things.* As the text stands, this must mean the worthlessness of idol-gods; but if *vv.* 9—20 are an insertion (see p. 286), it will refer to the truths that the Lord is the sole source of prophecy and the sole refuge in danger (*v.* 8).

for, etc. Israel's position as the Lord's Servant, whilst ensuring for it great blessings (see clause *b*), involves likewise obligations of devotion and gratitude. As *thou art my servant* recurs twice, Duhm, for the first, would substitute *thou art my witness* (עֵדִי for עַבְדִּי); cf. xliii. 10.

thou...forgotten of me. The assurance is directed against such fears as find expression in xl. 27, xlix. 14, l. 1. But the construction of the verb as a passive is very irregular, and the LXX. and Vulg. have *thou must not forget me* (cf. mg.)—תִּנָּשֵׁנִי for תִּנָּשֶׁנִּי.

22. *as...cloud.* A figure of transitoriness, as in Hos. vi. 4, xiii. 3, Job vii. 9, xxx. 15, Dem. *de Cor.* § 188, *τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος.*

return, etc. Deutero-Isaiah represents redemption as a motive for conversion, not conversion as a condition of redemption.

23. *Sing*, etc. This brief thanksgiving is evoked from the prophet by the prospect of rescue which the Divine forgiveness holds out. For similar lyrical outbursts see xlii. 10—13, xlv. 8, l. 9; and for the assumed sympathy of nature with human fortunes see xlix. 13, lv. 12.

the earth; break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein: for the LORD hath redeemed Jacob, and will glorify himself in Israel.

ye lower parts of the earth. i.e. the earth's abysses; LXX. θεμέλια τῆς γῆς.

will glorify himself. The change in the fortunes of Israel will be a tribute to the perfections of the Lord Who brings it about: cf. xlix. 3, lx. 21, lxi. 3.

XLIV. 24—XLV. 25.

The subjects of this section are the Divine commission and destined achievements of the Persian Cyrus (xliv. 24—xlv. 8), a justification of the Divine choice (xlv. 9—13), the influence which his success will exert on the heathen world (xlv. 14—17), and a reiterated assertion of the Lord's sole godhead as evidenced by His predictive power (xlv. 18—25).

24 Thus saith the LORD, thy redeemer, and he that formed
thee from the womb: I am the LORD, that maketh all things; that
stretcheth forth the heavens alone; that spreadeth abroad the
earth; [1]who is with me? 25 that frustrateth the tokens of the
[2]liars, and maketh diviners mad; that turneth wise men back-
ward, and maketh their knowledge foolish: 26 that confirmeth
the word of his servant, and performeth the counsel of his mes-
sengers; that saith of Jerusalem, She shall be inhabited; and

[1] Another reading is, *by myself.* [2] Or, *boasters*

24—28. The purpose of the Lord, Who alone knows the secrets of the future, to repopulate and rebuild Jerusalem by the agency of Cyrus.

24. *who is with me?* Better, *who was with me* (as my counsellor, xl. 13)? The rhetorical question is equivalent to the *nullus mecum* of the Vulg. The Heb. mg. has *by myself.*

25. *the liars.* Better (as in the mg.), *the boasters* (cf. Jer. l. 36), i.e. the pretentious Babylonian diviners (see on xlvii. 13) whose *tokens* (i.e. the omens which they declared portended Babylon's success) were stultified by the event.

turneth...backward. i.e. discomfits and baffles (Ps. xxxv. 4, xl. 14). The passage has probably influenced 1 Cor. i. 20.

26. *his servant.* If the text is sound, the word denotes collective Israel which, as a people, was the channel through which the Lord's designs were pre-announced. But the LXX. (A) has *his servants,* i.e. the Hebrew prophets, a reading which is supported by *his messengers* in the parallel clause, and is probably correct.

counsel. The word has the meaning of *prophecy* as in xlvi. 11.

of the cities of Judah, They shall be built, and I will raise up the waste places thereof: 27 that saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers: 28 that saith of [1]Cyrus, *He is* my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built; [2]and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.

XLV. 1 **Thus saith the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus,**

[1] Heb. *Coresh.* [2] Or, *and the foundation of the temple shall be laid*

and of the cities...built. This clause spoils the symmetry of the clauses, and should be omitted (with Kittel)[1].

27. *that saith...Be dry.* The expressions probably allude to the Creation (see on l. 2, li. 9, 10). To re-convert desolated Judæa into a cultivated land was well within the powers of Him Who could turn the primal sea into dry ground.

I will...rivers. Better, *I dry up* (or *parch*) *thy rivers.* The term *rivers* in connection with the sea (cf. Jon. ii. 3 (4), Heb.) recalls the Homeric ὠκεανοῦ ῥέεθρα (*Il.* XXIII. 205).

28. *my shepherd.* i.e. the guardian of my people (cf. the expressions in 2 Sam. v. 2, vii. 7, Mic. v. 4, Jer. iii. 15, Ezek. xxxvii. 24 and the Homeric ποιμὴν λαῶν). Some critics would substitute *my friend* (רֵעִי, literally, *my companion*, cf. 2 Sam. xv. 37, 1 Kgs. iv. 5), a term which has a parallel in Cyrus' statement (in one of his inscriptions) that Merodach went by his side "as a friend and comrade"[2]. The title here bestowed on Cyrus is doubtless based not on his character (though this is praised by more than one Greek historian) but upon his function as the destined deliverer of the Lord's people. The release of a few Jewish captives, though unimportant at the time, was momentous in its consequences, since it secured for the Hebrew religion opportunity to develop and exert its influence upon the world, thereby preparing the way for Christianity with its universal claims (cf. xlv. 6, 22, 23).

even saying. Better (with the LXX. and Vulg.), *that saith* (referring to the Lord), reading הָאֹמֵר for לֵאמֹר.

to the temple. Better, *of the temple.*

According to Jos. *Ant.* XI. i. 2, it was the perusal of the prediction contained in this *v.*, or its parallel xlv. 13, that inspired Cyrus with a desire to fulfil it (cf. Ezra i. 2 = 2 Ch. xxxvi. 23).

XLV. 1—7. The Lord's promise to Cyrus of assured success in the accomplishment of the purpose with which he is charged.

1. *the LORD.* LXX. *the Lord* (i.e. JEHOVAH) *the God.*

his anointed. The Persian king Cyrus is designated by the same title which was applied to the early kings of Israel (2 Sam. i. 14, 1 Sam. xxiv. 6, xxvi. 9, etc.) as the Lord's consecrated representative to protect His people (see 1 Sam. x. 1, cf. Mic. v. 4), just as the Babylonian

[1] At the end of the *v.* the word *thereof* refers to Jerusalem.
[2] Sayce, *HCM.* p. 505, McCurdy, *HPM.* III. 411.

whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him,
and I will loose the loins of kings; to open the doors before him,
and the gates shall not be shut; 2 I will go before thee, and
make the rugged places plain: I will break in pieces the doors
of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron: 3 and I will give
thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret
places, that thou mayest know that I am the LORD, which call
thee by thy name, even the God of Israel. 4 For Jacob my
servant's sake, and Israel my chosen, I have called thee by thy

Nebuchadrezzar, like David and other Israelites (xli. 8), is called the Lord's servant (Jer. xxv. 9, xxvii. 6, xliii. 10). This is the only instance where this particular title is applied to a foreign ruler; but parallel epithets bestowed upon Cyrus are *my shepherd* (xliv. 28), *he whom the Lord loveth* (xlviii. 14 mg.), *the man of my counsel* (xlvi. 11).

whose right hand, etc. The relative clause (which extends to the end of the *v.*) is a description of Cyrus, not part of the Lord's address to him (which begins at *v.* 2). Cyrus, in his own inscription, represents Merodach as similarly speaking of him as "the righteous king...whose hand he (Merodach) held."

to subdue, etc. Better, *subduing...opening*; cf. li. 16.

loose. Better, *ungird*, i.e. disarm, the girdle sustaining a warrior's weapons; cf. 1 Kgs. xx. 11, Ps. xlv. 3, Jud. xviii. 11, Job xii. 18.

the doors...the gates. i.e. of hostile fortresses, especially those of Babylon.

2. *rugged places.* Literally, *puffed up* (or *swelling*) *places* (see on lxiii. 1); cf. Ov. *Am.* II. xvi. 51, *tumidi montes* (Milton's "tumid hills"). But the LXX. has ὄρη (הָרִים for הֲדוּרִים).

break in pieces. In the event, Babylon surrendered to Cyrus without being stormed: see p. 97.

doors of brass. Cf. Ps. cvii. 16. According to Hdt. I. 179, Babylon had 100 brass gates.

3. *treasures of darkness.* i.e. concealed treasures (Job iii. 21, Prov. ii. 4, Jer. xli. 8). For Babylon's wealth see Jer. l. 37, li. 13, Hab. ii. 6, Æsch. *Pers.* 53 Βαβυλὼν ἡ πολύχρυσος, Xen. *Cyr.* V. ii. 8, VII. ii. 11. Of the wealth acquired by Cyrus in the course of his conquests Pliny, *H. N.* XXXIII. ii. 15, states, *Jam Cyrus devicta Asia pondo* XXXIV. *millia auri invenerat praeter vasa aurea, aurumque factum.*

that...know, etc. It is probably assumed that Cyrus will recognize that he owes his success to the God of Israel by learning that it had been predicted by the prophets of Israel (cf. Ezra i. 2). Cyrus, in his own inscription, attributes his success to Merodach (cf. on xli. 25).

4. *For Jacob*, etc. Though the movements of which Cyrus was the centre were primarily controlled by the Almighty in the interests of Israel (xliii. 14), they were ultimately designed to promote the spiritual welfare of mankind at large (*vv.* 6, 22, 23).

name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.
5 I am the LORD, and there is none else; beside me there is no
God: I will gird thee, though thou hast not known me: 6 that
they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the
west, that there is none beside me: I am the LORD, and there is
none else. 7 I form the light, and create darkness; I make
peace, and create evil; I am the LORD, that doeth all these
things.

8 Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies

surnamed thee. Better, *given thee an honourable title.* For titles applied to Cyrus see *v.* 1, xliv. 28.

5. *I will gird thee.* Better, *I gird thee,* i.e. equip thee for successful war. As the Lord was the only God, the wonderful success of Cyrus could only be explained by the Lord's direct influence upon his fortunes, little though Cyrus had realized it.

6. *that they may,* etc. A nation's good fortune redounded to the reputation of its God, and Israel's restoration, wrought through Cyrus, would lead to a recognition, by the heathen world, of the supremacy of the Lord.

7. *I form the light...darkness.* This assertion of the comprehensiveness of the Lord's creative and controlling power (see xxxi. 2, Am. iii. 6, Lam. iii. 31, Ecclus. xi. 14) has been suspected of being directed against the dualism that prevailed among the Persians, by whom the realms of light and darkness were regarded as belonging respectively to Ormuzd and Ahriman. More likely, however, it has in view not the special beliefs of the Persians (of whose religion Deutero-Isaiah probably knew little) but the polytheism of the heathen world in general, which regarded different things, events, and qualities as under the charge of different gods. Among the Hebrews the opposite tendency to regard the Lord as the primal source of all that happened was so strong that in various passages of the O.T. He is even represented as inspiring the evil acts of men (Ex. vii. 3, Jud. ix. 23, 1 Sam. ii. 25, xix. 9, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1). Eventually, however, there was developed among them a belief that evil, both moral and physical, was due to the activity of a malignant, though subordinate, Personality (1 Kgs. xxii. 22, Job i. 12, Zech. iii. 2, 1 Ch. xxi. 1)[1], who, at first described merely by the title "the adversary" or "the Satan," finally came to be designated "Satan" (as by a proper name).

peace...evil. i.e. prosperity and calamity.

8. A lyric evoked by the prospect of the coming felicity (cf. xlii. 10 f., xliv. 23).

Drop down, etc. The sky seems to be thought of as fructifying the earth (cf. lv. 10, Hos. ii. 21).

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[1] In the last passage the writer deliberately ascribes to Satan what in 2 Sam. xxiv. 1 is attributed to the Lord.

pour down righteousness: let the earth open, that they may [1]bring forth salvation, and let her cause righteousness to spring up together; I the LORD have created it.

9 Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! a potsherd among the potsherds of the earth! Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou? or thy work, He hath no hands? 10 Woe unto him that saith unto a father, What begettest thou? or to a woman, With what travailest thou? 11 Thus saith the LORD, the Holy One of Israel, and his Maker: Ask me of the things that are to come; concerning my sons,

[1] Or, *be fruitful in salvation*

righteousness. Heb. צֶדֶק, i.e. the unseen Divine principle, which brings about the triumph of the right (cf. Ps. lxxxv. 11).

that they may bring, etc. As the *earth* alone is the subject of the next verb, the text is best emended to *let her be fruitful in salvation* (reading וְתִפֶּר for וְיִפְרוּ).

righteousness. Heb. צְדָקָה, i.e. the visible realization of the right in the success of Cyrus and its consequences.

9—13. A rebuke to men who cavil at the schemes of their Maker. It is the Creator of the universe who has commissioned Cyrus to rebuild Jerusalem and restore its people.

The persons rebuked are those Israelites who chafed not only at the delay in their rescue (xl. 27, xlvi. 12), but also at the thought of their deliverance being effected by a foreign conqueror instead of an Israelite king (as suggested by Jer. xxx. 21).

9. *Maker.* In the Heb. the same word as *potter* (xxix. 16, lxiv. 8).

potsherd. Better, *a pot* (a vessel, as in Prov. xxvi. 23, not a fragment of one, as in xxx. 14). The thought that man was made from clay by a Divine potter resembles that of Gen. ii. 7. According to Babylonian beliefs (as preserved in Berossus) men were formed of earth mixed with the blood of a deity: see *DB.* I. p. 504[b].

thy work. Many critics adopt the correction *his work*, to suit the next words; but see below.

He hath no hands. Better (after the LXX.), *Thou hast no hands* (i.e. power or capacity, Josh. viii. 20, Ps. lxxvi. 5).

St Paul (in Rom. ix. 20) directs the same argument against men who disputed God's rights or justice; but here it is employed in answer to those who questioned the wisdom of God's methods.

10. *a father...a woman.* i.e. his father or his mother (so LXX.). By Duhm and others the *v.* is regarded as a marginal citation, inappropriate to the subject which it is designed to illustrate, and injuring the connection between *vv.* 9 and 11.

11. *Ask me.* If the imperat. is correct, it must be understood ironically; but many critics would substitute an indignant interrogation, *Will ye question me?* (תִּשְׁאָלוּנִי for שְׁאָלוּנִי), which harmonizes better with

and concerning the work of my hands, command ye me. 12 I have made the earth, and created man upon it: I, even my hands, have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded. 13 I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will make straight all his ways: he shall build my city, and he shall let my exiles go free, not for price nor reward, saith the LORD of hosts.

14 Thus saith the LORD, The labour of Egypt, and the merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine; they shall go after thee; in chains they shall come over: and they shall

the mood of the parallel verb, which should be rendered, *will ye command me?*

the things that are to come. i.e. the approaching deliverance of Israel and the means for its achievement.

my sons. i.e. the Israelites. But the word is probably a mistaken gloss (cf. xxix. 23) on the next clause: *the work of the Lord's hands* is the scheme for Israel's deliverance.

12. *I have made,* etc. Criticism is presumptuous when the object of it is the Creator of the universe.

all their host have I commanded. i.e. when by the Divine *fiat* they came into existence.

13. *I have...righteousness.* i.e. I have launched him (Cyrus) on a career of success; cf. xli. 2. The tense is probably an historic perfect; some of Cyrus' successes were already achieved.

he shall build, etc. Cyrus rebuilt Jerusalem in the sense that he restored to it its exiled population: the actual reconstruction of its ruined walls was not accomplished till the time of Nehemiah (444). The foundation of the second Temple was probably laid by the Jews who, with Cyrus' permission, returned under Zerubbabel, but it was not completed till the reign of Darius Hystaspis (see p. lxxvi).

not for...reward. The words accentuate the assertion that Cyrus was inspired to release the Israelite exiles by a Divine impulse, and not by ordinary human motives. In view of xliii. 3, they are perhaps to be regarded as a later insertion.

14—17. A declaration that the wealthiest nations, taught by the experiences of Israel, will confess that the true God is with it alone, and so will become its dependents.

14. *The labour.* Better, *The produce* (cf. Jer. iii. 24). Egypt was famous for its cereals, flax, and wine, Ethiopia for its gems (Job xxviii. 19). But the parallelism favours Oort's emendation *The labourers of Egypt and the traffickers of Ethiopia* (reading יְגִיעֵי and סֹחֲרֵי for יְגִיעַ and סֹחַר).

in chains. The chains are perhaps voluntarily assumed as a symbol of willingness to serve Israel as slaves, provided they can share the

fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, *saying*, Surely God is in thee; and there is none else, there is no God. 15 Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour. 16 They shall be ashamed, yea, confounded, all of them: they shall go into confusion together that are makers of idols. 17 *But* Israel shall be saved by the LORD with an everlasting salvation: ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end.

18 For thus saith the LORD that created the heavens; he is God; that formed the earth and made it; he established it, he created it not [1]a waste, he formed it to be inhabited: I am the

[1] Or, *in vain*

blessings bestowed by its God (cf. lx. 9—11, lxi. 5). Duhm thinks that the Sabeans are sent in chains by Cyrus, as captives taken in the conquests predicted for him in xliii. 3.

The subordination of the Gentile world to the Jews, which occurs elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah's pictures of the future (see xlix. 22, 23), has no place in the Servant Songs.

Surely God is in thee. Better, *Surely* (or *Only*) *in thee is God.* The words are used by St Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. 25.

15. *Verily thou art*, etc. The language is still that of the heathen, and since the preceding words are addressed to Israel, there is plausibility in the emendation, *Verily with thee is a God that hideth himself; the God of Israel is a Saviour* (reading אִתְּךָ for אַתָּה). They had never suspected that the God of an insignificant people like Israel was an incomparable Deliverer.

16. *They shall*, etc. The prophet's own utterance is here resumed.

all of them. The defective parallelism suggests that a word has been lost: hence the first half of the *v.* should be corrected (after the LXX.) to *Ashamed and confounded shall be all who have risen up against him* (כָּל־מִתְקוֹמְמָיו for כֻּלָּם יַחְדָּיו) and *together* in clause *b* omitted.

17. *with an everlasting salvation.* i.e. the rescue from Babylon is to inaugurate an era of happiness which will never be interrupted.

18—25. The Lord's predictions are made openly, and are verified by the event, proving that He is the sole God and worthy of universal worship and confidence.

The passage justifies the Lord's right to the homage of the heathen (as described in the preceding *vv.*) by a renewed appeal to the evidence of His godhead afforded by His predictions (cf. xli. 1—4, 21—29, xliii. 9—13).

18. *he is God.* Better, *he is the* (true) *God.*

not a waste. i.e. to be no longer a waste (the condition in which it was before creation, Gen. i. 2). The mention of the Lord's creative work is meant to illustrate by a parallel the character of His prophetic utterances. As He made the world for human habitation, so He

LORD; and there is none else. 19 I have not spoken in secret,
in a place of the land of darkness; I said not unto the seed of
Jacob, Seek ye me [1]in vain: I the LORD speak righteousness,
I declare things that are right. 20 Assemble yourselves and
come; draw near together, ye that are escaped of the nations:
they have no knowledge that carry the wood of their graven
image, and pray unto a god that cannot save. 21 Declare ye,
and [2]bring *it* forth; yea, let them take counsel together: who
hath shewed this from ancient time? who hath declared it of

[1] Or, as *in a waste* [2] Or, *bring* them *near*

designs His prophecies for human enlightenment, that men may be convinced by them and be attracted to Him.

19. *not...in secret.* The Lord's predictions were public and explicit (cf. Jer. ii. 31), so that men could judge of the correspondence of events with them; and in this respect they differed from many heathen oracles which were often to be obtained only in out-of-the-way localities and were ambiguous and enigmatic in character. Only a few years before Deutero-Isaiah wrote, Crœsus of Lydia had been misled by the oracle of Delphi to undertake a war against the Persians which cost him his kingdom (Hdt. I. 53, 54).

a...of darkness. i.e. (probably) the Underworld (cf. Job x. 21), oracles from which were obtained by necromancy (cf. viii. 19, xxix. 4, lvii. 9, lxv. 4, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7). The superfluous word *a place* (of) is omitted by Cheyne and Duhm.

Seek...in vain. It was not the custom of the Lord, as it was of the heathen oracles, to invite men to consult Him (for this sense of *seek* cf. Deut. iv. 29) and then afford them no real help. But perhaps better (with the mg.), *Seek ye me in a waste* (the preposition of locality, בְּ, being lost), i.e. consult me at a desert-oracle (like that of the Egyptian Amun, the *Amon* of Jer. xlvi. 25, the Greek Zeus Ammon).

righteousness. The Lord's predictions and promises were true and consistent with the facts: hence they did not require secrecy, as being something that shunned the light. For *righteousness* in the sense of what is true (LXX. ἀλήθειαν) cf. the meaning of *righteous* in xli. 26, Prov. viii. 8 mg.

20. *Assemble*, etc. It is assumed that the success of Cyrus has already been decisive, and the surviving heathens are again challenged to shew that the idols have a faculty of prediction comparable with that of the Lord, Whose foreknowledge has just been demonstrated.

that carry. i.e. in religious processions or as a *palladium* in military campaigns (cf. 2 Sam. v. 21).

21. *bring* it *forth.* i.e. produce your evidence, or plea; cf. xli. 21, 22. But perhaps better, *bring them* (your idols) *forth.*

this. i.e. Cyrus' success over Babylon, which is assumed to have been achieved, and Israel's redemption which is thereby assured.

from ancient time...of old. Equivalent to "previously" (xliv. 8,

old? have not I the LORD? and there is no God else beside me;
a just God and a saviour; there is none beside me. 22 Look
unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am
God, and there is none else. 23 By myself have I sworn, [1]the
word is gone forth from my mouth *in* righteousness, and shall
not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue
shall swear. 24 Only in the LORD, [2]shall one say [3]unto me, is
righteousness and strength: even to him shall men come, and

[1] Or, *righteousness is gone forth from my mouth, a word which shall not return*
Or, *the word is gone forth from a mouth of righteousness, and shall not return*
[2] Or, *hath one said* [3] Or, *of*

xlviii. 3, xlvi. 10). The allusion is probably to predictions like those of Jeremiah (xxx. 3 f., xxxi. 8): cf. on xlii. 9.

a just God, etc. Better, *a God who is righteous* (i.e. truthful or faithful, cf. Neh. ix. 8, 1 Joh. i. 9) *and a saviour there is not beside me.*

22. *Look unto me*, etc. Better, *Turn to me and be delivered* (the first imperative being a conditional sentence, of which the second expresses the consequences (cf. xxxvi. 16, Jer. vi. 16, Am. v. 4, etc.)). The passage is an anticipation of the spirit of the Gospel, though the salvation here offered is temporal security and well-being.

23. *By myself.* The oath of the Lord, Who swears by Himself since He can swear by none greater (Heb. vi. 13), is "As I live" (xlix. 18, Jer. xxii. 24).

the word, etc. Better (cf. mg.), *a word has gone forth from a mouth of righteousness* (i.e. a truthful mouth) *and shall not return* (i.e. prove resultless, lv. 11).

unto me every knee, etc. i.e. to me all the world shall render worship and promise allegiance (for the sense of *swear* cf. xix. 18, xlviii. 1, note). The LXX. has *every tongue shall swear* (or *confess*) *to God*, and the passage in this form is cited by St Paul in Rom. xiv. 11 (in connection with the accountability of all men to God at the last judgment). The prediction is still in the course of being realized by the extension over the world of the Jewish faith as transformed by Christ (cf. Phil. ii. 10).

24. *Only in the LORD*, etc. Better, *Only in* (or *through*) *the Lord, saith one of me, are victories* (literally, *righteousnesses*, see on xli. 2 and cf. 1 Sam. xii. 7, Mic. vi. 5) *and strength.* The speaker must be one of the surviving heathen. But the construction of the original is awkward, and the text is possibly corrupt. Cheyne would read, *Only through the Lord hath Jacob* (לְיַעֲקֹב for לִי אָמַר) *victories and strength*: cf. *v.* 25.

even to him...come. The result of coming to the Lord is left obscure, and the verb rendered *come* is possibly a corruption of some expression parallel to *be ashamed* (or *be put to shame*). Duhm would read, *together shall they perish* (יַחְדָּיו יֹאבֵדוּ for עָדָיו יָבוֹא) *and be put to shame, even all they who are incensed against him* (cf. xli. 11).

all they that were incensed against him shall be ashamed.
25 In the LORD shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory.

25. *shall...be justified.* Better, *shall be righted* (Cheyne, *shall triumph*), i.e. in their controversy with their oppressors (cf. liv. 17).

CHAPTER XLVI.

The c. falls into two divisions: (1) a taunt-song over the collapse of the Babylonian divinities before the advance of Cyrus (*vv.* 1, 2); (2) a re-assertion of the Lord's sole godhead (in contrast to the idols), and a renewed assurance of His purpose to deliver His people (*vv.* 3—13).

XLVI. 1 Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth; their idols are upon the beasts, and upon the cattle: the things that ye

XLVI. 1—2. Babylon's tutelary deities, so far from being able to protect their votaries, cannot even preserve their own images.

The scene, which is described as though actually witnessed by a spectator, is really a prediction of what is expected to happen at the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

1. *Bel.* Babylonian *Bêlu.* The word is really a title (equivalent to the Hebrew or Canaanite *baal*), but was appropriated, as a proper name, to two gods, Bel, one of the triad of early Babylonian gods (Ea, Bel, and Anu), and Bel Merodach (represented as the son of the earlier Bel). The god here designated is the latter, who was associated with the planet Jupiter (and hence was styled by the Romans *Jupiter Belus*). He was the chief deity of the city of Babylon (Jer. l. 2, li. 44), where his principal temple stood on the site of the mound now called Bâbil, on the left bank of the Euphrates, and his name entered into the appellations of some of the Babylonian kings (e.g. Belshazzar).

Nebo. Babylonian *Nâbû.* He was represented as the son and prophet of Bel Merodach[1], and was associated with the planet Mercury (though his functions corresponded to those of Apollo rather than to those of Hermes or Mercury, but cf. Acts xiv. 12). The chief seat of his worship was Borsippa, where the ruins of Birs Nimrûd, on the right of the Euphrates, mark the site of his temple. He was probably the patron divinity of the dynasty to which the Babylonian kings Nebuchadrezzar, Nabunaid, and Nabopolassar belonged.

their idols. The poss. adj. refers to the Babylonians.

the beasts. The term, which usually denotes wild beasts, perhaps here means elephants or camels as contrasted with *the cattle* (oxen and asses).

the things...about. Both Merodach and Nebo are said to have

[1] Cf. the Hebrew *nâbî* "prophet." One of Nebo's titles is "bearer of the tablets of destiny of the gods" (Whitehouse, *ad loc.*).

carried about are made a load, a burden to the weary *beast.*
2 They stoop, they bow down together; they could not deliver
the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity.

3 Hearken unto me, O house of Jacob, and all the remnant
of the house of Israel, which have been borne *by me* from the
belly, which have been carried from the womb: 4 and even to
old age I am he, and even to hoar hairs will I carry *you*: I have
made, and I will bear; yea, I will carry, and will deliver. 5 To
whom will ye liken me, and make me equal, and compare me,
that we may be like? 6 Such as lavish gold out of the bag,

been carried through Babylon in solemn procession at the feast of the New Year.

are made a load, etc. i.e. for the purpose of being transported to a place of safety by their worshippers, just as Merodach-baladan when retiring before Sennacherib shipped them on board vessels (Schrader, *COT.* II. p. 36).

2. *they could not deliver*, etc. The writer, for his own purpose, distinguishes momentarily between the idol-gods and their images. The in-dwelling divinities could not prevent the idols, which were being conveyed away by their votaries, from being overtaken and captured; and with them they passed into the power of the enemy (cf. Jer. xliii. 12, xlviii. 7, xlix. 3, Hos. x. 5, 6, Dan. xi. 8[1]). When Babylon was actually surrendered to Cyrus, the anticipations of the prophet here expressed were not realized; for instead of carrying off the images of the Babylonian gods the Persian king restored to various cities such of their idols as the last Babylonian king had taken from them.

3—13. The contrast presented by the Lord, Israel's God.

3. *borne...carried.* The verbs come from the same roots as those used in *v.* 1 (*made a load, a burden*) and are meant to contrast the Lord, Who supports His people (cf. Deut. i. 31, Hos. xi. 3), with the idols who have to be supported by theirs.

4. *even to old age.* Whereas a parent's care for his son ceases when he is grown up, the Lord's care for Israel will never end (cf. Ps. lxxi. 18).

I am he. The phrase is virtually equivalent to *I am the same* (see on xli. 4).

I have made. The verb is rather inappropriate in this connection, and some critics would replace it by *I have carried the burden* (עָמַסְתִּי for עָשִׂיתִי).

6—8. This passage, which contains a renewed description of the manufacture of an idol, is thought by Duhm and others to be a later (post-exilic) insertion, like xliv. 9—20: the connection of *v.* 6 with *v.* 5

[1] Similarly the Ark of the Lord was carried away by the Philistines after the battle of Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv. 11).

and weigh silver in the balance, they hire a goldsmith, and he maketh it a god; they fall down, yea, they worship. 7 They bear him upon the shoulder, they carry him, and set him in his place, and he standeth; from his place shall he not remove: yea, one shall cry unto him, yet can he not answer, nor save him out of his trouble.

8 Remember this, and [1]shew yourselves men: bring it again to mind, O ye transgressors. 9 Remember the former things of old: [2]for I am God, and there is none else; *I am* God, and there is none like me; 10 declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times things that are not *yet* done; saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure: 11 calling

[1] Or, *stand fast* [2] Or, *that*

is awkward (though cf. xl. 18, 19), and *v.* 9 stands in unnatural sequence to *v.* 8. See also on *v.* 8.

6. *Such as lavish gold*, etc. The gold and silver are not the wages of the workmen, but the precious metals with which the image (made of cheaper materials, xliv. 12) is to be plated (xl. 19), and which are supplied by the persons who order the idols to be constructed. At Babylon, according to Herodotus (I. 183), there was a golden statue of Bel which, together with a table and throne of gold, weighed 800 talents.

7. *They bear*, etc. The image, though believed to be a god, is of itself incapable of movement (cf. Jer. x. 5).

8. *this.* i.e. the folly of idolatry.

shew yourselves men. The verb (הִתְאַשָּׁשׁוּ) from its context, must convey an exhortation to have done with superstitious follies, but its etymology is obscure and it has been variously rendered: (1) *be men* (not children) in intellect (cf. Eph. iv. 14); (2) *be firm* (instead of vacillating between the worship of the Lord and of idols); (3) *flush* with shame. Among conjectural emendations are *be ashamed* (הִתְבַּשְּׁשׁוּ, cf. Vulg. *confundamini*), *own yourselves guilty* (הִתְאַשְּׁמוּ), and *shew yourselves intelligent* (הִתְבּוֹנְנוּ after the Syriac).

ye transgressors. Or, *ye rebels.* The expression, in view of the preceding context, must imply that those addressed had been guilty of idolatry; and such a charge seems more applicable to the Jewish community in post-exilic times (see lvii. 3 f., lxv. 1 f., lxvi. 17 f.) than at the close of the Exile. See on xlviii. 1 f.

9. *Remember the former*, etc. A reiterated appeal to instances of fulfilled predictions as a proof of the Lord's sole godhead (cf. xliv. 6—8).

for. Better (as in the mg.), *that.*

10. *declaring*, etc. i.e. foretelling the issue of an enterprise from its very inception; cf. xli. 26.

My counsel. i.e. the design of restoring the Jewish exiles to their homes and rebuilding Jerusalem (see xlv. 13, xliv. 26, 28).

a ravenous bird from the east, the man of [1]my counsel from
a far country; yea, I have spoken, I will also bring it to pass;
I have purposed, I will also do it. 12 Hearken unto me, ye
stouthearted, that are far from righteousness: 13 I bring near
my righteousness, it shall not be far off, salvation shall not
tarry; and I will [2]place salvation in Zion for Israel my
glory.

[1] Another reading is, *his*.
[2] Or, *give salvation in Zion*, and *my glory unto Israel*

11. *a ravenous bird.* Cyrus is so designated in consequence of the celerity of his conquests (cf. xli. 3). Nebuchadrezzar is similarly compared to an eagle in Ezek. xvii. 3, 7, Jer. xlix. 22.

the man of my counsel. i.e. the agent who is acquainted with, and executes, my design.

12. *ye stouthearted.* If the text is sound, the expression must be equivalent to *obstinate in disbelief*; cf. Sym. σκληροκάρδιοι. But elsewhere it means *resolute* or *courageous* (Ps. lxxvi. 5); and the reading of the LXX., which has *down-hearted* (literally, *perishing* or *lost in heart*, אֹבְדֵי for אַבִּירֵי) is preferable.

that are far from, etc. i.e. who in their thoughts regard as remote the prospect of the triumph which is to vindicate them (liv. 17).

13. *I bring near my righteousness*, etc. i.e. the triumph and deliverance which the Lord had promised are on the eve of being realized (li. 5, 6, 8).

Israel my glory. Israel is so entitled because it was through the approaching transformation of the nation's fortunes that the Lord's glory was to be manifested to the heathen who had hitherto been unacquainted with Him (cf. xliv. 23, xlix. 3). But Sym. has δώσω ἐν Σιὼν σωτήριον καὶ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ δόξαν, and possibly the rendering should be, *I appoint deliverance in Zion and my glory for Israel* (cf. mg.).

Chapter XLVII.

This c. consists of a taunting song of triumph over the approaching fall of Babylon, put into the mouth of the Lord (see *vv.* 3, 4 and note). The c. is linked by its subject-matter with the preceding, the writer's thoughts passing from the gods of Babylon to the city itself, which they are powerless to defend. The tone resembles that of xiv. 4—21; cf. also Ezek. xxvi. (on Tyre) and xxxii. (on Egypt). The picture of Babylon's humiliation presents an impressive contrast to that of Zion's exaltation in the adjoining cc. (xlix., l., liv.). The pride and cruelty of Israel's oppressor in the sixth century B.C. led St John to use the name of Babylon to designate Rome, the persecutor of the Christian Church in the first century A.D. (see Rev. xvii., xviii.).

XLVII. 1 Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit on the ground without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. 2 Take the millstones, and grind meal: remove thy veil, strip off the train, uncover the leg, pass through the rivers. 3 Thy nakedness shall be uncovered, yea, thy shame shall be seen: I will take vengeance, and will [1]accept no man. 4 Our redeemer, the LORD of hosts is his

[1] Or, *make truce with* Heb. *meet.*

XLVII. 1—7. Babylon must exchange her queenly position for the greatest degradation because of her abuse of power.

1. *Come down*, etc. The city is personified as a queen who has to descend from her throne to take up the duties of the meanest slave.

sit...dust. A posture of distress and humiliation (iii. 26, Jer. xiii. 18, xiv. 2, Lam. ii. 10, Ezek. xxvi. 16, Job ii. 8, 13).

daughter of Babylon. The genitive is appositional (cf. on i. 8). The epithet *virgin* is conventional, and does not describe Babylon as a hitherto inviolate fortress, for the city on repeated occasions in her earlier history had undergone capture.

Chaldeans. Babylon at this time was ruled by a Chaldean dynasty which came from Southern Babylonia (see p. lii).

tender and delicate. For the luxury of Babylon cf. xiii. 19, xiv. 11, xxi. 5, Jer. li. 39.

2. *millstones.* The grinding of corn was the occupation of female slaves, see Ex. xi. 5, Job xxxi. 10, Matt. xxiv. 41; cf. Hom. *Od.* xx. 105, γυνὴ...ἀλετρίς, VII. 104. The millstone here meant consisted of two circular stones, the lower having in its upper surface a metal pin fixed, round which the upper stone was made to revolve by a handle.

thy veil. A veil was ordinarily used by ladies of rank to protect their faces from the heat or the gaze of the insolent: cf. iii. 19, Cant. iv. 1, 3, vi. 7.

strip off, etc. The captive, deported into a foreign land, has to replace the trailing robes of a lady (cf. iii. 22) by the shorter skirts of a menial, and to ford the streams that cross the line of march.

3. *Thy nakedness*, etc. The words are usually employed of outrage (iii. 17, Jer. xiii. 22, 26, Ezek. xxiii. 10, 29); cf. Nah. iii. 5, Lam. i. 8. By Duhm and others the clause (down to *seen*) is rejected as a gloss for metrical reasons.

I will take, etc. The speaker is the Lord (see on *v.* 4).

will accept no man. Literally, *will meet no man* (in a gracious spirit), i.e. will spare none (cf. lxiv. 5). But the text should probably be corrected, by the omission of *man* (see on *v.* 4) and a change of points, to *I will not let myself be intreated* (לֹא אֶפָּגַע), i.e. I will be inexorable in the infliction of vengeance. Grätz and others substitute *I will not refrain* (לֹא אֶפְרַע, cf. Ezek. xxiv. 14).

name, the Holy One of Israel. 5 Sit thou silent, and get thee
into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no
more be called The lady of kingdoms. 6 I was wroth with my
people, I profaned mine inheritance, and gave them into thine
hand: thou didst shew them no mercy; upon the aged hast
thou very heavily laid thy yoke. 7 And thou saidst, I shall be
a lady for ever: so that thou didst not lay these things to thy
heart, neither didst remember the latter end thereof.
8 Now therefore hear this, thou that art given to pleasures,
that [1]dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, I am, and
there is none else beside me; I shall not sit as a widow, neither

[1] Or, *sittest securely*

4. *Our redeemer*, etc. Better (after the LXX. A)—the verse being connected with the preceding—*saith* (reading אָמַר for אָדָם, *v.* 3) *our redeemer, whose name is the Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel.*

5. *Sit thou silent*, etc. The splendour and society of her court must be exchanged for the gloom and solitude of captivity (for the sense of *darkness* see xlii. 7, xlix. 9).

The lady of kingdoms. i.e. the suzerain of numerous subject-states (cf. xiii. 19).

6. *I profaned.* To *profane* is to "make common," the opposite of *sanctify* (i.e. set apart); cf. xliii. 28. The Lord had set apart Israel for Himself, and so long as it was faithful to its obligations, it was safe from aggression (cf. Jer. ii. 3). But when the nation disregarded its duties, its privileges were cancelled and the land became "profane," at the mercy of any assailant (cf. Jer. l. 7, 11, xii. 7, 8). The Babylonians, in the pursuit of their own aims, had been, like the Assyrians (x. 5), the unconscious agents of the Divine indignation, but they had used their power harshly (see xiv. 3, li. 14, Jer. xxix. 22, Lam. iv. 16, v. 12) and borne themselves arrogantly, and had thereby provoked the Divine resentment (cf. Zech. i. 15). But see on xlii. 22.

7. *And thou saidst*, etc. Better, *And thou saidst, I shall be for ever, a lady eternally: thou didst not*, etc. (the word rendered *so that* being really a noun (used in ix. 6)). The passage has suggested Rev. xviii. 7.

these things. viz. that Israel had been placed in her hands by the Lord for a special purpose and that the period of her control was defined.

8—15. Babylon's confidence in the influence of her enchantments to preserve her will only betray her.

8. *I am.* Similar language, only appropriate to God (see xlv. 5, 6, 18, 20, xlvi. 9), is attributed to Nineveh (Zeph. ii. 15) and to Tyre (Ezek. xxviii. 2).

as a widow. The figure of a virgin (*v.* 1) is dropped, now that a different idea has to be expressed. By Babylon's predicted widowhood

shall I know the loss of children: 9 but these two things shall come
to thee in a moment in one day, the loss of children, and widow-
hood: in their full measure shall they come upon thee, [1]despite
of the multitude of thy sorceries, and the great abundance of
thine enchantments. 10 For thou hast trusted in thy wicked-
ness; thou hast said, None seeth me; thy wisdom and thy
knowledge, it hath perverted thee: and thou hast said in thine
heart, I am, and there is none else beside me. 11 Therefore
shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know [2]the dawning
thereof: and mischief shall fall upon thee; thou shalt not be
able to put it away: and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly,

[1] Or, *amidst* [2] Or, *how to charm it away*

is perhaps meant her loss of the protection believed to be afforded her by her tutelary god, who is thought of as her husband, just as JEHOVAH is described as the Husband of Israel (l. 1, lxii. 4). The *loss of children* denotes the destruction of her population (li. 18, liv. 1, Lam. i. 1, Bar. iv. 12).

9. *in their full measure.* The LXX. and Syr. have *suddenly* (פִּתְאֹם for כְּתֻמָּם).

thine enchantments, etc. Babylonia and Egypt were the two countries of antiquity where magic was chiefly prevalent (Dan. i. 20, ii. 27, Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 7); and it was especially from Babylonia that magical practices extended to Israel and the adjoining countries. The *enchantments* are supposed to have consisted in the tying of magic knots (cf. Verg. *E.* VIII. 77, 78), the *sorceries* in concocting a magic potion (cf. Hom. *Od.* x. 234—6)[1].

10. *None seeth.* i.e. to call her to account (Ezek. viii. 12, ix. 9, Ps. x. 11, xciv. 7).

thy wisdom, etc. The writer probably has in mind astrological and magical lore. Cuneiform texts are full of formulæ for working and counterworking spells (see Hastings, *DB.* III. p. 208).

11. *thou shalt...the dawning thereof.* i.e. thou shalt be ignorant of the time and direction of its approach: cf. Vulg. *nescies ortum eius.* But the construction of the parallel clause is in favour of taking the last word as the infinitive of a verb and rendering, as in the mg., (*thou shalt not know how*) *to charm it away.*

to put it away. Literally, *to propitiate it* (cf. the Latin *expiare prodigia*), i.e. to avert it by propitiatory offerings. Diodorus Siculus (II. 29) states: "The Chaldeans are devoted to divination, and predict future occurrences, of which they seek to avert the unfavourable and to promote the favourable by means of purifications or sacrifices or spells."

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[1] See *Lex. s.* חָבַר and כָּשַׁף.

which thou knowest not. 12 Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest [1]prevail. 13 Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the [2]astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from the things that shall come upon thee. 14 Behold, they shall be as stubble; the fire shall burn them; they shall not

[1] Or, *strike terror* [2] Heb. *dividers of the heavens.*

which thou knowest not. i.e. unawares (cf. Ps. xxxv. 8, Heb.). But possibly after *thou knowest not* (*how*) an infinitive has been lost (e.g. *to charm away*, חַבְּרָה, parallel with *to put away* in the preceding clause).

12. *Stand*, etc. i.e. persist with (Eccles. viii. 3). Compare the ironical address of Elijah to the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs. xviii. 27).

prevail. Better (with the mg.), *strike terror* (into thine adversaries): cf. Ps. x. 18.

13. *thy counsels.* i.e. the various secular policies advocated by her statesmen to meet the crisis that confronted her. But possibly *counsels* should be emended (with Marti) to *counsellors* (יֹעֲצַיִךְ for עֲצָתַיִךְ) which forms a better parallel to the terms that follow in the next clause.

let now the astrologers, etc. Better (if the text is correct), *let them stand up now to save thee, the astrologers, the stargazers, and those who every month make known from what quarter things* (i.e. calamities) *shall come upon thee.* But probably *from what quarter* (מֵאֲשֶׁר) should be emended to *what things* (אֲשֶׁר), after the LXX. The term rendered *astrologers* is literally *dividers of the heavens,* i.e. those who divided the sky into sections, or its stars into groups (such as the signs of the Zodiac, which, with several other constellations, like Orion and the Great Bear, were known and named in Babylonia from very early times). The Babylonians observed the heavens, and registered the movements of the sun, moon, and planets through them, not merely from an interest in astronomical science but for astrological purposes, Diodorus Siculus (II. 30) stating, "Of the stars they make protracted observations, and being of all people the most accurately acquainted with the motions and influence of each, they foretell to men many of the events that are about to happen." Monthly calendars were prepared in which were indicated the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies which foreboded favourable or unfavourable occurrences on particular days; and Babylonian astrology became so famous that *Chaldæi* became amongst the Romans a synonym for all diviners who told fortunes by the stars (see Juv. *Sat.* VI. 553, X. 94; cf. also Hor. *Od.* I. xi. 2, *Babylonios...numeros*).

14. *they shall be as stubble*, etc. The astrologers, so far from helping their countrymen, will be unable to save themselves. For *fire* as a figure for a consuming judgment cf. i. 31, xxx. 30.

deliver themselves from the power of the flame: it shall not be
a coal to warm at, nor a fire to sit before. 15 Thus shall the
things be unto thee wherein thou hast laboured: they that
have trafficked with thee from thy youth shall wander every
one to [1]his quarter; there shall be none to save thee.

[1] Or, *his own way*

it shall not be a coal, etc. An ironical litotes, suggestive of the real magnitude of the fire which will be kindled for Babylon, cf. Ezek. xxiv. 9, 10. This clause is rejected by many recent critics as a prosaic addition.

15. *they that have trafficked.* Babylon's commerce was famous (see Ezek. xvii. 4). But the context (see *vv.* 12, 13) seems to require a reference not to trade but to astrology or sorcery, and Duhm, followed by Marti and Kittel, proposes, *Thus shall they be with whom thou hast laboured from thy youth, even thy workers of charms* (בַּאֲשֶׁר for אֲשֶׁר and שׁוֹחֲרִיךְ for סוֹחֲרִיךְ).

to his quarter. Better, *to the quarter over against him*, i.e. will seek to escape by the nearest road.

Chapter XLVIII.

This c. may be divided into four sections: (1) a complaint of Israel's insincerity and idolatry (*vv.* 1—11); (2) a renewed declaration of Babylon's imminent overthrow by Cyrus (*vv.* 12—16); (3) a lament over Israel's disobedience and its consequences (*vv.* 17—19); (4) an exhortation to the exiles to depart from Babylon (*vv.* 20—22).

The contents of the c. are, for the most part, a reproduction of subjects already treated; but the repetition of them here is accompanied by bitter reflections upon the religious condition of the people addressed, which are difficult to reconcile with the general tenor of Deutero-Isaiah's writings and the circumstances of the times immediately preceding the Return. A reproachful tone, indeed, is not entirely absent from the preceding cc., in which it is complained that the exiled people had failed to profit by their chastisement (xlii. 25), had wearied the Lord with their sins (xliii. 24), and had cavilled at His plan for their redemption (xlv. 9). But here in *v.* 5 a charge of actual idolatry is advanced, the Lord's prediction of the future being represented as designed to prevent the causation of events from being ascribed by Israel to its idols; whilst *vv.* 18, 19 are marked by a tone of depression which is unnatural on the eve of the deliverance from captivity. (See also on *v.* 9.) It is no doubt possible that some of the exiles were attracted by the Babylonian worship, and that the charge of idolatry brought by the prophet can be thus accounted for. But the peculiarities of the passage are so numerous and remarkable that they seem to justify the hypothesis of interpolation, and Duhm, Cheyne and Marti hold that the original prophecy has been modified

by a post-exilic editor who by insertions has sought to convert it into a rebuke of his own idolatrous contemporaries (see lvii. 5 f., lxv. 3, lxvi. 17). The inserted passages are thought to be *vv.* 1 (except the first clause), 2, 4, 5[b], 7[c] (*lest thou...knew them*), 8[b], 9, 10, 11 (*for how...profaned*), 17—19.

XLVIII. 1 Hear ye this, O house of Jacob, which are called by the name of Israel, and are come forth out of the waters of Judah; which swear by the name of the LORD, and make mention of the God of Israel, but not in truth, nor in righteousness. 2 For they call themselves of the holy city, and stay themselves upon the God of Israel; the LORD of hosts is his name. 3 I have declared the former things from of old; yea, they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them: suddenly I did them, and they came to pass. 4 Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy

XLVIII. 1—11. A rebuke of Israel for its disbelief and idolatrous tendencies, which the Lord has sought to overcome by the display of His predictive power.

1. *this.* i.e. the declaration that begins with *v.* 3.

which are called. Better, *which call themselves* (cf. *v.* 2).

are come forth out of the waters, etc. The metaphor of a *fountain* is similarly used of an ancestor in Ps. lxviii. 26, Deut. xxxiii. 28. But some critics would substitute *which come forth from the bowels of Judah* (מִמְּעֵי for מִמֵּי, cf. Gen. xv. 4, 2 Sam. vii. 12), and the LXX. has merely οἱ ἐξ Ἰούδα ἐξελθόντες. Reference to Judah by name in cc. xl.—lxvi. only recurs again in lxv. 9.

swear by. To swear by the name of the Lord was a token of allegiance, as implying faith in His existence and His power to avenge perjury; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 42, Jer. xii. 16, Deut. vi. 13, x. 20.

make mention of. i.e. participate in the worship and praise of the Lord; cf. xxvi. 13, lxiii. 7, Ps. xx. 7, Ex. xxiii. 13, Josh. xxiii. 7.

in truth...in righteousness. i.e. in sincerity; cf. Zech. viii. 8.

2. *For.* This refers back to the beginning of *v.* 1, and explains why the prophet describes those whom he addresses as *the house of Jacob*.

they call...city. The description is perhaps rather more appropriate to actual residents in Jerusalem than to Jewish exiles in a foreign land. The phrase *the holy city* (Jerusalem is still called *El Kuds*, "the Holy") recurs in lii. 1, but is commonest in late writings like Nehemiah (xi. 1, 18) and Daniel (ix. 24): cf. Matt. iv. 5, xxvii. 53.

stay themselves, etc. i.e. profess reliance upon the Lord.

3. *the former things.* i.e. past events which the Lord had correctly predicted (as in xlii. 9, xliv. 8, xlvi. 10).

4. *thy neck*, etc. The figure, perhaps taken from a stubborn ox, occurs in Ex. xxxii. 9, Deut. ix. 6, 13, xxxi. 27.

brow brass; 5 therefore I have declared it to thee from of old;
before it came to pass I shewed it thee: lest thou shouldest
say, Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and my
molten image, hath commanded them. 6 Thou hast heard it;
behold all this; and ye, will ye not declare it? [1]I have shewed
thee new things from this time, even hidden things, which thou
hast not known. 7 They are created now, and not from of old;
and before this day thou heardest them not; lest thou shouldest
say, Behold, I knew them. 8 Yea, thou heardest not; yea,
thou knewest not; yea, from of old thine ear was not opened:

[1] Or, *I shew*

5. *therefore I have declared.* Literally, *and I declared it*, the sentence (if *v.* 4 is an insertion) connecting naturally with *v.* 3. The writer has in view the prevalence of prophecy throughout Israel's history, not any particular prediction.

lest thou shouldest, etc. Elsewhere in these cc. Israel is the witness of the Lord's prophetic powers in His controversy with the heathen (see xliii. 10, 12, xliv. 8), but here it is represented as the unbeliever whom predictions are designed to convince.

commanded them. i.e. called into existence the events in question (cf. xlv. 12, xxxiv. 16, Ps. xxxiii. 9, cxlviii. 5).

6. *behold all this.* i.e. observe that all has come to pass as predicted. But probably the imperative should be replaced by the perfect, *and thou hast seen all this* (after the Syriac).

will ye not declare it? i.e. will ye not acknowledge it (cf. iii. 9, Ps. xxxviii. 18)? But the change to the plural is abrupt, and Duhm would substitute *wilt thou not bear witness to it* (אַתָּה...תָּעִיד for אַתֶּם... תַּגִּידוּ)?

I have shewed. Better (as in the mg.), *I shew*, the new things being the advance of Cyrus to the assault of Babylon, which the Lord now proceeds to predict (*v.* 14); cf. xlii. 9.

hidden things. Literally, *things reserved* (in the Divine purposes).

7. *They are created now*, etc. i.e. the events which are now predicted (see *v.* 6) are quite new and unprecedented; cf. xliii. 18, 19.

before this day. Perhaps better (after the LXX.), *formerly* (לְפָנִים? for לִפְנֵי־יוֹם).

lest thou shouldest, etc. This clause gives a different turn to the natural sense of *vv.* 6[b], 7[a], and implies that Cyrus' overthrow of Babylon had not been foretold earlier lest familiarity with the expectation of it should lead Israel to say, when it came to pass, that it only accorded with their own calculations.

8. *thine ear was not opened.* Probably the first half of this *v.*, like *vv.* 6[b], 7[a], only means that Israel had hitherto received no Divine announcements respecting Cyrus. The punishment of Babylon and the termination of Israel's exile had indeed been predicted by Jeremiah

for I knew that thou didst deal very treacherously, and wast
called a transgressor from the womb. 9 For my name's sake
will I defer mine anger, and for my praise will I refrain for thee,
that I cut thee not off. 10 Behold, I have refined thee, but
not as silver; I have [1]chosen thee in the furnace of affliction.
11 For mine own sake, for mine own sake, will I do it; for how
should *my name* be profaned? and my glory will I not give to
another.

12 Hearken unto me, O Jacob, and Israel my called: I am
he; I am the first, I also am the last. 13 Yea, mine hand hath

[1] Or, *tried*

(xxv. 12, xxix. 10, cf. Hab. ii. 8); but the agency destined to bring these results about had not previously been indicated. The LXX. has the active verb, *thine ear I did not open*, cf. l. 5.

for I knew that, etc. The second half of the *v.* (which is similar in tone to *vv.* 5[b], 7[c]) implies that revelations about Cyrus had been intentionally withheld: had the Divine purpose been disclosed sooner, the faithless people would not have been impressed in the manner desired.

and wast called, etc. i.e. thou wast (see on i. 26) a transgressor (or rebel) from thy earliest origin as a people (cf. xliii. 27).

9. *will I defer*, etc. The language here used is rather unnatural if addressed to the exiles who had already undergone captivity for half a century.

will I refrain for thee. Literally, *will muzzle* (my anger) *for thee.* Duhm conjectures *will I have pity on thee* (אָחוּס עָלֶיךָ for אֶחֱטָם־לָךְ).

10. *not as silver.* i.e. not with such drastic treatment as silver receives (see Ps. xii. 6): for the construction (בְּ where בְּ might be expected) cf. Ezek. xx. 41. But the original is ambiguous, and though the Vulg. explains it as above, Cheyne takes it to mean *not with* (sterling) *silver* as a product, i.e. the desired result had not accrued from Israel's chastisement. For the figure cf. i. 22, 25, Ezek. xxii. 18—22, Zech. xiii. 9, Mal. iii. 3.

chosen. Better (as in the mg.), *tried*, an Aramaic sense of the verb.

in the furnace. Similarly the bondage in Egypt is termed an iron furnace (Deut. iv. 20, 1 Kgs. viii. 51, Jer. xi. 4). For *of affliction* Cheyne substitutes *in vain* (חִנָּם for עֹנִי) after Klostermann.

11. *For mine own sake*, etc. Duhm gets rid of the duplication by reading *For my name's sake*, which supplies the missing subject in the next clause. The Lord's motive in redeeming Israel, in spite of its shortcomings, was to prevent His power from being disparaged by the heathen in consequence of the protracted captivity of His people (see on xliii. 25, and cf. xxxvii. 35, 2 Kgs. xx. 6). For a further motive, to which the one here mentioned was subordinate, see xlv. 22.

laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spread
out the heavens: when I call unto them, they stand up together.
14 Assemble yourselves, all ye, and hear; which among them
hath declared these things? [1]The LORD hath loved him: he
shall perform his pleasure on Babylon, and his arm *shall be on*
the Chaldeans. 15 I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have called
him: I have brought him, and he shall make his way prosperous.
16 Come ye near unto me, hear ye this; from the beginning I
have not spoken in secret; from the time that it was, there am
I: and now the Lord GOD hath sent me, and his spirit. 17 Thus

[1] Or, *He whom the* LORD *loveth shall &c.*

12—16. A renewed declaration of the Lord's sole godhead and of His purpose to destroy Babylon by the agency of Cyrus.

The section reproduces the substance of xliii. 9—12, xliv. 6—8.

13. *spread out.* Literally, *spanned out* (the cognate substantive signifying a "span" or "hand-breadth," Ex. xxxv. 35, xxxvii. 12, Ps. xxxix. 5).

they stand up. i.e. like servants obeying their master's directions (cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9, Heb.).

14. *Assemble,* etc. The command is addressed to the Israelites (cf. *v.* 15).

among them. i.e. among the heathen gods, cf. xli. 26. Some MSS. have *among you,* which is supported by the Syr.

The LORD *hath loved,* etc. Better (with Sym. followed by the mg.), *He whom the* LORD *loveth* (i.e. Cyrus) *shall perform his pleasure on Babylon, and shall* manifest *his arm* (i.e. execute His judgment) on *the Chaldeans.* The Lord's *arm* is His power to chastise or defend (xl. 10, li. 5, 9, lii. 10). But the zeugma is rather violent, and Duhm is perhaps right in emending the concluding words after the LXX. and reading (*shall perform his pleasure on Babylon*) *and on the seed of the Chaldeans* (וּבְזֶרַע for וּזְרֹעוֹ).

15. *he shall make,* etc. Better (with the LXX. and Syr.), *I have made his way prosperous.*

16. *from the beginning,* etc. i.e. from the very inception of Cyrus' enterprise against Babylon (to which the pronoun *it* in the next clause refers) the Lord's activity had been manifested in it. But instead of *there am I* should perhaps be substituted *I have declared it* (הִשְׁמַעְתִּי for שָׁם אָנִי); cf. xliv. 8.

and now...spirit. i.e. the Lord hath sent me, endowed with His spirit (the substantive *spirit* being, like the pronoun *me,* the object of the verb, though the Vulg. takes it as the subject, *et nunc Dominus Deus misit me, et spiritus eius*). The clause is a parenthetic insertion, perhaps proceeding from the post-exilic interpolator, who claims to have a commission to address his contemporaries (cf. lxi. 1).

saith the LORD, thy redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: I am the
LORD thy God, which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee
by the way that thou shouldest go. 18 [1]Oh that thou hadst
hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a
river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea: 19 thy
seed also had been as the sand, and the offspring of thy bowels
like [2]the grains thereof: his name should not be cut off nor
destroyed from before me.

20 Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans; with

[1] Or, *Oh that thou wouldest hearken...then should thy peace be &c.*
[2] Or, that of *the bowels thereof*

17—19. A lament over Israel's past indifference to the Lord's instruction, and the prosperity which in consequence it has foregone.

This passage is probably an interpolation. The hopelessness which marks the retrospect which it contains seems alien to the spirit of Deutero-Isaiah writing at a time when the past was on the point of being retrieved; and the section separates passages which naturally cohere, for the exultant tone of *vv.* 20 f. would be more in place if it followed immediately upon the announcement (*vv.* 14—16) that the Lord had directed Cyrus' movements (see further on *v.* 19).

17. *which teacheth thee.* The conception of the Lord as a teacher appears in Jer. xxxii. 33, Ps. lxxi. 17, perhaps cf. also Is. xxx. 20.

to profit. Better, *to thy profit.*

18. *Oh that thou hadst,* etc. For a like lament over misused opportunities cf. Luke xix. 42.

thy peace, etc. Israel's prosperity (liv. 13, lxvi. 12) would then have been as ample and as constant as the waters of a broad and unfailing river like the Euphrates.

thy righteousness. i.e. the external success which was evidence of right relations with the Almighty (cf. liv. 17, lxi. 11, Jer. li. 10).

19. *like the grains thereof.* Cf. Vulg. *ut lapilli eius.* The LXX. has ὡς ὁ χοῦς τῆς γῆς (cf. Gen. xiii. 16), whence some critics would read *like the dust* (כְּעָפָר).

his name should not, etc. Better, *his* (LXX. *thy*) *name would not be cut off.* For the phraseology cf. xiv. 22. When the passage was written Israel was clearly reduced in numbers almost to extinction; and the language seems more appropriate to the century that followed the Return when the population in Palestine was scanty (see Neh. vii. 4, cf. xxvi. 18) than to the time immediately preceding the Return when hopes were entertained that the numbers of the Jewish nation would be greatly increased.

from before me. i.e. out of the Lord's land (cf. 2 Kgs. xxiv. 20).

20—21. An exhortation to the people to depart from the land of their captivity.

It is assumed that Babylon is already captured (see *vv.* 14, 15) and

a voice of singing declare ye, tell this, utter it even to the end
of the earth: say ye, The LORD hath redeemed his servant Jacob.
21 And they thirsted not when he led them through the deserts:
he caused the waters to flow out of the rock for them: he clave
the rock also, and the waters gushed out. 22 There is no peace,
saith the LORD, unto the wicked.

the way opened for the return of Israel to its home. The passage should probably follow on *v.* 16.

20. *flee.* The expression must here denote an eager, not a terrified, departure (see lii. 12).

21. *And they thirsted not*, etc. The past tenses are prophetic perfects, and the homeward journey is regarded as already accomplished. The exiles are represented to have been as miraculously refreshed as were their ancestors in the wilderness after the Exodus from Egypt (Ex. xvii. 6, Num. xx. 11, Ps. cv. 41).

22. *There is no peace*, etc. The generalization, which recurs in lvii. 21, and here does not harmonize with its immediate context, is probably an insertion proceeding from the post-exilic writer who introduced the interpolations in *vv.* 1—11, 17—19; though some critics have regarded it as an editorial addition designed to mark, in conjunction with lvii. 21, the division of cc. xl.—lxvi. into three sections when the writings of Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah had become united and were believed to be the work of one hand.

SECOND COLLECTION. CHAPTERS XLIX.—LV.

In this group of cc. a change is observable in the character of the contents of Deutero-Isaiah's work. There is no longer any insistence upon the unique godhead of the Lord and the unreality of idols, or any appeal to the evidence of prophecy; and there is no further mention of Cyrus as the Lord's agent for Babylon's overthrow. The writer's thoughts are in a measure transferred from the exiles in Babylon to the desolated Jerusalem and the prospect of its restoration to its former populous and prosperous condition. This suggests that some interval separated the composition of this part of the book from the preceding: and certain critics have thought that some, if not all, of the cc. in this group were composed in Palestine shortly after the first body of exiles had returned thither, whilst Cheyne dates them about 432[1]. But though several passages at first sight seem to favour this view and to promise expansion to a sparse population already settled on its native soil (xlix. 19, liv. 2, 3), others imply that the destruction of the oppressor and the relief of the oppressed are still in the future (xlix. 26, li. 14, lii. 4, 5, 11, liv. 8, 14, lv. 12), and the general tenor of this part of the book points to its having been written, like the foregoing, at Babylon (lii. 5)[2] before its capture and the release of the exiles.

[1] The place of their composition he considers to be Babylon (see *SBOT.* p. 126).
[2] But the authenticity of this *v.* is doubtful.

CHAPTER XLIX. 1—6.

This section contains the second of the "Servant Songs," which, like the first, is written in quatrains (six). Though the address, of which it consists, begins abruptly (cf. l. 4), the Servant is manifestly the speaker (*vv.* 3, 5, 6), and is conceived to be explaining to the nation his vocation, his sense of past failure, and his confidence of eventual success. He is expressly identified with Israel (*v.* 3), and is depicted (as in xlii. 1 f.) as being commissioned by the Lord to enlighten the heathen world. In both passages his function resembles that of a prophet, but whereas in xlii. 1—4 stress is laid upon his gentleness and conciliatoriness of bearing, here the impressive and penetrating quality of his speech is emphasized. Here, too, for the first time it is implied that his success is preceded by a period of failure and attendant depression.

XLIX. 1 Listen, O isles, unto me; and hearken, ye peoples, from far: the LORD hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name: 2 and he hath made my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of his hand hath he hid me; and he hath made me a polished shaft, in his quiver hath he kept me close: 3 and he said unto me, Thou art my servant; Israel, in whom I will be glorified.

XLIX. 1. *Listen, O isles.* Those who are addressed are the distant Gentile peoples of the West (see on xi. 11), whose conversion to the Lord the Servant is designed to bring about (cf. xlii. 1—6).

the LORD hath called, etc. The phraseology is the same as that employed of the actual Israel in xli. 9, xlviii. 12; cf. also xliv. 2, 24, xlvi. 3. The words *from the womb* may be understood of the earliest origin of the nation in the Call of Abraham (cf. li. 2).

made mention of my name. i.e. given me a name which indicates my function and importance, viz. the title of JEHOVAH'S Servant.

2. *he hath made my mouth*, etc. Israel, being destined to be the Lord's agent for the conversion of the world (cf. li. 16), is represented as equipped with incisive powers of speech. For the comparison cf. Ps. lvii. 4, Heb. iv. 12, Eph. vi. 17, Rev. i. 16, and the similar figures in Jer. xxiii. 29, Eccles. xii. 11; cf. also Eupolis *ap.* Diod. Sic. XII. 40 (of Pericles), καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλιπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.

in the shadow, etc. Cf. li. 16. During the pre-exilic period Israel's function as the instructor of the nations in the knowledge of the Lord was confined to the influence of isolated prophets with individuals (see 2 Kgs. v. 17), and during the exile was in abeyance altogether.

3. *Israel.* The name is omitted by one Heb. MS., but is represented in the various versions. It is possible that the word is a vocative (as the LXX. takes it)—*Thou art my servant, O Israel*, etc.; but it is more likely a second predicate, alluding perhaps to the

4 But I said, I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength
for nought and vanity: yet surely my judgement is with the
LORD, and my recompence with my God. 5 And now saith the
LORD that formed me from the womb to be his servant, to bring
Jacob again to him, [1]and that Israel be gathered unto him:

[1] Another reading is, *but Israel is not gathered, yet shall I be &c.*

etymology of Israel ("*God strives*" or "*perseveres*," see Gen. xxxii. 28): it is a people in and through whom (as its name declares) God is active.

in whom I will be glorified. Cf. xliv. 23. Both the retrieval of Israel's fortunes (described in *v.* 5), and the diffusion by Israel of a knowledge of the Lord among the Gentiles (*v.* 6), would redound to the Lord's glory.

This *v.* is too short for the third quatrain; and since in *v.* 5 the last two lines (enclosed in the R.V. within a parenthesis) are redundant, Duhm transposes them hither. If thus transferred, they should be translated (pointing וְאֶכָּבֵד): *and I became honourable in the eyes of the Lord* (cf. xliii. 4), *and my God became my strength.*

4. *I have laboured in vain.* The religious influence upon mankind, which Israel in some measure could exert when an independent nation, seemed to be ended by the Exile, and its mission in the world to be consequently fruitless.

my judgement. i.e. the decision in its favour (evinced by a turn in its fortunes) which Israel, as the representative, in a heathen world, of the true religion, might expect (cf. xl. 27). The people, here and in l. 7, are described as preserving faith and hope (contrast xlix. 14, xl. 27).

5. *And now*, etc. The rendering of the R.V. implies that among the functions of the Servant is the restoration of Israel, and so assumes a distinction between the two (cf. xlii. 6, 7). But nothing is said in the preceding or subsequent Songs of any such duty: hence better, *But now* (xliii. 1, xliv. 1) *the Lord that formed me from the womb to be his servant is minded* (literally, *saith*, cf. Ex. ii. 14, 1 Sam. xxx. 6, 1 Kgs. v. 5) *to bring Jacob again to himself* (i.e. restore it to its own land, *v.* 6, cf. Jer. l. 19, Ezek. xxxix. 27) *and that Israel should be gathered unto him.*

and that Israel, etc. In the original there are variant readings (as in ix. 3, lxiii. 9). The Heb. text has a negative (לֹא) before the verb, which is supported by Th., Sym., and the Vulg.; if this is correct, the meaning must be *and that Israel be not taken away* (for the signification of the verb see xvi. 10, lvii. 1, Hos. iv. 3, Ezek. xxxiv. 29, mg., and for the combination of synonymous positive and negative expressions cf. xlv. 1). The Heb. mg. (followed by the R.V.), substitutes a pronoun, *to him* or *to himself* (לוֹ), which is confirmed by Aq. The general sense of the passage is the same with either reading. The LXX. omits both the negative and the pronoun, and reads Συναχθήσομαι.

(for I am honourable in the eyes of the LORD, and my God is
become my strength:) 6 yea, he saith, It is too light a thing
that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of
Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give
thee for a light to the Gentiles, [1]that thou mayest be my
salvation unto the end of the earth.

[1] Or, *that my salvation may be*

for I am honourable, etc. See on *v.* 3 (where the clause may have been accidentally omitted and re-inserted from the margin in a wrong position).

6. *yea, he saith*, etc. The R.V. again distinguishes between the Servant and Israel; hence better (beginning a new sentence and inserting לִי with the LXX.), *And he saith to me, It is too light a thing for thy being my servant* (i.e. it is incommensurate with the importance and dignity of such a relation) *that I should* (only) *raise up* (or *re-establish*) *the tribes of Jacob, and restore* (from Babylon) *the preserved of Israel.* The infinitives לְהָקִים and לְהָשִׁיב form the subject of the verb נָקַל (cf. 2 Kgs. xx. 10), and of these infinitives the Lord is the subject (as He is of the following verb *give*). The words rendered *for thy being my servant* (מִהְיוֹתְךָ לִי עֶבֶד) spoil the metre of the sixth quatrain and should probably be omitted.

the tribes. Israel, though now consisting of little more than a single tribe, is thought of in its ideal completeness (cf. Ezek. xlvii. 13 f., Matt. xix. 28).

the preserved. i.e. those who had survived in exile the destruction of the state. But the LXX. implies *the dispersed of Israel.*

I will also give thee, etc. Better, *wherefore* (1 Sam. vi. 5) *I will give thee for a light*, etc.; cf. xlii. 6, li. 4, Luke ii. 32.

that thou, etc. So the LXX. and Vulg., but perhaps better (as in the mg.), *that my salvation may be*, etc.; cf. xlv. 22. The Lord's speech in this *v.* implies that the significance of Israel's position as His Servant could not be exhausted by its redemption from exile: that favoured relationship was not one of privilege only, procuring for it succour in its need (see xli. 8—20, etc.), but of responsible ministry likewise, the purpose of its vocation being to illuminate the darkness of the heathen world with a knowledge of the true God and of His saving power.

The passage was cited by St Paul and Barnabas in their address at Pisidian Antioch (Acts xiii. 47), when the Jews opposed their preaching and the Apostles in consequence turned to the Gentiles[1].

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[1] By the Apostles the Servant was probably identified with the Messiah: cf. Luke ii. 12.

XLIX. 7—L. 3.

The main tenor of the prophecy is here resumed, and there follows a series of addresses giving assurance to the exiled people that its release is at hand (xlix. 7—13), and to disconsolate Zion that the Lord's love for her has not failed (xlix. 14—21) and that her children shall be restored to her (xlix. 22—26), and affirming that there is nothing to justify the unresponsiveness with which the Lord's appeals are received (l. 1—3).

7 Thus saith the LORD, the redeemer of Israel, *and* his Holy
One, to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation
abhorreth, to a servant of rulers: Kings shall see and arise;
princes, and they shall worship; because of the LORD that
is faithful, *even* the Holy One of Israel, who hath chosen thee.

7—13. A confirmation, by the Lord, of the promise of Israel's high destiny, and an assurance to it of approaching emancipation and a safe passage through the wilderness to its home.

This section reproduces the main idea of the preceding Song, as xlii. 5—7 does that of xlii. 1—4, but the writer quickly passes from the thought of Israel's ultimate mission in the world to that of its immediate release and journey home. It probably proceeds from Deutero-Isaiah, whose interest largely centres in the prospect of the exiles' deliverance (xl. 9—11, xlii. 7, xliv. 26, li. 3, 14, lii. 1, 7, 9); but Cheyne regards it (like xlii. 5—7) as a link composed by an editor who inserted the Songs in Deutero-Isaiah's work.

7. *the redeemer*, etc. The same combination of titles as in xli. 14, xliii. 14, xlvii. 4, etc.

whom man despiseth. Literally, *despised of soul*, which has been variously explained to mean (1) *despised in regard to his soul* (i.e. deemed unworthy to live, cf. liii. 7, 8); (2) *despised from the soul* (i.e. heartily despised, cf. Ps. xvii. 9); (3) *despised of persons* (*soul* being equivalent to souls or persons, as in Gen. xii. 5, Ezek. xxvii. 13). The parallelism favours the last: cf. li. 7.

whom the nation, etc. Better, *whom nations abhor* (literally, *abhorred of a nation*), the sing. being used, as in lv. 5, of nations collectively, cf. the use of עַם in xl. 7, xlii. 5 and perhaps Ps. xxii. 6, lxii. 8: LXX. *τὸν βδελυσσόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν.*

rulers. i.e. Israel's heathen oppressors (cf. xiv. 5).

shall see. The sight that is to be seen is the wonderful release and restoration of Israel, previously the object of ill-treatment and contempt.

arise, etc. i.e. in order to shew respect (cf. Lat. *assurgo*), see *v.* 23, lii. 15, lx. 14, Gen. xix. 1, Lev. xix. 32, Job xxix. 8.

worship. i.e. render homage (as in Gen. xxxiii. 6, Ex. xviii. 7, 2 Sam. ix. 8).

because of the LORD. i.e. in consequence of the Lord's faithfulness

8 Thus saith the LORD, In an acceptable time have I answered
thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee: and I will
preserve thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, to
[1]raise up the land, to make them inherit the desolate heritages;
9 saying to them that are bound, Go forth; to them that are in
darkness, Shew yourselves. They shall feed in the ways, and
on all bare heights shall be their pasture. 10 They shall not
hunger nor thirst; neither shall the [2]heat nor sun smite them:
for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the
springs of water shall he guide them. 11 And I will make all
my mountains a way, and my high ways shall be exalted.
12 Lo, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north
and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim. 13 Sing,

[1] Or, *establish the earth* [2] Or, *mirage* See ch. xxxv. 7.

to the nation of His choice (Deut. vii. 9) and His transcendent power; xlv. 14, lv. 5; cf. lii. 10.

This *v.* seems to shew the influence of lii. 15, and confirms the view that Deutero-Isaiah was acquainted with the Servant Songs, and incorporated them in his own work.

8. *In an acceptable time*, etc. Literally, *In a time of favour*, i.e. a time when the Lord was graciously disposed towards His people, cf. lxi. 2, Ps. lxix. 13. The passage is quoted by St Paul in 2 Cor. vi. 2.

for a covenant, etc. Better, *for a covenant of people* (or *peoples*, LXX. ἐθνῶν). The phrase is repeated from xlii. 6 (see note).

to raise up. Better, *raising up...making them inherit*, the infinitives being used gerundially (like *saying*, *v.* 9): cf. xlv. 1. The subject is the Lord, cf. xliv. 26.

9. *them that...darkness.* i.e. the captive exiles, who are now confined in dungeons (xlii. 7), but are to be brought into the light.

in the ways. Better (with the LXX.), *in all ways*, i.e. wherever they go. The train of emancipated slaves, returning through the desert, is compared to a carefully-tended flock (as in xl. 11), which is supplied with pasturage even in the most barren spots.

10. *the heat.* Perhaps, in strictness, the hot air that rises from the ground. The LXX. has καύσων, *hot wind* or *sirocco*, cf. Jonah iv. 8 (LXX.). The words are quoted in Rev. vii. 16.

shall lead them. i.e. under sheltering trees. The *v.* has suggested Rev. vii. 16, 17.

11. *all my...high ways.* i.e. the hills and roads of Palestine (xiv. 25) traversed in the last stages of the journey. But the LXX. and Syr. preferably have *all mountains* and *all high ways* (cf. xl. 4).

shall be exalted. i.e. raised above the surrounding level for the sake of security (cf. xxxv. 9).

12. *the land of Sinim.* The region meant must be in the remote

O heavens; and be joyful, O earth; and break forth into singing,
O mountains: for the LORD hath comforted his people, and will
have compassion upon his afflicted.

14 But Zion said, Jehovah hath forsaken me, and the Lord
hath forgotten me. 15 Can a woman forget her sucking child,
that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb?
yea, these may forget, yet will not I forget thee. 16 Behold, I
have graven thee upon the palms of my hands; thy walls are
continually before me. 17 [1]Thy children make haste; thy
destroyers and they that made thee waste shall go forth
of thee. 18 Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all
these gather themselves together, and come to thee. As I live,
saith the LORD, thou shalt surely clothe thee with them all as
with an ornament, and gird thyself with them, like a bride.

[1] According to some ancient authorities, *Thy builders.*

east or south (cf. Vulg., *de terra australi*); and the most plausible identification is *Syene* (*Seveneh*), the mod. *Assouan* in the south of Egypt (Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6), where recent discoveries prove a Jewish colony to have been in existence in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. (see on xix. 18, 19), whilst in Egypt generally there were Jewish refugees shortly after the fall of Jerusalem in 587 (Jer. xlii. 14, xliv.). Much less probable suggestions are (1) the country of the Sinites (Gen. x. 17), a place near Arka, 80 m. N. of Zidon (excluded by its position and unimportance); (2) Sin (or Pelusium) in the extreme N.E. of Egypt (too near); (3) China, called in Arabic and Syriac *Tsin*, after a dynasty reigning there in the third century B.C. (too distant, and the appellation too recent); (4) *Schina*, a region near the Hindoo Koosh mountains. The LXX. has ἐκ γῆς Περσῶν (probably meaning Elam).

13. *Sing*, etc. The concluding lyric resembles xliv. 23.

14—21. An address to Zion, affirming the Lord's affection for her, and declaring that she is again to possess a numerous population.

14. *But Zion said*, etc. Cf. the similar lament of the exiled people (xl. 27).

15. *yea, these may forget*, etc. i.e. even if these should forget.

16. *I have graven thee*, etc. The Lord is represented anthropomorphically as acting after the custom described in xliv. 5, and as having graven on His hands a plan of Jerusalem in its perfection (cf. Ex. xxv. 40, 1 Ch. xxviii. 11, 19), which is a continual incentive to Him to repair its ruins.

17. *Thy children.* Perhaps better (with one Heb. codex and Vulg., supported by the LXX.), *Thy builders*, which affords a better antithesis to *thy destroyers*: cf. on lxii. 5.

18. *thou shalt surely*, etc. For the comparison of the city's population to a bride's jewels cf. Zech. ix. 16.

19 For, as for thy waste and thy desolate places and thy land
that hath been destroyed, surely now shalt thou be too strait
for the inhabitants, and they that swallowed thee up shall be
far away. 20 The children of thy bereavement shall yet say
in thine ears, The place is too strait for me: give place to me
that I may dwell. 21 Then shalt thou say in thine heart, Who
hath [1]begotten me these, seeing I have been bereaved of my
children, and am [2]solitary, an exile, and wandering to and fro?
and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone;
these, where were they?

22 Thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, I will lift up mine
hand to the nations, and set up my ensign to the peoples: and
they shall bring thy sons in their bosom, and thy daughters

[1] Or, *borne* [2] Or, *barren*

19. *For, as for thy waste*, etc. The Heb. seems to be incomplete, the natural rendering of the text being, *For thy waste and thy desolate places and thy land that hath been destroyed...For now thou shalt be too strait*, etc. Probably some words have been lost.

too strait. i.e. by reason of the dense population, cf. liv. 2, Zech. ii. 4.

they that swallowed, etc. The figure (for ravage and destruction) recurs in Hab. i. 13, Lam. ii. 16.

20. *The...bereavement.* i.e. the numbers added to the Jewish community in course of the Exile.

21. *Who hath begotten*, etc. Better as in the mg. (though the verb is masc.), *Who hath borne me these.* Jerusalem (personified as a woman separated from her husband (l. 1, liv. 4—6) and bereaved of her sons), after having seen her children taken away to die, receives back others who, though legally hers, are not her own offspring; and she seeks to know by whom (i.e. by what land) they have been borne to her, as children were borne to Leah and Rachel by their handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah (Gen. xxx. 1 f.) or to Sarah by Hagar (Gen. xvi. 1 f.).

solitary. Better (as in the mg.), *barren* (Job iii. 7).

an exile, and wandering. Better, *exiled and banished.* But the expressions introduce a thought inconsistent with the preceding (since it is to the population, not the land, that the terms are really applicable), and are omitted by the LXX.: they are probably an insertion.

where were they? i.e. in what foreign land have they been resident this long while? But many scholars render, *what manner of children* (cf. Jud. viii. 18) *are these?* i.e. are they really mine?

22—26. Zion's exiles are to be brought back with tender care by the peoples amongst whom they have been scattered.

22. *I will...hand.* A gesture conveying a summons (as in xiii. 2).

ensign. Used as a signal, as in v. 26, xi. 12, xiii. 2, xviii. 3, lxii. 10.

shall be carried upon their shoulders. 23 And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their faces to the earth, and lick the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the LORD, and they that wait for me shall not be ashamed. 24 Shall the prey be taken from the mighty, or [1]the lawful captives be delivered? 25 But thus saith the LORD, Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered: for I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children. 26 And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine: and all flesh shall know that I the LORD am thy saviour, and thy redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob.

[1] Heb. *the captives of the just.* Or, as read by the Vulg. and Syr., *the captives of the terrible*

23. *And kings*, etc. The exiles who returned to Jerusalem with Ezra received much assistance from the Persian king Artaxerxes (Ezra vii. 21 f.), and materials for building the walls were supplied to Nehemiah by the same sovereign (Neh. ii. 8).

24. *Shall the prey*, etc. The question (like that in *v.* 15) is rhetorical, and put (see on *v.* 25), as well as answered, by the Lord, the implication of the question and reply being that mighty men can ordinarily retain hold of anything that they have acquired, but even if such are sometimes despoiled (cf. Luke xi. 21, 22), yet the Lord (Who is mightier than the mighty) is able to defend against all antagonists those whom He has in His keeping.

the lawful captives. Strictly, *the captives of a righteous one* (cf. mg.), i.e. (as the parallelism shews), *the captives of a victor*; cf. the meaning of *righteousness* (i.e. victory) in xli. 2. But the Vulg. and Syr. suggest that the text should be corrected to *shall the captives of the terrible* (עָרִיץ for צַדִּיק) *be delivered?* cf. *v.* 25.

25. *But thus saith*, etc. Better, *For thus saith the LORD.* The words should be transferred to the beginning of *v.* 24.

Even the captives, etc. The statement is equivalent to a condition: *Should even the captives of the mighty be taken away* (cf. *v.* 15).

for I will contend, etc. Better, *yet with him that contendeth with thee I will* (successfully) *contend.* The LXX. has *yet thy cause I will* (successfully) *plead* (רִיבֵךְ for יָרִיבֵךְ): cf. Ps. xliii. 1.

26. *And I will feed*, etc. Zion's oppressors, the Babylonians (xlvii. 6), will be destroyed by mutual slaughter. The conception resembles the representation of the Divine judgment upon the Gentile world in Ezek. xxxviii. 21, Hag. ii. 22, Zech. xiv. 13, xi. 9.

all flesh shall know, etc. The salvation resulting to Zion from the

L. 1 Thus saith the LORD, Where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, wherewith I have put her away? or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities were ye sold, and for your transgressions was your mother put away. 2 Wherefore, when I came, was there no man? when I called, was there none to answer? Is my hand shortened at all, that it cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver? Behold, at my rebuke I dry up the sea, I make the rivers a wilderness: their fish stinketh, because there is no

overthrow of its enemies will reveal to the world the Lord's ability to save His people and all who turn to Him (see xlv. 21).

L. 1—3. An address to Zion's exiled people, who are backward in welcoming the Lord's promises through the belief that the tie between their mother-country and the Lord has been irretrievably severed, to assure them that there is no valid obstacle to their redemption.

1. *Where is the bill*, etc. The questions are rhetorical, expecting negative answers. If a woman received from her husband a bill of divorcement, she might marry again, and then could never afterwards be taken back (Deut. xxiv. 1—4); but the equivalent of such a bar to reconciliation was non-existent between the Lord and Zion (regarded as the Lord's wife, cf. Hos. ii. 16, 19), who had been only temporarily put away (liv. 6), for her Divine husband had not renounced His right to her. Again, children who were sold by their father to discharge debts which he could not pay (Ex. xxi. 7, 2 Kgs. iv. 1, Neh. v. 5, Matt. xviii. 25) were permanently lost to him; but no indebtedness had forced the Lord to sell Israel, the children of Himself and Zion, into the hands of a creditor; cf. lii. 3.

Behold, for your iniquities, etc. The separation of Zion from the Lord and the bondage of her people were due to the sins of the latter; and these the Lord, of His grace, could cancel.

2. *when I came*, etc. When the Lord had made their deliverance possible by launching Cyrus upon his mission of liberation and had announced their approaching emancipation (xl. 3 f.), there was no response.

Is my hand, etc. To meet another fear, viz. that Israel's deliverance is impossible not through some irreversible law but through the Lord's deficient power (cf. lix. 1, Num. xi. 23), appeal is made to past marvels wrought by the Lord in the sphere of physical nature, with which the nation was familiar, like the wonders that occurred at the Exodus and the passage of the Jordan (Ex. xiv. 21, Josh. iii. 16), or like instances of protracted drought, such as that described in 1 Kgs. xvii. (cf. Ps. cvii. 33, Nah. i. 4).

stinketh...dieth. The sequence of the verbs is unnatural. Instead of *stinketh* the LXX. has *drieth up* (תִּיבַשׁ for תִּבְאַשׁ), but this verb is unusual in connection with *fish*, and Duhm and Kittel supply a word before the second verb and read, *and their monsters* (בְּהֵמֹתָם, i.e. hippopotami) *die for thirst.*

water, and dieth for thirst. 3 I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering.

3. *I clothe the heavens*, etc. The expressions in this *v.* are probably metaphors for the darkening of the sky with storm clouds (cf. 1 Kgs. xviii. 45), though there may be a reference to the plague of darkness in Egypt (Ex. x. 21).

sackcloth. This, when made of hair, was dark in colour (Rev. vi. 12).

This section ends abruptly, and the proper conclusion seems to have been lost.

L. 4—9.

This section constitutes the third of the "Servant Songs," and consists of three quatrains, though the structure is disguised by repetitions in *vv.* 4, 5. It consists of a soliloquy by the Servant himself about his experiences in the past and his hopes for the future. In it, as in the preceding Songs, he appears invested with the character of a prophet or teacher (cf. *v.* 4 with xlii. 3, xlix. 2); and is described as receiving docilely from the Lord constant instruction for his work, and as undergoing hostile persecution which he endures with patience, looking to the Lord for his ultimate vindication.

4 The Lord God hath given me the tongue of [1]them that are taught, that I should know how [2]to sustain with words him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth

[1] Or, *disciples* [2] Or, *to speak a word in season to him &c.*

4. *the tongue*, etc. Israel, destined to discharge in the world the function of a teacher, is represented as equipped with a trained faculty of speech: cf. xlix. 2.

to sustain. The precise sense of the verb is doubtful, but Aq. has ὑποστηρίσαι and the Vulg. *sustentare.* Suggested emendations are (*a*) *to answer* (לַעֲנוֹת); (*b*) *to revive* (לְהַחֲיוֹת); (*c*) *to feed*, figuratively (לִרְעוֹת, cf. Prov. x. 21). The LXX. has (*to know*) *how to speak* (*a word*) *in due season* (לָעֵת דָּבָר) and omits (*to*) *him that is weary*: cf. mg.

with words. Literally, (*with*) *a word.* Possibly a genitive of quality has been lost (e.g. *of comfort*, cf. Zech. i. 13, Heb.).

him...weary. i.e. the heathen who are dissatisfied with the follies and immoralities of idol-worship, and desire knowledge of some better faith. Cf. Matt. xi. 28.

he wakeneth, etc. i.e. he imparts his revelations insistently and continuously (cf. Jer. vii. 13, *rising up early and speaking*). This clause has undergone duplication, and should probably be reduced to *in the morning he wakeneth mine ear to hear as they that are taught.*

mine ear to hear as [1]they that are taught. 5 The Lord GOD
hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned
away backward. 6 I gave my back to the smiters, and my
cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face
from shame and spitting. 7 For the Lord GOD will help me;
therefore have I not been confounded: therefore have I set my
face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed. 8 He
is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us
stand up together: who is mine adversary? let him come near
to me. 9 Behold, the Lord GOD will help me; who is he that

[1] Or, *disciples*

5. *The Lord...mine ear.* This clause, which needlessly repeats *v.* 4[b], is best omitted.

and I...backward. Contrast xlii. 24 and Jonah i. 3 (where Jonah typifies collective Israel). This half of *v.* 5 should be included in *v.* 4, where it forms the last line of the first quatrain.

6. *I gave my back,* etc. The connection seems to imply that Israel's sufferings had been the result of loyalty to its God. The maltreatment which it sustained at the hands of its heathen enemies (cf. Ps. cxxix. 3) was not in strictness religious persecution; but in the ancient Semitic world the conflict of nations was also a conflict of religions, and Israel as the votary and apostle of the Lord could regard its sufferings as, in a sense, martyrdom: cf. Ps. xliv. 22, xxii. 7, 9. For the forms of insult here described see Deut. xxv. 9, Neh. xiii. 25, Job xxx. 10, Matt. xxvi. 67, xxvii. 30, Hor. *Sat.* I. iii. 133, *vellunt tibi barbam lascivi pueri.*

7. *For the Lord GOD.* Better, *But the Lord JEHOVAH* (and so in *v.* 9).

have I not been, etc. Better, *have I not let myself be confounded.*

like a flint. A figure for unflinching endurance, as in Ezek. iii. 9; cf. also the figure in Jer. i. 18. Israel did not, through persecution, deny or suppress the truth which was entrusted to it.

Verses 6, 7 constitute the second quatrain.

8. *that justifieth,* etc. The expressions *justify, contend, adversary* (literally, *master of a suit*), and *condemn* are forensic (see Deut. xxv. 1, Job x. 2, Ex. xxiv. 14 Heb.). As calamity was ordinarily held to be proof of guilt (cf. Job iv. 7, Joh. ix. 2), it seemed open to any of the heathen to *condemn* Israel on the evidence of its past and present misfortunes, i.e. to adjudge its cause, its religious faith, to be wrong. But Israel is confident that the Lord by His deliverance of it, which is near at hand (cf. li. 5), will *justify* it, i.e. prove it to be in the right (cf. xlix. 4), and so challenges any to bring a suit and obtain a verdict against it at the bar of ultimate experience (cf. liv. 17). Part of *v.* 8 is quoted by St Paul of the justification of Christians in Rom. viii. 33.

let him come near. i.e. to judgment, cf. xli. 1.

shall condemn me? behold, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up.

9. *they all shall wax old.* Israel's oppressors, whose prosperity seemed for the time to put them in the right, will eventually decay and perish. For the figure of a moth-eaten garment cf. li. 6, 8, Hos. v. 12, Ps. xxxix. 11, cii. 26, Job xiii. 28.

L. 10, 11.

This passage can scarcely be a continuation of the preceding speech (for in it the Servant is spoken of in the 3rd pers.) though it obviously has it in view. It differs, however, from the passages (xlii. 5—7, xlix. 7—12) which comment upon the two earlier Songs as being, not an expansion of the theme of the preceding Song, but a hortatory address commending the teaching of the Servant to the pious in distress, and concluding with a menace to a body of adversaries. The two parties whose conditions and ultimate fates are contrasted resemble those alluded to in parts of Trito-Isaiah cc. lvi.—lxvi. (e.g. lvii., lxv., lxvi., cf. also Mal. iii. 16—iv. 3), namely those who in the post-exilic community were faithful to the Law, and those who were faithless and contaminated with heathen superstitions. The latter were in the majority and persecuted the former (lxvi. 5); and similar persecution seems to be implied here, where the doom in store for the persecutors (*v.* 11) is suggestive of what is described in lxvi. 24. Hence the section is probably (like cc. lvi.—lxvi.) of post-exilic (fifth century) date, inserted by a later writer seeking to direct the pious section of his contemporaries to the utterances of the Servant (as preserved in Deutero-Isaiah) for the encouragement of their faith.

10 Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth the voice of his servant? [1]he that walketh in darkness, and hath no light, let him trust in the name of the LORD, and stay upon his God. 11 Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that gird your-

[1] Or, *though he walketh*

10. *Who is among you*, etc. Better (with Duhm and Marti, following in part the LXX. and Syr.), *Whoso* (see on xliv. 10) *among you feareth the* LORD, *let him hearken* (יִשְׁמַע for שִׁמְעַ) *to the voice of his servant.*

darkness. The *darkness* in which those that fear the Lord walk can only be distress, not spiritual ignorance; see viii. 22, and cf. the figure expressive of the relief promised in Mal. iv. 2.

trust in the name, etc. Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 21. The *name* of the Lord, as an object of trust, denotes those aspects of the Divine Personality and character which had been revealed in the experience of the nation (Ps. xxii. 22).

11. *Behold, all ye*, etc. For the tone of the address cf. lvii. 3. The *fire* and *firebrands* kindled by those who are here denounced represent their evil devices and machinations (cf. Ps. lvii. 4, lxiv. 3) against the pious section of their countrymen: cf. lxvi. 5.

selves about with firebrands: walk ye in the flame of your fire, and among the brands that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow.

that gird yourselves, etc. i.e. that arm yourselves with lighted firebrands (Prov. xxvi. 18) or perhaps fiery darts (Eph. vi. 16) as offensive weapons (cf. Verg. *A.* IX. 74, *facibus pubes accingitur atris*). But some critics would substitute, *who set firebrands alight* (מְאִירֵי for מְאַזְּרֵי). The expressions are figurative.

walk ye in the flame, etc. Better, *walk ye into the flame.* Their devices for the injury of the pious will prove their own destruction. For the sentiment cf. Ps. vii. 15, 16.

This shall ye have, etc. The words are those of the Lord.

ye shall lie down in sorrow. Perhaps better, *ye shall lie down in a place of pain.* The verb *lie down* probably refers to death; but in death they will not rest in a peaceful grave (like the righteous, lvii. 2), but in a place of torment, exposed (presumably) to horrors similar to those described in lxvi. 24.

CHAPTER LI. 1—16.

This section is an exhortation to the exiles, depressed about the prospects of their relief, to direct their thoughts to the Lord and the proof He has given in the past of His ability to bless and magnify His people. It continues the general tenor of the prophecy, which was interrupted by the third "Servant Song" (l. 4—9).

LI. 1 Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the LORD: look unto the rock whence ye were hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye were digged. 2 Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you: for

LI. 1—3. An appeal to the exiles to draw hope from the history of their ancestor Abraham, whose single household the Lord had multiplied into a numerous people.

1. *that follow...righteousness.* i.e. desire the vindication of Israel which would be evidenced by the triumphant reconstitution of its national existence. The sense of *righteousness* here approximates to that which it has in xli. 2, viz. success (of the right cause): cf. *vv.* 5, 6.

seek the LORD. i.e. long for the Divine intervention in their fortunes.

the rock, etc. The comparison of the ancestor of Israel to a quarry and the members of it to stones hewn from a quarry is akin to the frequent use of *a house* in the sense of a family.

the hole of the pit. The second substantive is generally regarded as a gloss on the first, which is a rare word.

when he was but one I called him, and I blessed him, and made him many. 3 For the LORD hath comforted Zion: he hath comforted all her waste places, and hath made her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the LORD; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving, and the voice of melody.

4 Attend unto me, O my people; and give ear unto me, O my nation: for a law shall go forth from me, and I will make my judgement to rest for a light of the peoples. 5 My righteousness is near, my salvation is gone forth, and mine arms shall judge the peoples; the isles shall wait for me, and on mine arm shall they trust. 6 Lift up your eyes to the heavens,

2. *when...but one.* i.e. when he was the head of but a single family; cf Ezek. xxxiii. 24, Mal. ii. 15, Heb. xi. 12, and see Gen. xii. 2, xxii. 17.

3. *For the LORD*, etc. The metrical structure of the passage suggests the loss of a line, to which *For* relates.

her wilderness. Part of Judah was naturally barren; see Josh. xv. 61, Jud. i. 16.

her desert. i.e. the steppe-like country in S. Judah (Ezek. xlvii. 8, 1 Sam. xxiii. 24). In the age of felicity about to dawn even the unfertile districts are to become highly fruitful; cf. xxxv. 1, xxxii. 15. For the comparison to the *garden of the LORD* see Gen. xiii. 10, Ezek. xxxvi. 35.

4—6. It is the Lord's purpose to extend the knowledge of Himself among the nations, and by the deliverance of Israel to shew Himself as a Universal Judge commanding the confidence of all.

The passage recalls the "Servant Songs" in xlii. 1—4, xlix. 1—6, the ideas of which Deutero-Isaiah reproduces in his own way (cf. on xlii. 5—9). What in the Songs is effected through the agency of the Servant is here ascribed to the Lord Himself.

4. *O my people...O my nation.* The word *nation* (לְאֹם) is elsewhere applied to Israel only in Gen. xxv. 23; and hence some critics, following a few MSS. and the Syr., would substitute *O peoples...O nations.* But these are referred to in the 3rd pers. at the end of the *v.*, and Israel is clearly addressed in *v.* 6.

a law. Better, *instruction* or *direction* (ii. 3, xlii. 4, 21).

my judgement. Better, *my ordinance* (xlii. 1, lviii. 2). The LXX. divides *vv.* 4 and 5 differently; and the last clause of *v.* 4 and the first of *v.* 5 should perhaps be rendered, *and my ordinance* (shall go forth) *as a light of the peoples. Suddenly my righteousness* (i.e. my redress of Israel's wrongs) *draweth near* (or, *suddenly I bring near my righteousness*), reading בְּרֶגַע קָרֵב or אַרְגִּיעַ אַקְרִיב for אַרְגִּיעַ : קָרוֹב.

5. *on mine...trust.* Better, *for mine arm* (i.e. my active intervention) *shall they hope* (cf. xlv. 22—24). The rescue of Israel from its

and look upon the earth beneath: for the heavens shall vanish
away like smoke, and the earth shall wax old like a garment,
and they that dwell therein shall die [1]in like manner: but my
salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be
abolished.

7 Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the people
in whose heart is my law; fear ye not the reproach of men,
neither be ye dismayed at their revilings. 8 For the moth shall
eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like
wool: but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation
unto all generations.

9 Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the LORD; awake,

[1] Or, perhaps, *like gnats*

oppressors would lead the nations to look to the Lord for deliverance from injustice and tyranny everywhere.

6. *the heavens*, etc. i.e. even if the heavens (regarded as a solid firmament) and the earth, which are typical of all that is steadfast and permanent (cf. Gen. viii. 22, Ps. cxlviii. 4—6), should change and pass away, the Divine scheme for the redress and deliverance of Israel will remain unalterable: cf. liv. 10, Matt. v. 18.

smoke...garment. Cited as examples of transient and perishable things. The first simile occurs in Hos. xiii. 3, Ps. lxviii. 2; the second seems to be borrowed from the third "Servant Song" (l. 9), cf. also Ps. cii. 26. The word rendered *vanish* means literally to *be torn to tatters* (by the wind).

in like manner. Literally, *like so* (כְּמוֹכֵן), possibly accompanied and interpreted by a contemptuous gesture (LXX. ὥσπερ ταῦτα, Vulg. *sicut haec*). But the phrase in the original may easily be a corruption of *like gnats* (כְּמוֹכִנִּים); see mg. and cf. the comparison *like grasshoppers* in xl. 22.

be abolished. The LXX. and Vulg. have (preferably) *shall not fail* (or *cease*) (reading תֶּחְדַּל for תֵּחָת).

7—8. Israel has no reason to be dejected in consequence of its humiliation, for all who afflict it are transient.

7. *righteousness.* The term (as the parallelism shews) here denotes the religious basis of the people's hope of redemption. Israel alone of the nations possessed a knowledge of the Lord and His requirements (cf. Deut. iv. 8), however imperfectly it had satisfied them, and it is described in language probably derived from Jer. xxxi. 33.

the reproach of men. i.e. the scorn which Israel, in consequence of its national disasters, had to endure from the heathen who occasioned or witnessed them: cf. liii. 3.

8. *the worm.* i.e. the grub of the clothes-moth.

9—11. An appeal to the Lord to exert Himself mightily in the

as in the days of old, the generations of ancient times. Art thou not it that cut [1]Rahab in pieces, that pierced the dragon? 10 Art thou not it which dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep; that made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over? 11 [2]And the ransomed of the LORD shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads: they shall obtain gladness and joy, *and* sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

12 I, even I, am he that comforteth you: who art thou, that

[1] See ch. xxx. 7. [2] See ch. xxxv. 10.

interests of His people, just as He had displayed His might at the creation of the world and at the Exodus.

The appeal may proceed either from the prophet or from a celestial spirit interested in Jerusalem's fortunes (cf. lxii. 6, 7 and xl. 3).

9. *put on strength.* For the metaphor cf. xi. 5, lii. 1, lix. 17, Ps. xciii. 1, Hom. *Il.* XIX. 36, δύσεο δ' ἀλκήν.

as in the days of old. i.e. as in the primaeval age of the world.

that cut Rahab, etc. *Rahab* ("boisterousness") must be a designation of the *dragon* (in the following clause). Under the figure of such a monster Semitic mythology symbolized the chaotic deep (Heb. *Tehōm*, Bab. *Tiâmat*) which was overcome by the Divine Creator of the cosmos (amongst the Hebrews JEHOVAH, amongst the Babylonians Marduk or Merodach), cf. on xxvii. 1. By the drying up (in part) of the formless deep, the earth emerged; and this process is here represented as the cutting and piercing of the dragon Rahab. Allusions to such a conflict occur in xxvii. 1, Job xxvi. 12, 13, ix. 13, Am. vii. 4, ix. 3, and perhaps in Ps. lxxiv. 15, lxxxix. 10, civ. 7. Instead of *cut...in pieces* should perhaps be substituted *smote* (הַמֹּחֶצֶת for הַמַּחֲצֶבֶת), after the Vulg. *percussit*; cf. Job xxvi. 12.

10. *that made the depths*, etc. The Lord's power to control the deep, which was displayed at the Creation, was manifested again on the occasion of the Exodus, to which the writer's thoughts are perhaps carried by the fact that the name *Rahab* was also an appellation of Egypt (see on xxx. 7).

11. *And the ransomed*, etc. The *v.* is all but identical with xxxv. 10, whence it has been probably quoted by a reader, and has intruded from the margin into the text.

12—16. The Lord's expostulation with Israel for its fear of its oppressors, who are perishable men, and its forgetfulness of the Lord, the Creator of the universe.

The section seems to be, not an answer to the appeal in *vv.* 9—11, but a continuation of *vv.* 7, 8.

12. *that comforteth you.* Better (with the LXX. and Sym.), *that comforteth thee.*

who art thou. i.e. art thou so helpless that, etc.

thou art afraid of man that shall die, and of the son of man
which shall be made as grass; 13 and hast forgotten the LORD
thy Maker, that stretched forth the heavens, and laid the founda-
tions of the earth; and fearest continually all the day because
of the fury of the oppressor, [1]when he maketh ready to destroy?
and where is the fury of the oppressor? 14 [2]The captive exile
shall speedily be loosed; and he shall not die *and go down* into
the pit, neither shall his bread fail. 15 For I am the LORD thy
God, which [3]stirreth up the sea, that the waves thereof roar:
the LORD of hosts is his name. 16 And I have put my words in
thy mouth, and have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand,
that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the
earth, and say unto Zion, Thou art my people.

[1] Or, *as though he made ready* [2] Or, *He that is bent down*
[3] Or, *stilleth the sea, when the waves thereof roar*

made as grass. Literally, *given up* (to destruction) *as grass*, cf. xl. 6, Ps. xxxvii. 2, xc. 5, ciii. 15.

13. *hast forgotten the LORD*, etc. It is not the Lord that has forgotten Israel (as Israel represented, xlix. 14).

that stretched forth, etc. The Lord's power to create the universe is a warranty for His power to save His people: cf. xl. 22, xlii. 5, xliii. 1, xliv. 24, xlv. 12.

maketh ready. i.e. his arrows (Ps. xxi. 12, vii. 12, xi. 2).

and where, etc. The writer projects his thoughts into the future, when Babylon, the oppressing power (xlvii. 6), is no more. For similar rhetorical questions cf. xxxiii. 18, Jer. ii. 28, xxxvii. 19.

14. *The captive exile.* Better, *The crouching prisoner*, who is in danger of starvation.

the pit. i.e. Sheol (as in Job xxxiii. 24, Ps. xvi. 10).

15. *which stirreth*, etc. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 35. The Lord's power over the forces of nature (cf. *vv.* 9, 10, 13) attests His ability to control human fortunes.

16. *I have put my words*, etc. i.e. I have entrusted thee (Israel, *v.* 13) with My revelation: cf. xlii. 19, and the passages in the "Servant Songs," xlix. 2, l. 4, 5.

have covered thee. The Exile veiled for a time from the notice of the world Israel's favoured position. The passage shews the influence of the second "Servant Song" (xlix. 2).

that I may plant. In no other passage are the heavens regarded as a tree (as was the case among the Scandinavians), and the verb *plant* (לִנְטֹעַ), rendered in LXX. by ἔστησα, though sometimes used in the sense of *fix* (e.g. a tent or a nail, see Dan. xi. 45, Eccles. xii. 11), is probably a scribal error for *stretch out* (לִנְטוֹת) which is read by the Syriac; cf. xl. 22, xlii. 5. If the infinitives are taken in a final sense, the

heavens and the earth must be understood to mean the new heavens and the new earth contemplated in lxv. 17, lxvi. 22. But the absence of the qualifying epithet seems fatal to this view; and probably the infinitives are gerundial, and the reference is to the original creation. The passage is best rendered, *stretching out the heavens and laying the foundations of the earth and saying unto Zion, Thou art my people.* The Lord's creation of the world and His choice of Israel to be His people are brought together (as in xlii. 5—7) in order to produce in the desponding nation confidence that its redemption, since it is undertaken by the Author of the universe, cannot but be certain. *Zion* is used where *Israel* might be expected.

By Duhm and Cheyne *vv.* 15 and 16 are regarded as interpolations: part of *v.* 15 coincides with Jer. xxxi. 35, whilst part of *v.* 16 seems to be imitated from xlix. 2, lix. 21, and the real meaning of the latter *v.* is extremely obscure. But possibly the passage (as Whitehouse suggests) is mutilated.

LI. 17—LII. 12.

In this poem the writer's thoughts pass from the exiled people to Jerusalem. The city, overthrown and prostrated by its conquerors, is likened to a woman lying in a state of insensibility produced by the Divine wrath, which is figured as a potent draught which she has been made to drink. From this condition she is bidden to arise, and is assured that the draught which she has drained will be given to her enemies; whilst she is to exchange the tokens of her degradation for festal attire. The section concludes with a description of the joy attending the return of the Lord to Jerusalem, and a command to the exiles to depart from Babylon.

17 Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the LORD the cup of his fury; thou hast drunken the bowl of the cup of staggering, and drained it. 18 There is

17—23. An exhortation to down-trodden Jerusalem to arise, and a lament over her pitiable state.

17. *Awake.* Better, *Arouse thee.* The appeal to Jerusalem (lii. 1) corresponds to the appeal made to the Lord in *vv.* 9—11.

which hast drunk, etc. The comparison of human destiny to a draught from a cup filled with wine that either cheers or bewilders occurs in xxix. 9, Jer. xiii. 13, xxv. 15, xlix. 12, li. 7, Hab. ii. 16, Ezek. xxiii. 32—34, Lam. iv. 21, Obad. *v.* 16, Ps. xi. 6, xvi. 5, lxxv. 8, etc. Cf. also Matt. xx. 22, xxvi. 39, 42, Mk. xiv. 36, Rev. xiv. 10, xvii. 2, 4, Hom. *Il.* XXIV. 527, δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων.

the bowl of the cup of. Probably here and in *v.* 22 *cup* should be omitted (with the Vulg.) as a gloss upon *bowl* (which is a rare word). The *bowl of staggering* (i.e. a bowl that causes staggering, cf. Ps. cxvi. 13) is a figure for the shock of a great catastrophe (Ps. lx. 3).

18. *There is none*, etc. This *v.*, in which Jerusalem is referred to in the 3rd pers., and which suggests that her sons had *deserted* her

none to guide her among all the sons whom she hath brought
forth; neither is there any that taketh her by the hand of all
the sons that she hath brought up. 19 These two things are
befallen thee; who shall bemoan thee? desolation and destruc-
tion, and the famine and the sword; how shall I comfort thee?
20 Thy sons have fainted, they lie at the top of all the streets,
as an antelope in a net; they are full of the fury of the LORD,
the rebuke of thy God. 21 Therefore hear now this, thou
afflicted, and drunken, but not with wine: 22 thus saith thy
Lord the LORD, and thy God that pleadeth the cause of his
people, Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of
staggering, even the bowl of the cup of my fury; thou shalt
no more drink it again: 23 and I will put it into the hand of
them that afflict thee; which have said to thy soul, Bow down,
that we may go over: and thou hast laid thy back as the ground,
and as the street, to them that go over.

(contrast *v.* 20, where they are represented as suffering, like Jerusalem herself, from the Lord's fury), is rejected by Duhm and other critics.

19. *These two things.* Strictly, two pairs of things, (1) the desolation of the land and destruction of the city; (2) the starvation and the slaughter of the population.

how shall I comfort thee? Better (with the LXX., Vulg., and Syriac), *who will comfort thee?* Both this and the preceding question imply that Jerusalem has none to condole with, or pity, her.

20. *have fainted.* Literally, *are covered,* their senses being (as it were) muffled and stupefied (Am. viii. 13, Jonah iv. 8).

as an antelope in a net. i.e. helpless and incapable of movement. The animal supposed to be meant by *antelope* is *oryx beatrix.*

21. *Therefore.* The inferential particle introduces a contrast, as in xxx. 18 (but see note).

but not with wine. A qualification, to safeguard the metaphor from being misunderstood; cf. xxix. 9, xlvii. 14, xlviii. 10, Æsch. *Eum.* 860, ἀοίνοις ἐμμανεῖς θυμώμασι.

22. *thy Lord the LORD.* Better, *thy Lord JEHOVAH* (cf. xlix. 14).

23. *and I will put it,* etc. The respective fortunes of Israel and its oppressors are to be reversed; cf. xlix. 26. To the words *of them that afflict thee* the LXX. supplies a parallel clause, *and of them that oppress thee.*

which have said to thy soul. Equivalent to *which have said to thee* (see xliii. 4, Ps. iii. 2, xi. 1). For similar humiliations inflicted upon vanquished enemies see Josh. x. 24, Ps. cx. 1, cxxix. 3. Cf. also Aurelius Victorinus, *Epit. Hist. Rom.* c. 32, *Quamdiu vixit Rex* (Sapores) *eius provinciae* (i.e. Parthia), *incurvato eo* (i.e. the captive Emperor Valerian), *pedem cervicibus eius imponens, equum conscendere solitus est.*

LII. 1 Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean. 2 Shake thyself from the dust; arise, sit thee down, O Jerusalem: [1]loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion.

3 For thus saith the LORD, Ye were sold for nought; and ye

[1] Another reading is, *the bands of thy neck are loosed.*

LII. 1—2. A direction to Zion to exchange her degraded condition (see li. 17 f.) for the position and apparel appropriate to her rightful dignity.

The summons to Zion to rise from her humiliation and resume her splendid attire is in pointed antithesis to the command to Babylon (c. xlvii.) to lay aside the state of a queen and assume that of a slave.

1. *Awake.* Better, *Arise* (another form of the verb used in li. 17).

put on, etc. The imperatives bidding the city be strong and free are equivalent to declarations (cf. xlvii. 1) that she will shortly become such through the help of the Lord and His agent Cyrus. For the metaphor see on li. 9.

thy beautiful garments. Ordinary ceremonial sanctification involved the wearing of freshly-washed garments (Ex. xix. 14), the Hebrew priests were attired in a special dress "for glory and for beauty" (Ex. xxviii. 40), and special vestments were worn by the worshippers of Baal (2 Kgs. x. 22). Similarly Zion, when purified from the presence of the unclean, must wear appropriate robes.

the uncircumcised, etc. i.e. the Babylonians. Circumcision was a religious obligation for the Jews; and the presence in Jerusalem (*the holy city*, cf. xlviii. 2) of uncircumcised conquerors was a desecration (cf. Ezek. xliv. 9, Ps. lxxix. 1, Lam. i. 10). The passage has influenced Rev. xxi. 2, 10.

2. *sit thee down.* i.e. on the throne she formerly occupied as a lady. This command and the next stand in an unnatural order: hence many critics would substitute (*arise*) *O captive Jerusalem* (שִׁבְיָה for שִׁבִּי), which corresponds better to the parallel clause.

loose thyself. This is the reading of the Heb. mg. (supported by the LXX., Aq., Sym., Th., Vulg.): the Heb. text has (*the bands of thy neck*) *are loosed* (or *have loosed themselves*).

3—6. When Israel was sold to its enemies, the Lord received no equivalent, and so there was nothing to prevent Him from reclaiming His people.

These *vv.* are regarded by Cheyne and others as a late insertion. They lack the poetic rhythm of the preceding and following paragraphs; they are not (like *vv.* 1, 2, 7—9) an address to Zion but a soliloquy respecting the past fortunes of Israel; and the representation that Israel's captivity was gratuitous (*v.* 5) conflicts with the statements

shall be redeemed without money. 4 For thus saith the Lord
God, My people went down at the first into Egypt to sojourn
there: and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause. 5 Now
therefore, what do I here, saith the Lord, seeing that my people
is taken away for nought? they that rule over them do howl,
saith the Lord, and my name continually all the day is blas-
phemed. 6 Therefore my people shall know my name: therefore
they shall know in that day that I am he that doth speak;
behold, [1]it is I.

[1] Or, *here I am*

(xlii. 24, xliii. 27, 28, l. 1) that it was caused by its sins. Still, see notes on *vv.* 3—5.

3. *sold for nought.* The Lord had surrendered Israel to Babylon for chastisement under no compulsion; and therefore could at His discretion resume possession of it (cf. l. 1).

4. *My people went down*, etc. The relation of Israel to Babylon is illustrated by parallels in the past. Egypt had obtained its mastery over the Israelites by taking advantage of their having settled within its borders, and had no right to enslave them.

the Assyrian. Assyria, though the Lord's agent for the chastisement of His people (x. 5, 6), had itself no claims entitling it to oppress them. Hence the Lord had been free to effect their deliverance when they had been sufficiently corrected. Instead of *without cause* the LXX. has *with violence* (בְּחָמָס for בְּאֶפֶס).

5. *Now.* The word contrasts with the previous instance a situation really worse.

what do I here. i.e. what am I about (Cheyne, *what have I received*) here in Babylon, allowing Israel to be detained in captivity by a people that have no rights over it?

do howl. The expression describes the wild shouts of exultation with which the Babylonian rulers of Israel praise their gods for their seeming triumph over the Lord. Some critics have proposed the emendation *do boast* (יִתְהַלְּלוּ for יְהֵילִילוּ): but cf. Lucan, *Phars.* VI. 261, *lætis ululare triumphis.*

my name, etc. Israel's captive condition was explained by its conquerors as due to the powerlessness of its god Jehovah, whose character was thus brought into contempt amongst the heathen, and even liable to be misjudged by Israel: cf. xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 4, 10, xlviii. 11, Ezek. xxxvi. 20, Ps. lxxiv. 10, 18. The LXX. has *For your sakes my name is continually blasphemed among the Gentiles*; and in this form the passage is referred to by St Paul (Rom. ii. 24).

6. *my people shall know*, etc. Better (omitting with the LXX. and Vulg. the second לָכֵן), *Therefore my people shall know my name in that day that I am he that doth speak; behold, it is I.* In the decisive day of the Lord's judgment upon Babylon, the coincidence of the event

7 How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him
that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth
good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto
Zion, Thy God reigneth! 8 The voice of thy watchmen! they
lift up the voice, together do they sing; for they shall see, eye
to eye, [1]when the LORD returneth to Zion. 9 Break forth into
joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the LORD
hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem.
10 The LORD hath made bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the
nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of

[1] Or, *how*

with His prediction of it would convince Israel of His true nature and that He was the Author of their rescue.

7—12. Reflections on the glad tidings, soon to reach Zion, of the Lord's return to her at the head of His redeemed people. These *vv.*, in which rhythm is again resumed, are probably a continuation of *vv.* 1, 2.

7. *How beautiful...the feet*, etc. i.e. how welcome is the approach, etc. The prophet, transported in thought to Jerusalem, sees, on the hills E. of the city (cf. xl. 9), the messenger who is hasting to convey to his countrymen tidings of the nearness of the returning train. The opening words of the *v.* recur in Nah. i. 15, and are quoted in Rom. x. 15.

peace...salvation. i.e. prosperity (xxxii. 17, xlviii. 18, 22, lxvi. 12) and deliverance (lix. 11, lxii. 1).

Thy God reigneth. i.e. He visibly asserts His sovereign power; cf. xl. 10, xxiv. 23, Ps. xlvii. 8, xciii. 1, xcvii. 1.

8. *The voice*, etc. Better, *Hark! thy watchmen.* But the emendation *All thy watchmen lift up the voice* (כָּל־ for קוֹל) is plausible. These, posted on the walls of Jerusalem, and prepared by the messenger for the approach of the exiles, acclaim them as soon as they are descried.

they shall see, eye to eye, etc. i.e. they shall see the Lord, when He returns to Zion, face to face. The expression is a vivid anthropomorphism (cf. Num. xiv. 14, xii. 8, Ex. xxxiii. 11, Jer. xxxii. 4, xxxiv. 3), the Lord's return to close intimacy with His people denoting the renewal of His favour (cf. lxiii. 17, Ps. lxxx. 14, Jer. xii. 15, Zech. i. 3).

10. *hath made bare*, etc. The Lord is anthropomorphically conceived as throwing back from His shoulder His mantle and exposing His arm (xl. 10, li. 9, etc.) for action, after the manner of warriors (cf. Statius, *Theb.* I. 413, *erectus uterque exsertare humeros, nudamque lacessere pugnam*, Arrian, *Alex.* v. 18, δεξιὸν ὦμον γυμνὸν ἔχων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ). The Lord's arm is *holy* as He Himself is the *Holy One.*

all the ends, etc. The rescue of Israel will manifest before mankind

our God. 11 Depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean, ye that bear the vessels of the LORD. 12 For ye shall not go out in haste, neither shall ye go by flight: for the LORD will go before you; and the God of Israel will be your rearward.

at large the Lord's power to deliver; cf. xviii. 3, Ezek. xxxix. 21, Ps. xcviii. 3.

11. *Depart*, etc. The address to the exiles in Babylon comes from Jerusalem (where the prophet in thought is, *v.* 7): hence the use of *from thence*, cf. xlviii. 20. The passage is imitated in Rev. xviii. 2, 4, 2 Cor. vi. 17 (in connection with the Apostle's counsel not to be unequally yoked with unbelievers).

touch no unclean, etc. All ceremonial impurity must be avoided since the exiles are going up to the Holy City.

be ye clean. Better, *purify yourselves*, since the Lord Himself is to be present on the march.

the vessels of the LORD. i.e. the vessels of the Temple, which had been carried away by Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kgs. xxiv. 13, xxv. 14, Dan. v. 2), and which would again be needed when the Temple was rebuilt; cf. the prediction in Jer. xxvii. 21, 22 and see Ezra i. 7. By some the phrase is translated *the armour of the LORD*, in keeping with the conception of the Lord as a Warrior (*v.* 10); but though warriors had to be ceremonially holy (1 Sam. xxi. 5), the rendering is here less appropriate than that of the text.

12. *not...in haste.* Contrast the conditions of the flight from Egypt (Ex. xii. 39, Deut. xvi. 3). The Lord, as their vanguard and rearguard (lviii. 8), will ensure their security.

LII. 13—LIII. 12.

This section forms the last of the four "Servant Songs," and was probably, like the others, written in quatrains, apparently fifteen in number, though two of them seem mutilated (see on lii. 14, liii. 11). It exhibits in effective contrast the past and future of Israel, the Lord's Servant, describing its afflictions and their purpose, and predicting its final exaltation. The Song reproduces and develops some ideas respecting the Servant that occur in the previous Songs; but it contains certain others that are peculiar to itself. In the preceding poems Israel has been depicted as intended by God to be a source of spiritual illumination to the Gentiles (xlii. 1—6, xlix. 6, 8), as having undergone in the past great maltreatment (l. 6), and as having nevertheless retained a confident faith in the Lord as its eventual Vindicator (xlix. 4, l. 7—9). But here two new features are introduced: (1) Israel's sufferings (represented as caused not only by its foes (as in l. 6) but also by the visitation of God) are described as having culminated in its extinction, from which state it is declared that it will be revived by the Lord, and raised to extraordinary

honour; (2) its exaltation is represented as convincing the heathen that its sufferings were undeserved and vicarious, and designed to atone for their own offences.

13 Behold, my servant shall [1]deal wisely, he shall be exalted
and lifted up, and shall be very high. 14 Like as many were
astonied at thee, (his visage was so marred [2]more than any man,
and his form more than the sons of men,) 15 so shall he [3]sprinkle

[1] Or, *prosper* [2] Or, *from that of man, and his form from that of the sons of men*
[3] Or, *startle*

13—15. An announcement, by the Lord, of Israel's approaching exaltation, which, by contrast with its previous degradation, will excite the greater astonishment.

13. *Behold*, etc. The Lord calls the attention of the world to Israel's destiny.

shall deal wisely. If this rendering is correct (LXX. συνήσει, Vulg. *intelliget*, cf. Ps. ii. 10, xiv. 2, xciv. 8), it must refer to the Servant's comprehension of, and submission to, the Lord's will (cf. liii. 11). But a better parallel to the verbs in the next clause is afforded by the mg. *shall prosper* (cf. Josh. i. 7, 1 Sam. xviii. 5, Jer. x. 21)[1].

14. *many.* The reference is to the heathen peoples, as the parallelism in *v.* 15 shews; cf. also xlix. 7 (note).

astonied at thee. Better (with the Syr.), *astonied* (or *appalled*) *at him*, i.e. at his exceptional disfigurement. The same expression is used in Lev. xxvi. 32, Jer. xviii. 16, xix. 8, Ezek. xxvi. 16, 1 Kgs. ix. 8 of the surprise occasioned by the desolation and degradation of Israel, of which the Servant's condition here described is a symbol.

his visage was so, etc. Better, *for* (reading כִּי for כֵּן) *marred was his aspect from a man's and his form from that of the sons of men* (cf. mg.). But since the words in the parenthesis spoil the correspondence between *like as* and *so* in *vv.* 14 and 15, they are possibly misplaced and should be transferred (as suggested by Marti) to the end of liii. 2, though this removal leaves the quatrain short by a single line. Marti fills the gap with *and princes shuddered at him* (cf. Ezek. xxxii. 10).

15. *shall he sprinkle.* This rendering (which is supported by the Vulg. *asperget*, as well as by Th. and Aq. ῥαντίσει) must, if retained, be understood figuratively in the sense *shall purify*, viz. by his life-blood (cf. the usage in Lev. xiv. 6, 7). But the construction here is not that ordinarily employed with the verb *sprinkle* (see lxiii. 3 and Lev. xvi. 19, Num. xix. 18 where the literal translation is *sprinkle* (or *spirt*) liquid *upon* an object, not *besprinkle* an object *with* liquid), and the rendering is against the parallelism. Hence (if the text is sound) the best translation is that of the mg. *so shall he startle* (i.e. surprise) *many nations.*

[1] Budde emends the passage to, *Behold my servant Israel* (יִשְׂרָאֵל for יַשְׂכִּיל) *shall be exalted*, etc.

many nations; kings shall shut their mouths [1]at him: for that which had not been told them shall they see; and that which they had not heard shall they [2]understand.

LIII. 1 Who hath believed [3]our report? and to whom hath the arm of the LORD been revealed? 2 For he grew up before

[1] Or, *because of* [2] Or, *consider* [3] Or, *that which we have heard*

But the LXX. has θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, whence Moore would substitute *many nations shall tremble* (יִרְגְּזוּ for יַזֶּה, cf. xiv. 9, Jer. xxxiii. 9), and Cheyne, *shall make obeisance* (יִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ)[1].

shall shut their mouths at him. Better, *shall shut their mouths because of him*, i.e. shall be awed into silence at the wonderful change in his condition (cf. Job xxix. 9, xl. 4, Mic. vii. 16).

for that which had not, etc. In the marvellous restoration of the despised and stricken Israel they will witness something unprecedented in previous history.

understand. Better (as in the mg.), *consider* or *observe* (as in xliii. 18, Job xxxvii. 14). The second half of the *v.* is quoted by St Paul (Rom. xv. 21) of the diffusion of a knowledge of Christ among the heathen.

LIII. 1—3. The heathen's surprise at the unprecedented glory of a people whose condition had previously been so repulsive.

1. *Who hath believed*, etc. Better, *Who could have* (Gen. xxi. 7) *believed that which we have heard, and to whom could the arm of the Lord have been revealed?* The speech in *vv.* 1—6 is uttered by the Gentile peoples musing upon the transformation assumed to have occurred in the Servant's fortunes, for (*a*) Gentile kings and nations are the subjects of the preceding sentence (lii. 15[b]), (*b*) the *v.* is an expression of just such astonishment as lii. 15 asserts that the heathen will experience. The questions are rhetorical, expecting a negative answer (cf. xl. 13), and imply the incredible character of the event they have witnessed.

our report. i.e. that which has been reported to us (cf. mg.), not, that which we have reported to others. The inconsistency with the concluding words of lii. 15 is only superficial: what has recently come to the knowledge of the Gentiles (viz. the exaltation of the Servant (Israel)) is something with which previously they had had no acquaintance.

to whom hath the arm, etc. i.e. who could have divined such a signal manifestation of the Lord's power (Ps. lxxi. 18 mg.) as that which has been witnessed in the release and restoration of Israel?

Verse 1 is quoted by St John and St Paul in connection with the Jews' disbelief in our Lord (Joh. xii. 38, Rom. x. 16, where *our report* is taken in the sense of "that which we have reported").

2. *For he grew up.* Literally, *And he* (i.e. the Servant) *grew up.*

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[1] The parallel clause is in favour of making *many nations* the subject of the verb.

him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; [1]and when we see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. 3 He was despised, and [2]rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with [3]grief: and [4]as one from whom men hide their face he was despised, and we esteemed him not.

4 Surely he hath borne our [5]griefs, and carried our sorrows:

[1] Or, *that we should look upon him; nor beauty &c.* [2] Or, *forsaken*
[3] Heb. *sickness.* [4] Or, *he hid as it were* his *face from us* [5] Heb. *sicknesses.*

The statement is really explanatory of the heathen's misapprehension about the Servant, but it is couched in the form of a narrative.

before him. i.e. before the Lord (cf. Gen. xvii. 18, Hos. vi. 2), the expression emphasizing the fact that what befell the Servant was with the cognizance and by the will of the Lord. But many critics emend to *before us* (i.e. the Servant's contemporaries, who were thus eye-witnesses of his contemptible state), reading לְפָנֵינוּ for לְפָנָיו.

as a tender plant. Literally, *as a sucker*, springing from the stock of a tree (Job xiv. 7).

a root. i.e. a sprout from a root (cf. xi. 10). The comparison of Israel to a plant occurs in xxvii. 6, Ps. lxxx. 8 f.; and the description of it as growing in unfavourable ground has in view its troubled existence before and during the Exile.

he hath no, etc. So the Vulg., but better (with Sym.), *he hath no form nor comeliness that we should look upon him* (with satisfaction) *and no* (pleasing) *aspect that we should desire him*: cf. lii. 14. Possibly the words within the parenthesis in lii. 14, where they are redundant, should be transferred here, where a couplet is needed to complete the fourth quatrain.

3. *rejected of men.* Better, *forsaken by men*, but more literally, *ceasing from men*, i.e. shunned by, and shunning, human society: cf. xlix. 7. Israel, in its forlorn condition, was an object of contempt to foreign peoples.

a man of sorrows, etc. Better, *a man of pains and familiar with sickness.*

as one from whom men hide their face. i.e. either because his condition made him a repulsive and painful spectacle, or for fear lest his gaze, if met, would contaminate (cf. Job xix. 13—19, xxx. 10, Ps. xxxi. 11, *a fear to mine acquaintance*, and Cic. *pro Clu.* § 193, *nemo inventus est qui non contagionem aspectus fugeret*).

we esteemed him not. Better, *we held him of no account*, treated him as on the verge of extinction and altogether negligible (cf. xxxiii. 8).

4—6. Israel's sufferings, in the light of its subsequent exaltation, are seen to have been occasioned not by offences of its own but by those of others, and to have served for the expiation of the latter.

4. *Surely...sorrows.* Better, *Surely...our sicknesses...our pains.* The first thought of those who witnessed Israel's calamities was that

yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.
5 But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised
for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him;
and with his stripes we are healed. 6 All we like sheep have
gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and
the LORD hath [1]laid on him the iniquity of us all.

[1] Heb. *made to light.*

they were the penalty of its sins (see Jer. l. 7, and cf. Job xi. 6); but the marks of unexampled favour which it received subsequently from God rendered this conclusion impossible, and constrained them to recognize that what Israel had suffered was the retribution which was due for their own sins, and which it had endured in their stead (see on *v.* 6).

borne. i.e. experienced or undergone (as in Lam. v. 7). The *v.* is cited in Matt. viii. 17, where *borne* is interpreted to mean "taken away[1]."

stricken. The term, though denoting chastisement in general (Ps. lxxiii. 5), is specially suggestive of a person suffering from leprosy (which was termed *a stroke* or *plague*, Lev. xiii. 3, cf. 2 Kgs. xv. 5), and the Vulg. renders it by *leprosum.* Leprosy is represented more than once in the O.T. as a penalty for grievous sin, Num. xii. 10, 2 Kgs. v. 27.

smitten of God. i.e. on account of his supposed wickedness; cf. 1 Kgs. xiv. 15, 1 Ch. xxi. 7.

5. *wounded for*, etc. Better, *pierced because of...crushed because of*, etc. There is a transition from the figure of a sick or leprous man to that of one who is severely hurt. But Aq. has βεβηλωμένος, *dishonoured* (reading מְחֻלָּל for מְחֹלָל).

the chastisement of our peace. i.e. the chastisement which procured our welfare (cf. Prov. xv. 33, *instruction of wisdom*).

stripes. Better, *bruises* (as in i. 6).

6. *gone astray.* i.e. from the Lord's ways (lxiii. 17, xlii. 24, lvi. 11). For the figure of straying sheep cf. Ps. cxix. 176, Matt. ix. 36, x. 6, Luke xv. 4.

the iniquity. Better, *the penalty* (cf. v. 18, xl. 2). The heathen's reflection that Israel's sufferings were not the penalty for its own sins, but theirs, was an inference from the change in its fortunes, which shewed that it must be a worshipper of the true God, and that they were votaries of false gods. The fact that, in spite of this, Israel had been so sorely afflicted required an explanation, and obtained one in the thought that Israel's punishment was vicarious, and atoned for their own offences.

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[1] The Evangelist quotes the *v.* in connection with our Lord's works of healing.

7 He was oppressed, yet he humbled himself and opened not
his mouth; as a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep
that before her shearers is dumb; yea, he opened not his mouth.
8 [1]By oppression and judgement he was taken away; [2]and as
for his generation, who *among them* considered that he was cut

[1] Or, *From* [2] Or, *and his life who shall recount? for he was cut off &c.*

7—9. A recital of Israel's patience under ill-usage, his violent end, and his ignominious burial.

From *v.* 7 to *v.* 12 the speaker is the Lord, as in lii. 13—15 (see on *v.* 8).

7. *He was oppressed.* Better, *He was treated harshly* (cf. Ex. iii. 7, Job iii. 18). The figure under which Israel's affliction is represented again changes, and Israel is now depicted as a man who is ill-used by his fellow-men.

yet he humbled himself. Better, *yet he submitted himself*, allowed himself to be maltreated without resistance.

opened not his mouth. i.e. in protest or complaint, cf. Ps. xxxviii. 14, xxxix. 9.

as a lamb. The comparison is the original of the figure of the *Lamb of God* in the N.T. (Joh. i. 29, 36, Rev. v. 6, xiii. 8).

yea, he opened, etc. Probably an accidental repetition of the same words in the earlier part of the verse.

The language is rhetorical and not meant to be understood literally any more than Jeremiah's in Jer. xi. 19 (when compared with xi. 20 f.).

8. *By oppression*, etc. The original is ambiguous and admits of more than one construction and translation:—(1) *In consequence of oppression and judgment* (i.e. an oppressive judgment) *he was taken away* (from life, or to execution, Prov. xxiv. 11); (2) *Without hindrance and without judgment he was taken away* (i.e. he was put to death without any interfering to secure him a fair trial); (3) as in the mg., *From oppression and judgment he was taken away* (i.e. to God, when death released him), but this does not harmonize well with the spirit of the rest of the *v.* (see clause [c]). The LXX. has, *In his humiliation* (= by oppression) *his judgment* (or *right*) *was taken away.*

as for his generation. The meaning and construction of the word is doubtful, and the passage has been variously rendered:—(1) *as for* (or *among*) *his contemporaries, who reflected that he was*, etc. (for the sense of דּוֹר cf. Jer. ii. 31); (2) *on his* (innocent) *life who reflected? for he was*, etc. (but this sense of דּוֹר is very questionable); (3) *on his dwelling-place* (either his home, vacant by death, or his grave) *who reflected? for he was*, etc. (for this translation of דּוֹר cf. xxxviii. 12 and the cognate verb in Ps. lxxxiv. 10). Cheyne would substitute *on his fate who reflected?* (reading דַּרְכּוֹ for דּוֹרוֹ). The question implies that no one concerned himself about his undeserved death.

Verses 7, 8 formed the passage which the eunuch of queen Candace was reading when he encountered Philip the Deacon (Acts viii. 32, 33).

off out of the land of the living? for the transgression of my people [1]was he stricken. 9 And they made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his [2]death; [3]although he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth.

[1] Or, *to whom the stroke* was due
[2] Heb. *deaths*. See Ezek. xxviii. 8, 10. [3] Or, *because*

my people. It has been supposed by some that the Gentile speakers use the expression each of his own countrymen; but since elsewhere in this c. they use the 1st plur. (*we, us, our*) the sing. *my*, here and in *v.* 11 and lii. 13, probably marks the Lord as the speaker (in spite of the reference to Him in *v.* 10). Though the phrase *my people* is nowhere else in the O.T. applied by the Lord to the Gentiles as a whole, it is applied by Him to Egypt in xix. 25; and in a writer like the author of the Songs, who gives such prominence to the fact that the Lord sought the conversion of the Gentiles, it cannot be deemed unnatural. Many critics, however, would emend it, and among suggested corrections are *peoples* (עַמִּים for עַמִּי) and *for our transgressions* (מִפִּשְׁעֵינוּ for מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי), the latter assuming that the heathen are the speakers; but for the best (if any is wanted) see next note.

was he stricken. The text, if correct, is preferably rendered as in the mg. (*of my people*) *to whom the stroke was due.* But the LXX. has ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον, and Giesebrecht emends the last clause of *v.* 8 to *for their transgression was he stricken to death* (reading מִפִּשְׁעָם יֻנַּע לָמָוֶת for מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נֻגַּע לָמוֹ).

The passage was probably in the mind of St Paul when he wrote 1 Cor. xv. 3 (*Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures*).

9. *And they made*, etc. It was inferred from his afflictions that he was a great sinner (cf. Luke xiii. 2, 4, Joh. ix. 2), and he was consequently buried amongst criminals.

the wicked...the rich. If the text is sound, the two epithets must be regarded as a hendiadys for *the wicked rich*, the possession of great wealth being popularly associated with dishonest practices (cf. the parallelism of *the prince* and *the wicked* in Job xxi. 28). But the use of the sing. by the side of the plur. raises suspicion (though see x. 4, lvii. 1); and a plausible emendation is Cheyne's *the evil doers* (עֹשֵׂי רַע for עָשִׁיר). The current association of this passage with the burial of our Lord in the tomb of Joseph, the rich man of Arimathæa, who was *a good man and a righteous* (Luke xxiii. 50) seems unjustifiable.

in his death. The Heb. is literally *in his deaths* (cf. Ezek. xxviii. 8, 10), and is irregular in form. The LXX. seems to have had *in his death*; but the parallelism favours the emendation *his burial mound* (בָּמָתוֹ, cf. Ezek. xliii. 7 Heb.) or, *his house of death* (בֵּית מוֹתוֹ).

The death and burial of the Servant represents the extinction of Israel's independence: cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 12.

10 Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath [1]put him
to grief: [2]when thou shalt make his soul [3]an offering for sin,

[1] Heb. *made him sick.* [2] Or, *when his soul shall make an offering*
[3] Heb. *a guilt offering.*

although he had done, etc. In point of religion and morality Israel, notwithstanding its shortcomings, was superior to contemporary peoples, and could be plausibly described (at least by another writer than Deutero-Isaiah) as being, in comparison with the heathen powers that crushed it, a righteous nation. A similar judgment is expressed in xxvi. 2, Num. xxiii. 21, Hab. i. 13, Ps. xliv. 17, 18. The description is applied to our Lord in 1 Pet. ii. 22—24.

10—12. The effect and recompense of Israel's sufferings.

In these three *vv.* the metrical structure is not so easily traced as in the earlier part of the poem, and the text seems more than ordinarily uncertain.

10. *Yet it pleased*, etc. The writer returns to the figure of a man stricken by a painful malady (*vv.* 4, 5). The Lord's sacrifice of Israel for the sake of the heathen, as here represented, contrasts with Deutero-Isaiah's description of the Lord's sacrifice of heathen nations in the interest of Israel (xliii. 3, 4).

to bruise...grief. Better, *to crush him; he hath subjected him to sickness.* But the two clauses should probably be combined and the second emended after the Vulg., yielding the rendering, *to crush him with sickness* (בְּחָלִי for הֶחֱלִי). Cheyne proposes *to crush and to dishonour him* (reading חִלְּלוֹ). But the LXX. has *to cleanse him from sickness* (reading, מֵחָלִי and regarding דַּכָּאוֹ as the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew זַכּוֹתוֹ)[1]. This makes the account of the Servant's change of fortune begin at the beginning of the new stanza (the twelfth).

when thou shalt make, etc. If the text is correct, the passage is best rendered *when his soul* (i.e. his life) *makes* (or *shall make*) *a guilt offering.* But the Heb. should probably be emended (after the Vulg.) to *when he makes* (or *shall make*) *his soul a guilt offering* (reading יָשִׂים for תָּשִׂים[2]). In view of Israel's extinction already accomplished, the hypothetical form of the statement here is strange. The idea behind the *guilt offering* was that of satisfaction for the infringement of the rights of another (as illustrated by the Philistines' offering of certain gold objects to the Lord for the detention of the Ark (1 Sam. vi.), and by the material compensation which was prescribed by the Levitical law in cases of unwitting trespass, when material loss had been caused (see Lev. v. 14 f., vi. 1 f., vii. 7, xix. 20—22, Num. v. 5—8, cf. also 2 Kgs. xii. 16)). But whilst satisfaction for comparatively light offences against the Lord might be rendered by material offerings or the sacrifice of animal victims,

[1] Duhm proposes זְכֵהוּ: for the construction cf. xlii. 21.
[2] A similar emendation is necessary in Ps. xlix. 19.

he shall see *his* seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand. 11 [1]He shall see of the travail of his soul, *and* shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant [2]justify many: and he shall bear their

[1] Or, *He shall see* and *be satisfied with the travail &c.* [2] Or, *make many righteous*

amends for the more grievous sins could only be made by the sacrifice of a human life, though not necessarily that of the actual offender (see 2 Sam. xxi. 1—14[1]). It is in accord with this principle that the infringement of the Divine laws by the heathen world is here regarded as compensated for by the sacrifice of Israel's national existence. But Israel's death is not merely the substitution of one life for another: the innocence and submissiveness of the sufferer exert a moral influence upon those for whom he suffers, moving them to repentance and confession of their offences.

he shall see, etc. The Servant, after achieving the purpose to which his sufferings and death are directed, is to be restored to life and recompensed with a numerous progeny. The renewal of his life describes the revival, after the Exile, of Israel's national existence (which is similarly represented as restoration to life from the dead in Hos. vi. 1, 2, xiii. 14, Ezek. xxxvii., see also pp. 170, 171). The promise of seed (commonly regarded as the reward of piety, Deut. vi. 3, Job xlii. 12, 13) accords with the prediction of Israel's future increase in xlix. 18, xliv. 3—5, etc.

the pleasure of the LORD. i.e. the duty (interrupted by his death and resumed after his revival) of instructing the Gentiles (xlii. 1—4, xlix. 6).

11. *He shall see*, etc. The Heb. text seems defective and a correction suggested by the LXX. yields the rendering *Because of the travail of his soul he shall see light* (i.e. prosperity, Ps. cxii. 4, xcvii. 11) *and be satisfied.* A more extensive reconstruction, supported by the LXX., is *He* (the Lord) *will deliver from travail his soul, and will make him see light and satisfy him* (reading מֵעֲמַל נַפְשׁוֹ יַרְאֵהוּ אוֹר וְיַשְׂבִּיעַ).

The first half of this *v.* seems to be all that remains of the thirteenth quatrain: the second half belongs to the fourteenth.

his knowledge. i.e. of the Lord and His requirements (cf. ii. 3). Israel's religious worship was intelligent[2], whereas the heathen, at best, worshipped in ignorance (cf. Acts xvii. 23).

shall my righteous, etc. Better, *shall my servant* (omitting *righteous*, which is irregular in grammar, as a dittograph) *make many righteous* (cf. Dan. xii. 3) by becoming their instructor in the Divine ordinances (see xlii. 1—4, xlix. 6)[3].

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[1] Cf. Mic. vi. 7, 2 Macc. vii. 38, Mk. x. 45. [2] Cf. Joh. iv. 22.

[3] The title *the Righteous one*, as applied to the Messiah (Enoch xxxviii. 2, liii. 6), was perhaps derived from this *v.*: cf. the expressions used of our Lord in Acts iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14.

iniquities. 12 Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he poured out his soul unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors: yet he bare the sin of many, and [1]made intercession for the transgressors.

[1] Or, *maketh*

shall bear their iniquities. Better, *shall bear* (or *bears*) *their penalty* (*v.* 6). The clause re-asserts the vicarious character of the Servant's previous sufferings.

12. *will I divide*, etc. The LXX. has *he shall receive a portion.* Although Israel had perished as a nation, its individual members still lived, and so could receive the recompense which the Lord had in reserve for it. The language here used is figurative and perhaps proverbial (cf. Prov. xvi. 19), and is borrowed from the practice of a victorious king who distributes among his deserving warriors a share of the spoils of the campaign. The Servant who was once counted among malefactors is to be placed on a level with conquerors (cf. lii. 15).

he poured out his soul. i.e. his life-blood (Gen. ix. 4, Lev. xvii. 11).

and was numbered. Better, *and let himself be numbered.* The words were applied by our Lord to Himself when predicting His arrest (Luke xxii. 37, cf. xxiii. 33).

the sin. Better, *the punishment* (see on v. 18). Cf. Heb. ix. 28.

made intercession. Better, *interposed* (lix. 16) by becoming a substitute for the sinful nations in the expiation of their sins.

Additional Note on The Servant of the Lord.

If the four "Servant Songs" were, beyond any reasonable doubt, an organic part of the prophecy contained in cc. xl.—lv., there would be the strongest presumption that in them the Servant has the same denotation as in the rest of these cc., and designates the historic Israel. A change of meaning, without any overt indication of such being intended, would be almost incredible if all portions of the prophecy proceeded from a single author. But as there is ground for thinking that the Songs are of independent origin and have been incorporated in it by Deutero-Isaiah from another source, room is left for the possibility that the Servant in them has a different denotation from that which it has in the remainder of cc. xl.—lv. A number of reasons, however, combine in favour of the conclusion that the Servant in the Songs, as elsewhere in the prophecy, really designates the collective people of Israel, whose destiny as the religious teacher of mankind, whose past humiliation and national extinction by the Exile, and whose approaching restoration to national life and influence by the redemption from Babylon are in them allegorically described[1]. According to this view (which involves a departure from the ordinary rendering

[1] This was the judgment of Rabbi Joseph Qara, of Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra, and of David Kimḥi (see Driver and Neubauer, *The Jewish Interpreters on Isaiah liii.*, Translations, pp. 41, 44, 49).

of xlix. 5, 6, where in the R.V. a distinction is drawn between the Servant and Israel) those by whom the Servant is maltreated and misjudged (xlix. 6, liii. 2, 3), for whose sins he, by his undeserved death, makes atonement (liii. 4—9), and whom the Lord describes as His people (liii. 8), are the heathen. The chief reasons for such a view are the facts (*a*) that the Servant is expressly identified with Israel in xlix. 3, (*b*) that in the first Song (xlii. 1—4) the heathen and no others are represented as the sphere of his activity, and that in the second Song (xlix. 1 f.) he addresses the heathen alone, (*c*) that the description, in the fourth Song, of the Servant's afflictions is too fluctuating to be understood literally of the experience of an individual sufferer, and that the account of his return to life, after being put to death, is too obscure to be interpreted of a literal resurrection, (*d*) that the impression produced upon kings and peoples by his exaltation (lii. 15), if interpreted otherwise than of a literal resurrection, is an effect too great to be caused by a revival, in a figurative sense, of any collective body except the whole nation. Many scholars, however, have found it so difficult to believe that the obedient, patient, and innocent Servant, as described in l. 5, 6, liii. 7, 9, can be the collective nation, or that those for whose sins he suffers can be the heathen, that recourse has been had to various alternative views, which agree in discriminating between Israel and the Servant, and in representing the Servant as mediating by his death for Israel in the mass, and as being the agent of Israel's restoration (xlix. 6, 8 R.V., cf. xlii. 7) as well as of the enlightenment of the Gentiles, but which differ as to the person or class of persons designated by the Servant. The latter has been considered to denote (i) the ideal Israel, (ii) some group of persons within Israel, (iii) an individual Israelite ; but each of these identifications is open to serious objection.

(i) The view that the Servant is a personification of the ideal Israel (or the Genius of Israel[1], i.e. what the nation, in the counsels of God, was intended to be) can account for the application to him of the name Israel (xlix. 3) and for the ascription to him of very different qualities from those marking the actual nation ; but it is confronted with the difficulty that such an abstract ideal cannot be intelligibly regarded as (*a*) undergoing the experience of suffering, (*b*) dying vicariously for the real Israel, (*c*) having a posterity (liii. 10), (*d*) being the efficient agent of the return of the Israelite exiles or of the conversion of the Gentile world[2].

(ii) The explanation that the Servant personifies an undefined pious minority within Israel (*spiritual* Israel) or a particular class of godly Israelites (such as the *prophets*), by whom the degradation involved in the Exile would be felt most acutely, avoids, by giving a concrete significance to the figure, some of the difficulties attending the preceding view. It supposes that the pious exiles incurred scorn and persecution not only from the heathen

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[1] The term used by Cheyne.

[2] Skinner (*Isaiah*, II. pp. xxxiv, 88, 236) argues that the ideal Israel can reasonably be represented as experiencing disappointment and calamity because these were undergone by those righteous members of the actual nation who approximated to the ideal and in a measure reached it, and that the ideal Israel can be credited with the restoration to Palestine of the actual nation because it was for the sake of that ideal that the Lord brought the restoration to pass (the *motive* influencing the Lord being represented as the *agent* which He employed).

around, but also from their degenerate fellow-countrymen, who adopted the habits and practices of their Babylonian conquerors, and that their death expiated the sins both of their own race and of the Gentile peoples. But it is confronted by certain difficulties of its own, for (*a*) when all were expiating their sins by exile the exceptional suffering of some could scarcely be credited with having an atoning value for the offences of the rest, (*b*) the faithful minority can never have been really reduced to extinction, (*c*) a subsequent increase of it in magnitude and influence (represented by the renewed life of the Servant) would not astonish the world.

(iii) The view that the Servant is an individual person who, by his exemplary character, undeserved calamities and violent death, produced such an impression upon his contemporaries that they expected him to rise from the dead and convert the Gentiles to the Lord is open to objection on general grounds, apart from special difficulties attaching to particular identifications. (*a*) The word *Israel* in xlix. 3 is inapplicable to an individual and has to be omitted as a mistaken gloss, (*b*) the *rôle* of bringing the heathen world to a knowledge of the Lord exceeds the capacity of any single person, (*c*) the prediction of a literal resurrection might be expected to be made in more unmistakable terms than those employed in liii. 10—12. Among the historical personages with whom the Servant has been identified are: (1) Zerubbabel[1], who is described as the Lord's servant in Hag. ii. 23, and who led the exiles back to Palestine in 537; (2) Jehoiachin[2] who, after long imprisonment, was set at liberty and treated with distinction by Evil-merodach (2 Kgs. xxv. 27, 28); (3) some unnamed teacher of the Law[3] who, though disfigured by leprosy and despised and persecuted by his generation, yet exercised so deep an influence upon his adherents that when he was put to death they cherished about him expectations similar to those entertained about Elijah (Mal. iv. 5) or Jeremiah (Matt. xvi. 14); (4) our Lord[4], whose Passion, Death, and Resurrection are in the N.T. brought into relation with the account of the Servant (see Joh. i. 29, Luke xxii. 37, Acts viii. 32, 33)[5]. The objections to each of these conjectures are grave. (1 and 2) The predominant traits in the portraiture of the Servant (xlii. 1—4, xlix. 2, l. 4) are not those of a king or national leader, like Jehoiachin or Zerubbabel, but of a prophet, and for the violent death of either Zerubbabel or Jehoiachin there is no evidence. (3) History is altogether silent concerning the existence of a religious teacher so remarkable that when he was put to death his resurrection was anticipated. (4) Although the account of the Servant affords an illustrative parallel to the history of our Lord narrated in the N.T., it cannot be directly predictive of it, inasmuch as the sufferings and death of the Servant are regarded by the writer as already past (xlix. 4, l. 6, lii. 14, liii. 2—9), and it is only his restoration and exaltation that are thought of as still in the future (l. 9, lii. 15, liii. 10—12).

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[1] Suggested by Sellin.

[2] A later suggestion of Sellin's.

[3] The suggestion of Duhm.

[4] The view of the Fathers of the Christian Church. The Servant of lii. 13—15 and of liii. 4 is identified with the Messiah in the Targum of Jonathan and the Babylonian Talmud, see Driver and Neubauer, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 7.

[5] Add Mk. ix. 12, Luke xxiv. 26, 46, Acts iii. 18, xxvi. 23, Heb. ix. 28.

CHAPTER LIV.

In this c. the tenor and spirit of the main prophecy are resumed (cf. *vv.* 1—10 with xlix. 18—20). It falls into two sections: (1) an assurance to Jerusalem of re-union with the Lord, and of the restoration and increase of her population (*vv.* 1—10); (2) the recompense, material and spiritual, which the Lord will render her for her past afflictions (*vv.* 11—17).

LIV. 1 Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the LORD. 2 Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; spare not: lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes. 3 For thou shalt spread abroad on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall possess the nations, and make the desolate cities

LIV. 1—10. Jerusalem (li. 17, lii. 1), addressed as a woman separated from her husband (the Lord), is assured that her children (i.e. her people) are to be restored to her and to become more numerous than ever, and that she is to be re-united to her Divine Husband.

1. *barren.* The word is used here, not in the sense of one that has never yet had offspring (as in 1 Sam. ii. 5), but of one who has been bereaved of her children and separated from her husband (cf. xlix. 21, l. 1).

for more are, etc. The comparison is between the present and future condition of Jerusalem herself; though she is now desolate, her population is soon to exceed that which she had before the Exile. The passage is quoted by St Paul in Gal. iv. 27, who applies the childless wife to Sarah (representing the "Jerusalem" of the Christian promises) and the fruitful wife to Hagar (representing the "Jerusalem" of the Jewish law).

2. *Enlarge,* etc. To accommodate the increased numbers, the borders of the land will have to be extended (cf. xlix. 19—21), just as a tent which has to shelter a larger number of occupants has to be enlarged. For the figure of a tent cf. xxxiii. 20, Jer. x. 20, and for the prediction of increased population cf. Jer. xxxi. 38—40.

let them stretch forth. Better (with the LXX. and Vulg.), *stretch forth thy curtains* (i.e. the canvas or hangings forming the tent-covering, cf. Jer. iv. 20, xlix. 29, Hab. iii. 7).

3. *For thou shalt,* etc. Before this clause another has fallen out, since the parallelism of the *v.* is incomplete.

on the right hand, etc. i.e. southward and northward (cf. on ix. 12).

shall possess, etc. For the predicted dispossession of the neighbouring nations by the exiles after their return cf. xi. 14, Am. ix. 12, Jer. xlix. 2.

to be inhabited. 4 Fear not; for thou shalt not be ashamed:
neither be thou confounded; for thou shalt not be put to shame:
for thou shalt forget the shame of thy youth, and the reproach
of thy widowhood shalt thou remember no more. 5 For thy
Maker is thine husband; the LORD of hosts is his name: and
the Holy One of Israel is thy redeemer; the God of the whole
earth shall he be called. 6 For the LORD hath called thee as a
wife forsaken and grieved in spirit, even a wife of youth, when
she is cast off, saith thy God. 7 For a small moment have I
forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee. 8 [1]In
overflowing wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but
with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the
LORD thy redeemer. 9 [2]For this is *as* the waters of Noah unto

[1] Or, *In a little wrath*
[2] Or, according to some ancient authorities, *This is unto me as the days of Noah, when I sware &c.*

4. *the shame of thy youth.* i.e. the bondage in Egypt; see Jer. ii. 2, Hos. ii. 15.

the reproach of thy widowhood. i.e. the Exile, *widowhood* being used irregularly of the state of a woman put away by her husband (l. 1). During the Exile the Lord did not dwell in His land.

5. *thy Maker*, etc. Better, *thy husband is thy Maker.* Israel need have no fear about her future if she reflects that her Husband and near kinsman (see on xli. 14) possesses, as *LORD of hosts*, boundless supramundane resources and, as *God of the whole earth*, universal terrestrial sway.

6. *hath called*, etc. Better, *hath recalled thee as a wife outcast, and downcast in spirit* (there being an assonance in the original).

a wife of youth, when she is cast off, etc. Perhaps better, *and a wife of youth—can she be* (permanently) *cast off?* (for the form of the question cf. 2 Kgs. xviii. 34 and perhaps Ps. cxviii. 10). The passage brings into relief the ethical spirit which the Hebrew prophets imported into the Semitic conception of a marriage union existing between a land and its god, a conception which, among many of the surrounding nations, led under the cover of religion to gross immorality.

7. *For a small moment.* The period of the Exile, which really lasted 50 years, and is represented as a long time in xlii. 14, is here rhetorically described as insignificant beside the mercy with which Israel's scattered members will be gathered in: cf. Zech. i. 15, Ps. xxx. 5.

9. *this is* as *the waters of Noah.* i.e. the recent judgment (the Exile) will as little recur as the Deluge (with allusion to the promise in Gen. viii. 21, ix. 11). But some Heb. MSS., Aq., Sym., Theod., Vulg. and the Syriac have *this* (occasion) *is unto me like the days of Noah* (כִּימֵי for כִּי מֵי).

me: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no
more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be
wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. 10 For the mountains shall
depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not
depart from thee, neither shall my covenant of peace be removed,
saith the LORD that hath mercy on thee.

11 O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted,
behold, I will set thy stones in [1]fair colours, and lay thy founda-
tions with sapphires. 12 And I will make thy [2]pinnacles of
rubies, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy border of
pleasant stones. 13 And all thy children shall be [3]taught of

[1] Or, *antimony* See 1 Chr. xxix. 2. [2] Or, *windows* [3] Or, *disciples*

as I have sworn. The Divine oath at the time alluded to is not specially mentioned in Gen. viii. 21 (JE), but is regarded as implied in the promise therein expressed (just as the promise of 2 Sam. vii. 16 is described as an oath in Ps. lxxxix. 35, 36).

rebuke thee. i.e. foil and frustrate thy undertakings (cf. xvii. 13).

10. *For the mountains shall*, etc. Better, *Though* (Jer. iv. 30, xlix. 16) *the mountains should*, etc. A second interruption of God's mercy to Israel is even more impossible than the removal of the unchangeable mountains: cf. the parallel arguments in li. 6, Jer. xxxi. 35, 36, xxxiii. 20—26, Ps. xxxvi. 6, xlvi. 2, 3.

my covenant of peace. i.e. my covenant of favour and friendship (cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 25, xxxvii. 26, Mal. ii. 5, and the expression *man of my peace* for an intimate friend in Ps. xli. 9).

11—17. The future splendour and security of Jerusalem and the enlightenment and prosperity of her inhabitants.

11. *in fair colours.* The Heb. word ordinarily means *antimony*, a dark pigment (really a salt of antimony) used by women to edge their eyes with, in order to shew up their brightness (2 Kgs. ix. 30, Jer. iv. 30, Ezek. xxiii. 40); and if the text is sound, the meaning here must be that the lustrous stones of which the walls of Jerusalem are to be built will be set in dark cement, to display their splendour to advantage (cf. 1 Ch. xxix. 2). But the parallelism suggests that a gem is meant, and some would substitute *with carbuncles* (or *emeralds*, cf. Ezek. xxvii. 16), reading, with the LXX., בַּנֹּפֶךְ for בַּפּוּךְ.

12. *rubies...carbuncles.* The LXX. has *jasper...stones of crystal*, Sym. *chalcedony...engraved stones.*

thy border. This, from the context, seems to mean, not *thy territory* (Num. xxxv. 26), but *thy boundary wall* (LXX. τὸν περίβολόν σου). Verses 11, 12 are imitated in Tob. xiii. 16, 19, Rev. xxi. 18—21.

13. *all thy children shall*, etc. i.e. all the population will be instructed and inspired by the Lord, instead of being dependent upon human teachers. Such a condition would be a fulfilment of Moses'

the LORD; and great shall be the peace of thy children. 14 In
righteousness shalt thou be established: [1]thou shalt be far from
oppression, for thou shalt not fear; and from terror, for it shall
not come near thee. 15 Behold, they may [2]gather together,
but not by me: whosoever shall [2]gather together against thee
[3]shall fall because of thee. 16 Behold, I have created the smith
that bloweth the fire of coals, and bringeth forth a weapon for
[4]his work; and I have created the waster to destroy. 17 No
weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every

[1] Or, *be thou far*
[2] Or, *stir up strife*
[3] Or, *shall fall away to thee*
[4] Or, *its*

wish in Num. xi. 29 (cf. Is. xliv. 3, lix. 21, Joel ii. 28, 29, Jer. xxxi. 34), and the passage is quoted by our Lord in regard to the Divine influence that brought men to Him (Joh. vi. 45). But the recurrence of *thy children* in the next clause gives plausibility to the emendation *thy builders shall be taught*, etc. (cf. xlix. 16, 17), i.e. the reconstruction of the city will be divinely directed; cf. Ex. xxxi. 3 f. (of the tabernacle), 1 Ch. xxviii. 19 (of the temple).

14. *In righteousness.* Better, *In triumph*, the term *righteousness* describing the redress which righted her wrongs and which was never to be impaired; cf. *v.* 17, xlv. 8, li. 6, 8. The clause should be included in *v.* 13.

thou shalt be far, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *be thou far* (in thought) *from oppression, for thou needst not fear it, and from destruction* (Prov. xxi. 15), *for it*, etc.

15. *Behold, they may gather*, etc. Better, *If* (Jer. iii. 1, 2 Ch. vii. 13) *they gather* (or perhaps, with the mg., *stir up strife*, cf. Ps. cxl. 2, mg.), *it is not by me.* Hostile combinations against Jerusalem, which on previous occasions had been used as agencies for its chastisement (see vii. 18, 20, x. 5, v. 26, ix. 12, 1 Kgs. xi. 14, 23, Jer. xxi. 4, Am. ii. 5), would not again be instigated or countenanced by the Lord, and if initiated would be foiled.

fall because of thee. Perhaps better, *fall* (or *stumble*) *over thee*, i.e. shatter themselves against thee, if they come into collision with thee; cf. the figure in viii. 14, 15, xxxi. 3.

By Duhm and Cheyne the *v.* is rejected on grounds of diction.

16. *I have created*, etc. The invention of metal-working and the earliest use of metal implements were often, in antiquity, ascribed to human heroes (Gen. iv. 22); but both the smith who makes, and the warrior (*the waster*) who uses, them are really created by, and under the control of, the Lord (cf. Jer. xxii. 7), so that no assault upon Jerusalem can be successful without His sanction.

for his work. i.e. as his work. The precise sense of the Heb., however, is doubtful, and another plausible rendering is *according to his working* (his function or craft).

tongue that shall rise against thee in judgement thou shalt condemn. This is the heritage of the servants of the LORD, and [1]their righteousness which is of me, saith the LORD.

[1] Or, *their righteousness is of me*

17. *every tongue.* Not only brute violence but malicious accusations shall be powerless to hurt Jerusalem: cf. xli. 11, xlix. 25.

thou shalt condemn. i.e. shalt prove, by the issue of events of which the Lord is the arbiter, to be in the wrong. National experiences are thought of under the figure of a judicial process, cf. xlix. 4, l. 8.

their righteousness. i.e. the happy conditions that vindicate them (cf. *v.* 14).

CHAPTER LV.

This c. stands in close connection with the preceding. To the description of the future glory of Jerusalem the exiles, or some of them, appear to have shewn indifference, being absorbed in the occupations and interests of Babylon (cf. Jer. xxix. 5, 6), and growing insensible to the claims of spiritual religion. Accordingly, there is addressed to them an earnest appeal to consider what they are foregoing. The contents of the c. may be divided into two parts: (1) an invitation to the exiles to accept what the Lord has in store for them (*vv.* 1—5); (2) a caution against neglecting the opportunity, or judging the Lord's plans by human limitations (*vv.* 6—13).

LV. 1 Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. 2 Where-

LV. 1—5. An exhortation to the exiled people to take advantage of the blessings, freely provided and permanently satisfying, which the Lord offers them.

1. *Ho, every one,* etc. The benefits attending participation in the restored Jerusalem and the renewal of relations with the Lord are symbolized by articles of food (*waters, wine, milk*) that are proffered gratuitously. Spiritual sustenance is expressed by similar metaphors in xii. 3, Prov. ix. 1 f., Ecclus. xv. 3, Matt. xi. 28—30, Joh. iv. 10, vi. 35, vii. 37—39, Rev. xxi. 6, xxii. 17, 1 Pet. ii. 2. For *thirst* as figurative of higher needs see xli. 17, xliv. 3, Ps. xlii. 2, lxiii. 1.

he that hath no money. In the East water had frequently to be purchased (cf. Num. xx. 19), and water-sellers are familiar figures in the towns to-day. But the parallelism and the recurrence of *money* in the latter half of the *v.* have suggested the correction *bread* for *money*; and if certain obvious duplicates are omitted, the latter part of the *v.* will run: *and he that hath no bread, come ye; yea, buy and eat corn without money and* (get) *wine and milk without price.*

fore do ye [1]spend money for that which is not bread? and your [2]labour for that which satisfieth not? hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. 3 Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live: and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David. 4 Behold, I have given him for a witness to the peoples, a [3]leader and commander

[1] Heb. *weigh.* [2] Or, *earnings* [3] Or, *prince*

2. *that which is not bread.* What the people could obtain in Babylon was merely material provision that left their spiritual nature starved, and for such provision they had to labour; whereas the Lord was willing and able to satisfy permanently all their wants, and that without cost; cf. Joh. iv. 10, vi. 27.

your labour. Or (as in the mg.), *your earnings* (cf. xlv. 14, Deut. xxviii. 33).

your soul. In Heb. psychology the soul was the seat of sensuous enjoyment, and often equivalent to *appetite* (cf. xxix. 8, v. 14, Heb., Prov. xxiii. 2 Heb.).

fatness. A figure for prosperity and well-being (see xxv. 6, Jer. xxxi. 14, Ps. xxxvi. 8, lxiii. 5).

3. *your soul.* Here used of the seat of life (Gen. xii. 13, 1 Sam. i. 26).

covenant. The term in this connection describes not so much a mutual engagement between the Lord and Israel as a gracious promise on the part of the Almighty (see *vv.* 6, 7, and cf. liv. 10, Ezek. xxxiv. 25).

the sure mercies of David. The promise given to David was that the Davidic Kingdom should be permanent (2 Sam. vii. 13—16, xxiii. 5, cf. Ps. xviii. 50, lxxxix. 28—36, Jer. xxxiii. 21, 22); and this is to be renewed, though in another and higher sense, with the exiled people. The passage is cited by St Paul in connection with our Lord's resurrection (Acts xiii. 34).

4. *I have given him.* Better, *I have appointed him.* The pronoun refers to David, but to David as represented by, and perpetuated in, the people (cf. Hab. iii. 13, where the title *thine anointed* is applied to the collective nation), amongst whom, indeed, there survived a lineal descendant of David's line in the person of Zerubbabel (around whom great hopes subsequently gathered, see Hag. ii. 23, Zech. iii. 8, iv. 7—10, vi. 12). As David, by his conquests over the neighbouring peoples (cf. Ps. xviii. 43), had been a witness and illustration of the Lord's power, so Israel, by its restoration to its own land, would attest His power still more signally, and thereby bring mankind to a knowledge of, and faith in, Him.

peoples...peoples. Better (with the O.L. and Vulg.), *peoples... nations.*

to the peoples. 5 Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou
knowest not, and a nation that knew not thee shall run unto
thee, because of the LORD thy God, and for the Holy One of
Israel; for he hath glorified thee.

6 Seek ye the LORD while he may be found, call ye upon him
while he is near: 7 let the wicked forsake his way, and the
unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the
LORD, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for
he will abundantly pardon. 8 For my thoughts are not your
thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the LORD. 9 For
as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher
than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts. 10 For
as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and re-
turneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring

5. *thou shalt call*, etc. i.e. Israel, by its exceptional experiences and the evidence it supplied of the Lord's supremacy over human fortunes, is destined to receive the homage of the heathen, who will seek to attach themselves, as servants, to the favoured people of so potent a Deity (cf. xlv. 14, xlix. 7).

a nation. i.e. nations in general: cf. xlix. 7 (note).

6—13. The Lord's appeal to the people not to defer a response to His summons and to abandon their cavils at His scheme of redemption.

6. *while he may be found.* Better, *while he allows himself to be found* (cf. Jer. xxix. 14), i.e. whilst the opportunity of release from captivity (afforded by Cyrus' success) is present (cf. xlix. 8).

7. *let the wicked*, etc. If this *v.* is to be harmonized with its context, the *wicked* and *unrighteous* must be those who foolishly judge the Lord by their own limited human standards (see *v.* 8), and who consequently misjudge and mistrust Him (cf. xl. 27, xlvi. 8, 12). By Cheyne and others, who understand the terms in a more general sense, and take the *v.* to insist upon the moral change which usually conditions God's favour, it is rejected as an insertion. The promise of Israel's deliverance from Babylon was unconditioned (xliv. 22).

8. *my thoughts*, etc. i.e. the Lord's scheme for Israel's rescue and restoration.

9. *For as the heavens*, etc. Cf. the similar parallel drawn in Ps. ciii. 11.

10. *For as the rain*, etc. The Lord's utterance of His will respecting Israel is as little liable to be resultless as the rain and snow that by His mandate (Ps. cxlviii. 8) fall on and fertilize the soil.

returneth not, etc. i.e. does not fail to produce its natural effect upon the earth. The actual return to heaven of the rain in the form of vapour, if known to the writer (cf. Job xxxvi. 27), would be irrelevant to his argument.

forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to the
eater; 11 so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my
mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish
that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I
sent it. 12 For ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with
peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you
into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.
13 Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead
of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree: and it shall be to
the LORD for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be
cut off.

11. *my word*, etc. For the conception of the Divine word as a quasi-personified agency, cf. xlv. 23 and see on ix. 8.

12. *For ye shall go*, etc. i.e. from Babylon.

led forth. i.e. by the Lord (xl. 10, xlviii. 21, lii. 12).

the mountains, etc. For parallel descriptions of the sympathy of inanimate nature with Israel in its happy fortunes see xliv. 23, xlix. 13, lii. 9. Cf. Ps. xcviii. 8, Verg. *E.* v. 62, *Ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant Intonsi montes*, etc.

13. *Instead of*, etc. The treeless waste, where nothing but desert plants grow, will be changed into a park.

fir tree. So Aq. and Vulg., but the LXX. has *cypress.*

for a name, etc. The transformation of the desert is designed to be a permanent memorial of what the Lord had done for His people. *Sign* has the sense of memorial or monument in Josh. iv. 6, Num. xvi. 38, and *name* perhaps has a similar meaning in lvi. 5, Gen. xi. 4, 2 Sam. viii. 13.

PART III. TRITO-ISAIAH. CHAPTERS LVI.—LXVI.

CHAPTER LVI. 1—8.

This section has in view circumstances which can only have existed after the Exile. Not only is reference made to Jews who have already been restored to their own land (*v.* 8), but it is also implied that the Temple is erected (*vv.* 5, 7), and a Jewish community established in the enjoyment of religious privileges. The oracle which the section contains is designed to encourage two classes of persons who apprehended exclusion, viz. foreign proselytes who had been attracted to Israel in accordance with the predictions of Deutero-Isaiah (xliv. 5, xlv. 14, 23, lv. 5, cf. also xiv. 1), and Jews who had been emasculated and made eunuchs at the Persian court or elsewhere. The fears of these two classes no doubt increased as the Temple system became regularized and the rules governing it grew more stringent.

LVI. 1 Thus saith the LORD, Keep ye judgement, and do
righteousness: for my salvation is near to come, and my
righteousness to be revealed. 2 Blessed is the man that doeth
this, and the son of man that holdeth fast by it; that keepeth
the sabbath from profaning it, and keepeth his hand from doing

LVI. 1—8. An exhortation to the observance of the Sabbath and other religious duties, which is followed by a promise to the foreign residents and the Jewish eunuchs that, if they faithfully discharge these requirements, they will be accepted by the Lord.

1. *judgement...righteousness.* Better, *the ordinance...right conduct.* The words are respectively used in the sense of the injunctions (ceremonial as well as moral) of religion, and conduct in conformity with the same (cf. lviii. 2, Ezek. xviii. 5 mg., Ps. cvi. 3).

my salvation...my righteousness. i.e. the Lord's deliverance and vindication of His people; cf. xlvi. 13, li. 5, 6 f. A motive for the observance of the duties prescribed is drawn from the nearness of the promised redress of Israel's wrongs (cf. li. 5). The triumph announced as close at hand by Deutero-Isaiah had not been fully realized by the return under Zerubbabel, and its completion was an object of hope not only in the last quarter of the sixth century (Zech. i. 17, ii. 4, 10), but even in the middle of the fifth (Mal. iv. 1, 2).

2. *the sabbath.* Though the Sabbath was an early institution in Israel (see on i. 13), the observance of it became of greater importance after the loss of Jewish independence, and it was urgently insisted upon, both during the Exile (though not by Deutero-Isaiah) and in post-exilic

any evil. 3 Neither let the stranger, that hath joined himself
to the LORD, speak, saying, The LORD will surely separate me
from his people: neither let the eunuch say, Behold, I am a dry
tree. 4 For thus saith the LORD of the eunuchs that keep my
sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and hold fast by

times, as a feature of distinction between the Jewish community and their neighbours (Jer. xvii. 21, 22, Ezek. xx. 12, 20, xxii. 8, 26, Neh. xiii. 15). The difference of attitude towards the Sabbath in pre-exilic and post-exilic times may be illustrated by 2 Kgs. xi. 1—16, as compared with 1 Macc. ii. 32—38.

from profaning it. The term is similarly used in connection with the Sabbath in Ex. xxxi. 14 (P), Ezek. xx. 13, xxii. 8, Neh. xiii. 17, 18.

3. *the stranger.* i.e. one who is not a Jew. The particular term here used recurs in lx. 10, lxi. 5, lxii. 8, and in Gen. xvii. 12, 27, Ex. xii. 43, Lev. xxii. 25 (all P), Ps. xviii. 44, 45, Neh. ix. 2, Ezek. xliv. 7, 9. Though in early times many foreigners seem to have been incorporated in Israel (e.g. Uriah the Hittite, Araunah the Jebusite), yet intercourse with foreign nations was discountenanced by the prophets of the eighth century (cf. Is. ii. 6), and intermarriage with them is condemned in Ex. xxxiv. 16 (cf. Jud. xiv. 3, 1 Kgs. xi. 1, 2). By the law of Deuteronomy Egyptians were not admitted as proselytes until the third generation, and the admission of Ammonites and Moabites was prohibited altogether (Deut. xxiii. 3—8, xxiii. 1). Nehemiah's attitude towards foreigners was exclusive (Neh. ix. 2, xiii. 1—3): marriage alliances with Gentiles were forbidden (Neh. x. 30, xiii. 23—27), and possibly proselytes, whose adhesion was anticipated by Deutero-Isaiah (xliv. 5), were admitted only on harsh conditions. But the writer of this passage displays greater tolerance, and abrogates by an oracle certain restrictions of the Deuteronomic Code. A similar tolerant spirit seems to have marked the author of the book of Ruth. Cf. also the attitude of the early Christian Church (Acts x. and xv.).

separate. A technical expression for the severance of Israel from the heathen (Ezra vi. 21, ix. 1, x. 11, Neh. ix. 2, x. 28, xiii. 3, Lev. xx. 24).

the eunuch. For Israelite eunuchs cf. xxxix. 7, Jer. xxxiv. 19, Dan. i. 3. By the Deuteronomic law persons who were emasculated were excluded from the assembly of the Lord (Deut. xxiii. 1). For the admission of eunuchs into the early Christian Church see Acts viii. 26—40.

a dry tree. The complaint is prompted by religious feeling. In the absence of a belief in personal immortality, a Jew's hope for the future at this time centred in the continuous existence of the community (the Lord's people), in which he, in a sense, participated through his descendants; but of this hope the eunuch, by his childlessness, was deprived.

4. *of the eunuchs.* Better (beginning the speech), *As for the eunuchs.*

my sabbaths. The precise phrase recurs elsewhere only in Ezekiel

my covenant: 5 Unto them will I give in mine house and within
my walls a [1]memorial and a name [2]better than of sons and of
daughters; I will give [3]them an everlasting name, that shall
not be cut off. 6 Also the strangers, that join themselves to
the LORD, to minister unto him, and to love the name of the
LORD, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the sabbath
from profaning it, and holdeth fast by my covenant; 7 even
them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful

[1] Or, *place* Heb. *hand.* [2] Or, *better than sons and daughters* [3] Heb. *him.*

(xx. 12, 13, xxii. 8, etc.) and in the Priestly Code (Ex. xxxi. 13, Lev. xix. 3, 30, etc.).

my covenant. i.e. (probably) the covenant whose provisions are comprised in Deut. (see xxix. 1, 9), for the phraseology of the c. is markedly Deuteronomic (Int. p. lxxi).

5. *a memorial.* Literally, *a hand*, probably a pillar[1] (see 1 Sam. xv. 12) upon which was inscribed the person's name as a full member of the community. Those who by reason of their physical condition could have no hope of offspring to perpetuate their name (cf. lxvi. 22) are promised in the Lord's house a monument more lasting (because sharing the permanence of the Temple) than descendants (the line of whom might become extinct). Similarly it was a pillar which the childless Absalom set up in the king's dale to preserve his memory (2 Sam. xviii. 18).

them. The Heb. has *him*, which must be taken distributively, but the LXX., Syr. and Vulg. have the plural.

6. *that join themselves*, etc. i.e. become proselytes (xiv. 1, Jer. l. 5, Zech. ii. 11). Those who submitted to circumcision and undertook to fulfil all the requirements of the law (cf. Gal. v. 3) were afterwards called "proselytes of righteousness," in contrast to "proselytes of the gate," who were foreigners merely sojourning on Israelite soil.

to minister unto him. The word, in connection with the Deity, is elsewhere used exclusively of the service of officiating ministers (λειτουργεῖν, cf. lxi. 6), but here it must be equivalent to "worship"; cf. Ezek. xx. 32 (of idolatrous worship). The LXX. has δουλεύειν αὐτῷ.

the name of the LORD. i.e. His revealed Personality and character, which is represented as the object of knowledge (lii. 6), trust (l. 10) and fear (lix. 19, Ps. lxi. 5, Mal. iv. 2), as well as of love (Ps. v. 11).

7. *my holy mountain.* i.e. the Temple hill (xxvii. 13, cf. lxv. 11, lxvi. 20, Joel ii. 1, iii. 17, Ezek. xx. 40, Zeph. iii. 11, Obad. *v.* 16, Ps. ii. 6, iii. 4, xlviii. 1).

make...joyful. i.e. empower them to "rejoice before the Lord" (the technical phrase for participation in the Jewish festivals held at the central sanctuary, Deut. xii. 7, 12, 18).

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[1] Marti mentions that a hand is often represented on Phoenician and Punic monumental stones.

in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar: for mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all peoples. 8 The Lord GOD which gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather *others* to him, [1]beside his own that are gathered.

[1] Heb. *to his gathered ones.*

my house of prayer. Cf. 1 Kgs. viii. 29, 38, 41—43. The interruption of the sacrificial system during the Exile had made prayer almost the only possible act of worship (Dan. vi. 10), and when sacrifice was restored, it retained a conspicuous place beside it.

shall be called, etc. i.e. shall become (lviii. 12) a sanctuary for all mankind, Gentiles as well as Jews (cf. Ps. xxii. 27, lxv. 2, lxxxvi. 9) to worship in, conditionally upon their observance of the Jewish law. The passage was cited by our Lord on the occasion of His cleansing the Temple (Mk. xi. 17, Matt. xxi. 13, Luke xix. 46)[1]. In place of this ideal of worship (of which the Temple at Jerusalem was the scene) a very different one was substituted by Christ (see Joh. iv. 21).

8. *The Lord...saith*, etc. Exclusion of devout foreigners would be contrary to the Lord's will, for He Who had gathered Israel's dispersed (the words imply that a return of Jewish exiles had already occurred) designed to add to them adherents from the heathen.

others. The object of the verb is not expressed in the original; but that the omission is correctly supplied by the R.V. appears from the context, the *others* being foreigners who are to become worshippers of the Lord. For similar predictions of the adhesion of strangers to the Lord's people cf. Zeph. iii. 10[2], Ezek. xlvii. 22, Zech. ii. 11, viii. 22, Ps. xlvii. 9; see also Joh. x. 16.

LVI. 9—LVII. 21.

This section, which is quite detached from the preceding, consists of (1) a complaint of the existence of grave disorders and flagrant idolatry within the Jewish community (lvi. 9—lvii. 13[a]), (2) a promise of relief to the humbled and penitent (lvii. 13[b]—21). The nature of the charges made seems incompatible with an exilic date, for (*a*) the prevalence of disorder is attributed to the self-seeking and indifference of responsible Jewish authorities (lvi. 10, 11), and (*b*) the seats of the idolatrous practices (lvii. 5—7) are Palestinian and not Babylonian. The social abuses resemble those described in cc. lviii., lix., and the idolatry is similar to that denounced in lxv. 1—7, lxvi. 1—4, 17; so that the section is doubtless contemporaneous with the cc. that follow, and like them belongs to the post-exilic period: cf. Mal. iii. 5, ii. 11, Neh. v. 2—5, Ezra ix. 1, 2.

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[1] In Matthew and Luke the concluding words *for all peoples* are omitted.
[2] See Driver, *Minor Prophets*, II. (Cent. Bible), p. 135.

9 All ye beasts of the field, [1]come to devour, *yea*, all ye
beasts in the forest. 10 His watchmen are blind, they are all
without knowledge; they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark;
dreaming, lying down, loving to slumber. 11 Yea, the dogs are
greedy, they can never have enough; and these are shepherds
that cannot understand: they have all turned to their own way,
each one to his gain, [2]from every quarter. 12 Come ye, *say*

[1] Or, *come ye to devour all the beasts in the forest* [2] Or, *one and all*

LVI. 9—LVII. 2. An indignant protest against the apathy in high quarters which is unconcerned at the violent deaths of the godly.

9. *All ye beasts*, etc. The metaphors that follow (*vv.* 10, 11) make it clear that the term *beasts* is not to be taken literally (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 25) but figuratively, and stands for hostile powers which the Lord was wont to use as agents for the chastisement of His people's offences (Jer. xii. 7, 9, Ezek. xxxiv. 5, 8). Although in the sixth century Palestine was a part of the Persian empire, the Jewish community there was constantly exposed to aggression (cf. Zech. viii. 10, Neh. iv. 8 f.).

10. *His watchmen.* Israel is likened to a flock whose religious guardians, especially the prophets (Ezek. iii. 17, xxxiii. 7), are compared to watchdogs that are mute, drowsy, and greedy, and do not sound an alarm when it runs into danger. The possessive adjective *His* must refer to Israel, but as Israel is not previously mentioned, the text should perhaps be corrected (as by Duhm and Cheyne) to *My watchmen* (צֹפַי for צֹפָו or צֹפָיו).

they are all without knowledge. Perhaps better (after LXX. A), *they all know not how to give heed* (inserting הָבִין); cf. *v.* 11. What the guardians of the flock fail to observe are the disorders described in lvii. 1—13, which are calculated to call down vengeance from the Lord.

dreaming. In the Heb. (חֹזִים) there is a play upon the word for *seers* (חֹזִים).

11. *greedy.* Cf. the charge of venality brought by Nehemiah against the prophet Shemaiah (Neh. vi. 12).

and these are shepherds. There is some awkwardness in designating as *shepherds* the religious leaders who have just been described under the figure of sheep-dogs, and Dillmann is probably right in dividing the words differently (וְהֵם הָרֹעִים for הֵמָּה רֹעִים) and rendering, *and these, the shepherds, cannot understand*, the term *shepherds* denoting the *civil* rulers of the community (Jer. ii. 8 mg., iii. 15, xxiii. 1 f., Ezek. xxxiv. 2 f.); cf. the Homeric ποιμένες λαῶν.

turned to their own way. i.e. neglected their charge and pursued their own interest (cf. lviii. 13). The nobles and rulers of Nehemiah's time were open to the accusation of usurious and oppressive conduct; see Neh. v. 7.

from every quarter. Better, *one and all*, without exception (cf. Gen. xix. 4, xlvii. 2, Heb., Ezek. xxxiii. 2). The word is absent from the LXX.

they, I will fetch wine, and we will fill ourselves with strong drink; and to-morrow shall be as this day, *a day* great beyond measure.

LVII. 1 The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and [1]merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away [2]from the evil *to come.* 2 He entereth into peace; they rest in their beds, each one that walketh [3]in his uprightness.

3 But draw near hither, ye sons of the sorceress, the seed

[1] Or, *godly* [2] Or, *through wickedness* [3] Or, *straight before him*

12. *I will fetch*, etc. The Vulg. and Syr. have *we will fetch.* For habits of intemperance among the Jews see v. 11, 22, xxviii. 7, Mic. ii. 11.

great. i.e. attended with success or happiness: cf. Hos. i. 11.

LVII. 1. *no man layeth it*, etc. i.e. no man is apprehensive that the death of the righteous through the machinations of their enemies will occasion Divine resentment.

merciful men. Better, *godly* (or *pious*) *men* (cf. Ps. xii. 1), i.e. those who were zealous for the law and the worship of the Lord, as contrasted with the idolaters described later. The Heb. word is the original of the term *Hasideans* in 1 Mac. ii. 42[1].

none considering that the righteous, etc. Better (with the LXX., to secure the balance of the clauses), *and none regardeth, for the righteous*, etc.

is taken away, etc. Better, *is carried off* (by a violent death, cf. 1 Sam. xv. 6 Heb., Ezek. xxxiv. 29, Jer. viii. 13) *in consequence of* (Ezek. xiv. 15) *the wickedness* (of the time).

2. *He entereth into peace.* The clause should be included in *v.* 1 and rendered *entering into peace*, i.e. descending to the grave. That the cheerless conditions believed to subsist in the lower world (Eccles. ix. 5) should be thus described (cf. Job iii. 13) is grimly suggestive of the intolerable evils prevalent in the Jewish community (cf. Eccles. iv. 1, 2).

their beds. i.e. their graves; cf. Ezek. xxxii. 25, 2 Ch. xvi. 14. The same expression occurs in the inscription of Eshmunazar ("that he opens not this bed"), and in an inscription from Kition (Cooke, *N. Sem. Insc.* pp. 30, 61).

3—13[a]. An indictment of an idolatrous section of the community. The part of the population against whom the invective is directed is probably that which had not been deported by Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kgs. xxv. 12), and which, mingling with the settlers introduced into N. Israel by Sargon (2 Kgs. xvii. 24) and the heathen peoples to the south and

[1] The word properly signifies *kindly*: on the transition of meaning see Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, p. 443.

of the adulterer and the whore. 4 Against whom do ye sport
yourselves? against whom make ye a wide mouth, and draw out
the tongue? are ye not children of transgression, a seed of false-
hood, 5 ye that inflame yourselves [1]among the oaks, under every
green tree; that slay the children in the valleys, under the clefts

[1] Or, *with idols*

east[1], had adopted or revived degraded Canaanite rites. That the worship here described was not undiluted idolatry, but rather a syncretistic religion, in which the worship of idols was combined with that of the Lord (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 24—41, Ezra iv. 2) is suggested by *v.* 12 (see note).

Four different classes of false gods (whose respective powers were local, cf. 1 Kgs. xx. 23) are referred to:—(1) gods of the torrent valleys (*v.* 6), (2) gods of the hills (*v.* 7), (3) tutelary gods of the house (*v.* 8), (4) gods of foreign shrines (*vv.* 9, 10).

3. *draw near.* i.e. to hear your accusation and sentence: cf. xxxiv. 1.

of the sorceress...adulterer, etc. The expressions allude partly to the mixed origin (half Hebrew and half foreign) and partly to the heathenish and immoral rites (Jer. ii. 20, Ezek. xvi. 15, 32) of those who are denounced. The Heb. for *sorceress* is the fem. of the word rendered *soothsayer* in ii. 6 (see note). In place of *adulterer* should perhaps be substituted *adulteress* (reading with Klostermann מְנָאֲפֶת וְזוֹנָה for מְנָאֵף וַתִּזְנֶה).

4. *Against whom*, etc. The insolence of their conduct towards the Lord is compared to the most insulting gestures. By some the offensive gestures mentioned (for which cf. Ps. xxii. 13, xxxv. 21, Livy VII. 10, *Gallum...linguam etiam ab irrisu exserentem*) are interpreted literally, and regarded as directed against the pious section of the people: cf. lxvi. 5, Neh. iv. 1, 2.

children of transgression. Cf. 2 Sam. iii. 34 (*children of iniquity*), Num. xvii. 10 (*children of rebellion*).

a seed of falsehood. i.e. a generation faithless and disloyal to their God (cf. *v.* 11, lxiii. 8).

5. *ye that inflame*, etc. More literally, *they that inflame*, etc. (an allusion to the sensuous incitements of the worship described). Duhm and Cheyne, in consequence of the departure from the direct address and a change of rhythm, regard the *v.* as a marginal citation.

the oaks. Better, *the terebinths*: for tree-worship see on i. 29. The form of the word, however, is irregular, resembling the plur. of *God* (*El*), and the LXX. has τὰ εἴδωλα, Vulg. *in diis.*

slay the children. i.e. in sacrifice: cf. lxvi. 3. The practice prevailed among several Semitic peoples, e.g. the Moabites (2 Kgs. iii. 27), the Canaanites (Deut. xii. 31), and the Carthaginians, who were Phoenician

[1] In the time of Nehemiah conspicuous figures in the Jewish community were Tobiah the Ammonite and Geshem (or Gashmu) the Arabian.

of the rocks? 6 Among the smooth *stones* of the valley is thy portion; they, they are thy lot: even to them hast thou poured a drink offering, thou hast offered [1]an oblation. Shall I be

[1] Or, *a meal offering*

colonists (Diod. Sic. xx. 14). At Gezer (which at the Conquest remained Canaanite, Jud. i. 29) the bones of children, apparently sacrificed, have been found in the course of recent excavations. The narrative of Abraham's offering of Isaac suggests that the rite had once been customary among the ancestors of Israel in connection with the worship of the Lord, but became discontinued in consequence of the development of higher ideas of the Divine requirements[1], though Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter (Jud. xi. 31, 39) seems to have been an instance of it. Later, however, under heathen influence it was renewed by several of the Israelite kings (cf. Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, Mic. vi. 7, Ezek. xvi. 20, xxiii. 39); and it prevailed amongst the half-pagan population of Samaria and Judæa after the overthrow of the Ephraimite kingdom (2 Kgs. xvii. 31) as well as among the post-exilic Jews. The tradition of Iphigenia's sacrifice points to the usage having once existed likewise in Greece; whilst at Rome after Cannæ men and women were sacrificed by being buried alive (Livy, XXII. 57), and the annual throwing of puppets into the Tiber was perhaps the imitation of a primitive rite in which human beings were originally the victims (see W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 112 f.)[2]. Whether the practice of making children "pass through the fire" (Deut. xviii. 10, 2 Kgs. xvi. 3, xxi. 6, xxiii. 10, etc.) was really sacrificial is doubtful: the context of certain of the passages cited suggests that it was a method of augury (see Driver on Deut. xviii. 10).

valleys. i.e. (dry) torrent beds, or *wâdies.*

under the clefts. Better (with the LXX.), *in the midst of the clefts.*

6. *the smooth* stones. Probably water-worn boulders which were regarded as sacred stones (Jer. ii. 27, iii. 9). The image of the Paphian Venus was a conical pillar (Tac. *Hist.* II. 3); and unwrought stones are used as objects of worship by many uncivilized races of the present day (see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II. p. 160 f.). For the early use of pillars in connection with the worship of the Lord see on xix. 19. Duhm, however, here takes the expression *smooth* figuratively, and renders, *among the deceivers* (i.e. the false gods) *of the valley* (cf. Ezek. xii. 24 Heb.).

is thy portion. i.e. thou hast taken such blocks of stone as the controllers of thy fortunes (cf. 2 Sam. xx. 1), instead of the Lord (Josh. xxii. 25, Jer. x. 16, Ps. xvi. 5, etc.). There is a play in the original upon the words *smooth* (stones) and *portion.*

drink offering. The materials might be oil (Gen. xxxv. 14, Mic. vi. 7), blood (Ps. xvi. 4), or wine (Bel and the Dragon, *v.* 3).

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[1] Cf. Driver, *Gen.* p. 221 f.

[2] Human beings were also sacrificed both in Gaul and in this country by the Druids, see Cæsar, *B.G.* VI. 16, Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 30.

appeased for these things? 7 Upon a high and lofty mountain
hast thou set thy bed: thither also wentest thou up to offer
sacrifice. 8 And behind the doors and the posts hast thou set
up thy memorial: for thou hast discovered *thyself* to another
than me, and art gone up; thou hast enlarged thy bed, and
made thee a covenant with them; thou lovedst their bed where
thou sawest it. 9 And thou wentest to the king with ointment,

oblation. Better, *meal offering*, cf. xliii. 23, lxvi. 3, Jer. xvii. 26, etc.

7. *Upon a high...mountain.* The reason for choosing hills as sanctuaries (cf. xv. 2, lxv. 7, 1 Kgs. xi. 7, 2 Kgs. xvi. 4, Hos. iv. 13, Jer. ii. 20, etc.) is probably to be found in the atmospheric phenomena of which they are often the scene. JEHOVAH, Who was thought in early times to manifest Himself especially in storm and fire (lightning), had sanctuaries at Horeb and Carmel as well as at Zion.

thy bed. Idolatry is regarded as unfaithfulness to the marriage tie (Hos. iv. 15, Jer. ii. 33, iii. 2, Ezek. xvi. 25, etc.).

8. *And behind the doors.* Besides the worship rendered to the gods of the valleys and hills, veneration was paid to household deities whose emblems were placed behind the doors, extending protection to the house and all who entered it. For surviving traces of the importance which the door and door-posts once had for the religion of Israel see Ex. xii. 7, xxi. 6, Deut. vi. 9. The nature of the *memorial*, or emblem, here referred to can only be conjectured : the root of the word rendered *memorial* is identical with one meaning *male*, and some scholars compare Ezek. xvi. 17 mg.

discovered. Better, *uncovered* ; cf. Ezek. xxiii. 18.

to another than me. Literally, *away from me* ; but Duhm emends the text to *by reason of it* (מֵאִתּוֹ for מֵאִתִּי).

made thee a covenant. The original is obscure, as the word for *covenant* is omitted, and the grammar and construction are irregular. The R.V. is in agreement with Theod. (διέθου σεαυτῇ) and the Vulg. ; but Duhm and other critics adopt the emendation *thou didst buy for thyself* (some) *of those whose bed thou lovedst* (וַתִּכְרִי for וַתִּכְרָת־); cf. Ezek. xvi. 34, Hos. iii. 2.

where thou sawest it. Literally, *thou sawest a hand.* The word *hand* has been variously explained to mean "a beckoning hand" (inviting approach), "an (idolatrous) monument" (cf. on lvi. 5), and "a place" (cf. Syr.), or to be a euphemism.

9. *And thou wentest to the king.* Better, *And thou wentest to Melech*, a common title (equivalent to *king*) of many deities (see viii. 21, xxx. 33, Zeph. i. 5, Am. v. 26 and the names *Adrammelech* (i.e. Adar Melech) and *Anammelech* (i.e. Anu Melech)), and applied also to JEHOVAH Himself. The general context, the mention of ointment and perfumes, and the allusion to hell (Sheol) make it probable that the passage refers not to political embassies (as in Hos. xii. 1) but to re-

and didst increase thy perfumes, and didst send thine ambassadors far off, and didst debase thyself even unto [1]hell.
10 Thou wast wearied with the length of thy way; yet saidst
thou not, There is no hope: thou didst find [2]a quickening of
thy strength; therefore thou wast not [3]faint. 11 And of whom
hast thou been afraid and in fear, that thou liest, and hast not
remembered me, nor laid it to thy heart? have not I held my
peace even of long time, and thou fearest me not? 12 I will

[1] Heb. *Sheol.* [2] Heb. *the life of thine hand.* [3] Heb. *sick.*

ligious pilgrimages for the purpose of consulting or propitiating the deity of some foreign shrine (cf. 2 Kgs. viii. 8, Ezek. xxiii. 16, 40). Possibly the *Melech* meant is the god of Ammon, with whom the title was especially associated[1]: in Nehemiah's time Tobiah the Ammonite was an influential personage (Neh. ii. 10, iv. 3, 7, xiii. 4). The Vulg. has *ornasti te regi*, and Sym. ἐκοσμήθης τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν ἐλαίῳ; and hence Cheyne and others read, *thou didst anoint thyself for Melech* (וַתִּסְכִּי for וַתִּשְׂרִי).

ointment...perfumes. These were used in religious rites (see Gen. xxviii. 18, Ex. xxx. 25, Ezek. xvi. 18, xxvii. 41). Pausanias relates (x. 24) that a small stone in the temple at Delphi had oil poured on it daily, and the practice of smearing sacred stones with grease prevails in Madagascar and elsewhere at the present day (see Frazer, *Paus. l.c.*).

didst debase, etc. More literally, *didst make deep* (thy sending) *unto Sheol.* The expression implies that among the sanctuaries to which deputations were sent were some which claimed to be oracles of the dead or of the gods of the infernal world, such as the Egyptian deity Osiris. Among the "abominations" enumerated in Ezra ix. 1 are those of Egypt.

10. *the length of thy way.* i.e. the long journey undertaken to the distant sanctuary: even the weariness attending this did not reduce the infatuated pilgrim to despair.

thou didst...strength. Literally, *thou didst find the life* (or *revival*) *of thy hand*: for *hand* with the meaning of strength cf. Josh. viii. 20, Ps. lxxvi. 5.

11. *And of whom*, etc. Nonentities were feared and the Omnipotent ignored.

that thou liest. i.e. that thou art faithless (*v.* 4).

have not I held, etc. Possibly the sentence should be differently divided: *Is it not so? I held my peace* (i.e. did not interfere to punish thy idolatries) *even of long time, and* (*so*) *thou fearest me not*: cf. Ps. l. 21. In place of *even of long time* Cheyne, Duhm and Marti (guided by the LXX. and Vulg. and probably Aq. and Sym.) would read *and hid mine eyes* (וּמֵעַלִים עֵינַי for וּמֵעֹלָם).

[1] See 1 Kgs. xi. 7 where *Melech* is vocalised *Molech*, receiving the vowels of the Heb. word *bosheth* (shame) as a mark of contempt.

declare thy righteousness; and as for thy works, they shall not
profit thee. 13 When thou criest, let [1]them which thou hast
gathered deliver thee; but the wind shall take them, a breath
shall carry them all away: but he that putteth his trust in me
shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain.
14 And [2]he shall say, Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way,
take up the stumblingblock out of the way of my people.
15 For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth

[1] Or, *thy rabble* of idols [2] Or, *it shall be said*

12. *thy righteousness.* The expression is ironical: thy righteousness is a caricature of true righteousness (lxiv. 6), which the Lord will expose. Probably the idolaters combined with their idolatrous rites the worship of the Lord, and so were self-satisfied as to their relations with the latter (cf. Ezra iv. 2). LXX. A has *my righteousness*, i.e. as manifested in judgment.

thy works. Possibly the idols which they had made (cf. xli. 29), though the LXX. (τὰ κακά σου) takes the word to mean conduct.

shall not profit. The phrase is often used of idols (xliv. 10, Jer. ii. 8, Hab. ii. 18).

13. *them which thou hast gathered.* The original is a noun which only occurs here, and apparently refers to the collection of various deities (Cheyne, "thy medley of gods") to which devotion was paid. Weir would read *thy abominations* (שִׁקּוּצַיִךְ for קִבּוּצַיִךְ).

the wind shall take, etc. Cf. xli. 16. The idols are themselves perishable, and so can afford no security to their votaries.

13b—21. A message of comfort for the distressed, to whom, though their sufferings have not been undeserved, the Lord, in response to their penitence, promises relief.

This section is regarded by Cheyne and others as quite distinct from the preceding part of the c. But though there is a change of rhythm, it seems to refer to the same two classes, the godly, who though not blameless, are penitent (cf. the confession in lix. 12), and the incorrigibly wicked; and the severance of it from the foregoing appears unnecessary.

13b. *my holy mountain.* i.e. the mountainous land of Judah (cf. xi. 9, lxv. 25) which was the possession of the Lord (1 Sam. xxvi. 19).

14. *And he shall say.* The speaker must be the Lord (note *my people*), and the Vulg. has *I will say* (וְאֹמַר for וְאָמַר).

Cast ye up. i.e. a highway. The opening address is probably an imitation of that in xl. 3; but here refers not to the removal of obstacles from the path of returning exiles, but to the removal of offences that retard the return of prosperity: cf. the application of the same original in Mk. i. 3, Joh. i. 23.

15. *that inhabiteth eternity.* Or, *that dwelleth* (or *abideth*) *for ever*, i.e. who is eternally unchangeable.

eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones. 16 For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirit should [1]fail before me, and the souls which I have made. 17 For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth and smote him, I hid *my face* and was wroth: and he went on [2]frowardly in the way of his heart. 18 I have seen his ways, and will heal him: I will lead him also,

[1] Or, *faint away* [2] Heb. *turning away*.

whose name is Holy. Cf. xl. 25. The term, originally used by the Semitic peoples of all Divine beings (see on i. 4 and p. xxxiv), is here appropriated, as a personal appellation, to the Lord as in reality the only God.

I dwell in the high, etc. Perhaps better, *I dwell on high as Holy One.* The writer shews the influence of Is. vi. 1, 3: cf. also lxvi. 1.

with him also, etc. Better, *yet with him who is crushed and abased in spirit.* The previous title, expressive of the Lord's exalted dignity, accentuates the graciousness of His bearing to the afflicted and humbled (cf. Ps. cxxxviii. 6, cxiii. 5, 6, xxxiv. 18). These last terms describe both the distressed condition of the pious section of the Jewish community in the fifth century (cf. lxi. 1, 2, lxvi. 2) and their attitude of humility consequent upon a sense of their national sins (cf. the prayer of Nehemiah, Neh. i.).

16. *contend.* i.e. afflict or punish; cf. xxvii. 8. The motive here assigned for the Lord's mercy is neither that the punishment due to Israel has been exhausted, nor that further chastisement of it would bring His name into contempt among the heathen (motives which appear in Deutero-Isaiah, see xl. 2, xlviii. 11), but that human frailty cannot support the Divine resentment beyond a certain limit: the nation, if further punished, was in danger of being extinguished altogether. Human weakness is similarly represented as appealing to Divine compassion in Ps. lxxviii. 38, 39, ciii. 9—14.

souls. Literally, *breaths* (cf. xlii. 5, Gen. ii. 7).

17. *For the iniquity of his covetousness.* Perhaps better, *For the iniquity of his unjust gain* (cf. lvi. 11, Ezek. xxxiii. 21, Jer. xxii. 17). But the LXX. implies, *Because of his guilt* (*I was wroth*) *for a moment* (בַּעֲוֹנוֹ רָגַע for בַּעֲוֹן בִּצְעוֹ); cf. liv. 7 f.

I hid my face *and was wroth.* Better, *hiding* my face *in wrath* (reading וָקָצֹף for וְאֶקְצֹף). The expression here describes God's withdrawal of His favour, as in viii. 17, lxiv. 7, Jer. xxxiii. 5, Ezek. xxxix. 23: contrast Num. vi. 26.

18. *I have seen his ways.* As the *vv.* are at present divided the meaning must be "I have seen with compassion his unhappy condition" (for *ways* in this sense cf. xl. 27). But possibly Duhm is right in

and [1]restore comforts unto him and to his mourners. 19 I
create the fruit of the lips: Peace, peace, to him that is far off
and to him that is near, saith the LORD; and I will heal him.
20 But the wicked are like the troubled sea; for it cannot rest,
and its waters cast up mire and dirt. 21 There is no peace,
saith my God, to the wicked.

[1] Heb. *recompense.*

attaching these words to *v.* 17, and explaining the sense to be "I have noticed and punished his perverse conduct." The clause is completed by adding *saith the* LORD (from *v.* 19).

and will heal. Or (if Duhm's view of the foregoing clause be adopted), *Yet I will heal.* For the figurative use of the term cf. xix. 22, liii. 5, Hos. vi. 1, vii. 1, xiv. 4, Jer. iii. 22.

I will lead him. Better (with Klostermann), *I will give him rest* (וְאַנִיחֵהוּ for וְאַנְחֵהוּ, cf. xiv. 3).

restore...his mourners. Better (transferring *and to his mourners* to the next *v.*), *I will requite him with comforts.*

19. *I create*, etc. Better (prefixing the last words of *v.* 18), *And for his mourners* (lxi. 2, lxvi. 10) *I will create* (by sending them prosperity) *the fruit of the lips* (i.e. thanksgiving, cf. Hos. xiv. 2 LXX., Heb. xiii. 15).

Peace, peace. i.e. perfect peace (or prosperity, xxvi. 3, Zech. viii. 10—12). The word is a second object after *create.*

him...far off...near. i.e. those Jews who are still in exile (cf. Zech. vi. 15) and those who have already returned to Jerusalem (see lvi. 8): cf. Dan. ix. 7. The words are applied by St Paul to the Gentiles and the Jews respectively (Eph. ii. 17).

and I will heal him. These words, which occur also in *v.* 18, should be omitted here. For the preceding *saith the* LORD see on *v.* 18.

20. *the wicked.* i.e. the disloyal and paganised faction.

21. *There is no peace*, etc. Cf. lix. 8, Jer. vi. 14. The *v.* is found also in xlviii. 22 (with the substitution of *the* LORD for *my God*) to which place it has probably been transferred from here.

CHAPTER LVIII.

This and the following c. are both rebukes of national sins, evoked by the people's plea that the Lord disregarded their prayers and religious observances. Chapter lviii. is directed against insincere formalism, as exhibited by those who mortified themselves by fasts but put no curb on their rapacity or their inhumanity. Fasting, as an expression of public or private sorrow which might propitiate the Deity, was a familiar custom in Israel at all times (see Jud. xx. 26, 1 Sam. vii. 6, 2 Sam. xii. 16, 1 Kgs. xxi. 12, Jer. xxxvi. 9); but it was not until after the destruction of Jerusalem that a *system* of fasts (held in the 4th, 5th, 7th and 10th months, apparently on the anniversaries of certain

disasters that had occurred during the last siege of the capital) began to be observed (Zech. vii. 3—5, viii. 19). Some other features in the c., harmonizing with a post-exilic date, are noticed in the commentary.

The c. consists of two parts: (1) a comparison between the false conception of fasting and the true (*vv.* 1—12); (2) an appendix enforcing the duty of Sabbath observance (*vv.* 13, 14).

LVIII. 1 Cry [1]aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare unto my people their transgression, and to the house of Jacob their sins. 2 Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways: as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the [2]ordinance of their God, they ask of me righteous ordinances, they delight to draw near unto God. 3 Wherefore have we fasted, *say they*, and thou seest not? *wherefore* have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge? Behold, in the day of your fast ye find *your own*

[1] Heb. *with the throat.* [2] Or, *judgement*

1—12. Not bodily prostrations and fleshly austerities but acts of unselfishness and humanity are the essential conditions of obtaining Divine favour.

1. *Cry aloud.* Literally, *Cry* (or *Call*) *with the throat* (as opposed to the lips only); cf. Ps. cxlix. 6 mg. and contrast 1 Sam. i. 13.

declare, etc. The language is almost identical with that of Mic. iii. 8, whence it has perhaps been borrowed.

2. *Yet they seek me.* Better, *Yet it is me that they seek* (the pronoun being emphatic). The people, though breaking the Lord's moral laws, yet sought His presence in formal acts of homage. The verb *seek* is used of consulting God through either priest or prophet (cf. xxxi. 1, Ezek. xx. 3).

my ways. The word, used of God's requirements generally (ii. 3, xlii. 24, cf. xlviii. 17), must here refer in particular to the ceremonial law.

they ask of me. i.e. ask from the priests or prophets information respecting doubtful points of ritual observance (see Zech. vii. 3).

to draw near. i.e. in sacrifice and acts of worship (cf. xxix. 13, 1 Kgs. xviii. 36, Lev. xvi. 1, Ps. lxxiii. 28, Zeph. iii. 2).

3. *and thou seest not.* It had been hoped that in consequence of their scrupulous religious observances the depressing conditions under which they had suffered since the Return (Hag. i. 6, Mal. iii. 11) would be relieved and their fasts turned into cheerful feasts (Zech. viii. 19); cf. the similar complaint in Mal. iii. 14.

afflicted our soul. i.e. practised abstinence and self-mortification (see Lev. xvi. 29, xxiii. 27—32, Num. xxix. 7, Ps. xxxv. 13).

ye...pleasure, etc. Better, *ye find opportunity for your own business* (*v.* 13), *and all your labourers ye drive.* The Lord's answer to their appeal is that their acts of self-denial are purely external, and that

pleasure, and [1]exact all your labours. 4 Behold, ye fast for
strife and contention, and to smite with the fist of wickedness:
[2]ye fast not this day so as to make your voice to be heard on
high. 5 Is such the fast that I have chosen? the day for a
man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a rush,
and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call
this a fast, and an acceptable day to the LORD? 6 Is not this
the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness,
to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free,
and that ye break every yoke? 7 Is it not to deal thy bread to

[1] Or, *oppress all your labourers*
[2] Or, *ye shall not fast as* ye do *this day, to make &c.*

their fast-days do not interfere with their interests, or bring relief to their workmen. The *labourers* were perhaps debtors who had become slaves to their creditors (cf. Neh. v. 5): the Vulg., following Theod. and Sym., explains the final clause to mean *omnes debitores vestros repetitis.*

4. *Behold, ye fast*, etc. Their fasts exert no influence upon their characters, but only afford more leisure for altercation and violence.

to smite with the fist, etc. The LXX. has *to smite with the fist the poor man* (reading רָשׁ for רָשָׁע).

ye fast not this day, etc. Better (as in the mg.), *ye shall not fast as ye do this day so as to make*, etc. In order that their prayers might be heard, the character of their fasts would need to change.

5. *Is such the fast*, etc. i.e. do ye think that mechanical genuflexions and uncomfortable postures (cf. Esth. iv. 3) can of themselves give any satisfaction to the Lord? Cf. Zech. vii. 5 and the attitude of Isaiah to empty ritual in i. 11, xxix. 13; and for our Lord's teaching see Matt. v. 6, vi. 16 f.

to afflict his soul. See on *v.* 3. The denial, here implied, that fasting has any intrinsic religious value does not affect the question of its usefulness as a means of self-discipline.

6. *Is not this the fast*, etc. The true fast has for its sphere the field of social duty and consists in abstinence from oppressing the weak and in the provision of relief for the destitute: cf. xxxii. 6, Ezek. xviii. 7—9, Zech. viii. 16, 17, Job xxxi. 13, 14.

the bonds of wickedness. i.e. bonds unjustly or unmercifully imposed.

the bands of the yoke. In strictness, the thongs which fastened the yoke (or *yoke bar*) to the neck (cf. Jer. ii. 20, xxvii. 2), but here used of any oppressive imposition. Cheyne (to improve the parallelism) substitutes *bands of violence* (חָמָס for מוֹטָה).

the oppressed. Probably debtors in bondage to their creditors (cf. Neh. v. 5).

that ye break. Better (with the LXX. and Vulg.), *that thou break.*

the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh? 8 Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy healing shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the LORD shall be thy rearward. 9 Then shalt thou call, and the LORD shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here I am. If thou take away from the midst of thee the yoke, the putting forth of the finger, and speaking wickedly; 10 and if thou [1]draw out thy soul to the hungry, and

[1] Or, *bestow on the hungry that which thy soul desireth*

7. *deal thy bread.* Cf. Ezek. xviii. 7 and the conduct of Nehemiah (Neh. v. 17).

that are cast out. The Heb. term (which recurs in Lam. i. 7, iii. 19) is probably an abstract noun ("homelessness") used as a concrete for *homeless*; cf. LXX. ἀστέγους. Some critics would read *vagrants* (רָדִים for מְרוּדִים); cf. Vulg. *vagos.*

naked. i.e. half-clad (the term having the same qualified sense as in xx. 2; cf. γυμνός in James ii. 15, 16).

hide not thyself...flesh. i.e. do not become inaccessible to thy kinsmen or fellow-countrymen (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 27, Neh. v. 5). The spirit of the passage is not as comprehensive as that of Matt. xxv. 35—40.

8. *Then shall thy light,* etc. Pity for fellow-sufferers will evoke the Lord's pity, and accelerate the desired return of felicity (cf. Matt. v. 7). For *light* in this sense cf. *v.* 10, ix. 2, lx. 1, 3, Lam. iii. 2.

thy healing. Strictly, the growth of fresh skin on a raw wound: for the figure cf. Jer. viii. 22, xxx. 17, Neh. iv. 7 mg.

thy righteousness. i.e. the external conditions that vindicate Israel before the world (as in liv. 17, lix. 9, lxii. 1). Possibly, however, it is a designation of the Author of those happy conditions, the Lord Himself: cf. the phrase *thy salvation* in lxii. 11. The phraseology is imitated from lii. 12, but language which there refers to the Lord's visible presence with His people on the march from Babylon is here used to describe His abiding protection of them (cf. lx. 1, 2).

9. *Then shalt thou call,* etc. i.e. when thou shalt call, the Lord will answer. There will then be no further occasion for the complaint of *v.* 3: cf. xxx. 19, lxv. 24.

the putting forth, etc. An offensive way of shewing contempt; cf. Prov. vi. 13, Juvenal x. 53, *Mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem,* Plaut. *Ps.* iv. vii. 43, *in hunc intrude digitum.*

speaking wickedly. The phrase is probably to be understood of false accusations.

10. *thy soul.* If the reading is retained, *thy soul* (i.e. thy appetite, cf. lvi. 11 Heb.) must be equivalent to "the object of thy appetite" i.e.

satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall thy light rise in darkness, and thine obscurity be as the noonday: 11 and the LORD shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in [1]dry places, and make strong thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. 12 And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in. 13 If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from

[1] Or, *drought*

food. But the text should probably be corrected with some Heb. MSS. and the Syr. to *thy bread*, for which *soul* seems to have been substituted by accident from the next clause: the LXX. combines the two readings, τὸν ἄρτον σου ἐκ ψυχῆς σου.

darkness...obscurity. Metaphors for distress (as in viii. 22, lix. 9).

11. *shall guide.* Cf. lvii. 18. The language, which recalls the promise of relief on the march through the desert (xli. 17, xliii. 20, xlviii. 21, xlix. 10), is here used to describe preservation from error and privations generally.

and make strong thy bones. The verb means literally *to equip*, and Duhm, after Secker, would substitute *and will renew thy strength* (עָצְמָתְךָ יַחֲלִיף for עַצְמֹתֶיךָ יַחֲלִיץ), cf. xl. 31.

like a watered garden, etc. Figures for conditions of uninterrupted well-being: cf. xliv. 4, Jer. xxxi. 12, and the similar comparison in Ps. i. 3.

12. *they that...thee.* For the promise cf. xliv. 26, xlii. 14, liv. 11, lxi. 4. The construction of the original is peculiar (though cf. Ps. lxviii. 26): Weir and Cheyne substitute *thy sons shall build*, etc. (וּבָנוּ בָנֶיךָ for וּבָנוּ מִמְּךָ).

the foundations of many, etc. i.e. foundations that had lain exposed for many generations: cf. lxi. 4. The expression is more appropriate to the fifth century than to the exilic, or early post-exilic, period.

shalt be called. i.e. shalt become; cf. lvi. 7. The shattered walls were first restored in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. ii.—iv.), *circ.* 445 B.C.

paths to dwell in. Literally, *paths for dwelling*, contributing to render the land habitable. But Oort and others would read *ruins* (to a condition fit) *for dwelling* (נְתִיצוֹת for נְתִיבוֹת), i.e. thou shalt rebuild the dismantled city.

13—14. A promise of future prosperity and triumph, conditional upon the maintenance of the sanctity of the Sabbath. These *vv.* are thought by Koppe and Cheyne to be a supplement to the preceding, adding to the exhortation to works of mercy the injunction contained in lvi. 2, and somewhat later in date. In Nehemiah's time, regulations were enforced to prevent the profanation of the Sabbath (Neh. xiii. 15); and Cheyne conjecturally dates the passage shortly after 432.

doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the sabbath a delight, *and* the holy of the LORD honourable; and shalt honour [1]it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking *thine own* words: 14 then shalt thou delight thyself in the LORD; and I will make thee to ride upon the high places of the earth; and I will feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

[1] Or, *him*

13. *If thou turn away*, etc. The Sabbath is compared to holy ground (cf. Ex. iii. 5). The paramount thought in the writer's mind is its sacredness to the Lord; and it is remarkable that in spite of the ethical spirit animating *vv.* 1—12, the humanitarian aspect of it (cf. Deut. v. 14) should here be ignored. At the present time, though the restrictions of the Jewish Sabbath are not binding upon any but Jews, the observance of a weekly day of rest is eminently desirable in the interest of the labouring classes, and the Lord's Day has for Christians obligations of its own.

thy pleasure. Better, *thy business* (cf. *v.* 3), a sense of the word common in Eccles. (iii. 1, 17, viii. 6), cf. also Prov. xxxi. 13 mg.

the holy of the LORD. The Heb. makes this (like *the sabbath*, for which it is a synonym) the object after *call*, but the LXX. and Theod. treat it as a secondary predicate (like *delight*) and read *and call the sabbath a delight and holy unto thy God* (omitting *honourable*). Duhm emends the text to (*and call*) *the new moon of the Lord a desirable thing* (reading לְחָדֶשׁ...מַחְמָד for לְקֹדֶשׁ...מְכֻבָּד).

nor speaking...words. Probably a warning (like the Latin *favete linguis*) against idle utterances (cf. Prov. x. 19) that might desecrate the sanctity of the day. The LXX. has οὐδὲ λαλήσεις λόγον ἐν ὀργῇ.

14. *delight thyself in the LORD.* i.e. in the prosperity which He bestows; cf. lv. 2, Job xxii. 26.

to ride upon the high places, etc. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 29, Ps. xviii. 33, Hab. iii. 19. The reward of Sabbath keeping is to be territorial dominion and the recovery of the heritage promised to Israel's ancestor Jacob (Gen. xxvii. 27—29, xxviii. 13 f., etc.); cf. lxv. 9.

CHAPTER LIX.

This c., with the preceding, is a denunciation of the sins of the community, and an answer to its plea that the Lord is indifferent to its appeals. It presumes that the writer's countrymen constitute an organized community, for the people addressed obviously enjoy some measure of independence and are responsible for the miscarriage of justice (*v.* 14). The offences denounced are more openly flagrant than those mentioned in the previous c., and there is a more acute sense of the national suffering, which is acknowledged to be

deserved (*v.* 12). But from the oppression and humiliation endured it is predicted that relief will be brought by the interposition of the Lord, Who will deliver His people without any human help.

The unity of the c. is open to suspicion. It probably contains more than one interpolation; and the difference between the first part (*vv.* 1—15[a]), in which the evils deplored are chiefly internal, and the second part (*vv.* 15[b] f.), in which the evils from which deliverance is predicted are principally external, is such that it has been conjectured that the c. is a combination of two separate incomplete poems which have been united together by an editor.

LIX. 1 Behold, the LORD'S hand is not shortened, that it cannot save; neither his ear heavy, that it cannot hear: 2 but your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear. 3 For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken lies, your tongue muttereth wickedness. 4 None [1]sueth in righteousness, and none pleadeth in truth: they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity. 5 They hatch [2]basilisks' eggs,

[1] Heb. *calleth.* [2] Or, *adders'*

1—8. The Lord's delay in succouring His people is due not to His powerlessness or indifference, but to the people's grievous sins.

1. *the LORD'S hand*, etc. Better, *the LORD'S hand is not too short to save* (or *help*), *or his ear too dull to hear*. For *shortened* (or *short*) cf. l. 2, Num. xi. 23, and for *dull* (literally *heavy*) of the ear cf. vi. 10, Zech. vii. 11 mg.

2. *your sins have hid*, etc. i.e. have occasioned God to withdraw His regard and favour (cf. i. 15, viii. 17, lvii. 17, Jer. xxxiii. 5, Lam. iii. 44, etc.). The Heb., instead of *his face*, has (*the*) *Face*, which seems to be used as a substitute for the Divine appellation: cf. *the Name* in Lev. xxiv. 11, 16. But the reading is perhaps a textual error: the LXX. (A) has τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, the Vulg. *faciem eius.*

3. *your hands*, etc. The people are addressed collectively, without discrimination of the righteous and unrighteous sections in it.

4. *sueth.* Literally, *calleth*, the object being either the defendant who is cited, or the judge who is appealed to. Suits (it is implied) are brought, not to redress a wrong but from motives of malice (like the Latin *calumnia*), and those who bring them use sophistry in the conduct of them ; cf. xxix. 21.

vanity. Better, *falsity* (literally, *wasteness* or *chaos*, cf. xlv. 19).

they conceive mischief, etc. The phrase recurs in Job xv. 35 : cf. also Ps. vii. 14.

5—8. This extended description of evildoers in the 3rd pers. (*vv.* 2, 3 on the contrary have the 2nd pers.) resembles in style the book of Proverbs (see on *vv.* 7, 8), and since *v.* 9 connects as easily with

and weave the spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs dieth,
and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper. 6 Their
webs shall not become garments, neither shall they cover them-
selves with their works: their works are works of iniquity, and
the act of violence is in their hands. 7 Their feet run to evil,
and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their thoughts are
thoughts of iniquity; desolation and destruction are in their
[1]paths. 8 The way of peace they know not; and there is no
[2]judgement in their goings: they have made them crooked paths;
whosoever goeth therein doth not know peace. 9 Therefore is
judgement far from us, neither doth righteousness overtake us:
we look for light, but behold darkness; for brightness, but we

[1] Or, *high ways* [2] Or, *right*

v. 4 as with *v.* 8, and the confession in *vv.* 13, 14 reverts to *vv.* 3, 4 and appears to ignore *vv.* 5—8, the passage has been suspected, not without some reason, to be an interpolation.

5. *basilisks' eggs...the spider's web.* i.e. their schemes are fatal to others (whether they seek to profit by them or to suppress them) and useless to themselves. For the *basilisk* see on xi. 8.

6. *their works.* There is probably a transition in the meaning from "products" in the first half of the *v.* (cf. *v.* 5) to "actions" in the second.

7. *Their feet,* etc. Cf. Prov. i. 16, xxiv. 2. Part of this *v.* and the following is quoted by St Paul in Rom. iii. 14—17 together with passages from Pss. xiv., v., cxl., and x.: and in the LXX. (A) of Ps. xiv. the *vv.* from Pss. v., cxl., x. and Isaiah have been inserted, whence they have been introduced into the P. B. Psalter.

desolation and destruction. There is an alliteration in the original (שֹׁד וָשֶׁבֶר), as in li. 19, lx. 18, Jer. xlviii. 3.

8. *The way of peace.* i.e. the conduct that brings peace (or security): cf. *the way of life* (Prov. vi. 23), *the way of death* (Jer. xxi. 8), etc.

there is no judgement. Better, *there is no justice* (*v.* 14) *in their tracks* (i.e. course of life, Prov. iv. 26, v. 21).

doth not know peace. i.e. has no experience of happiness.

9—15[a]. The prophet, who in *vv.* 1—4 denounces the iniquities of his countrymen, here unites himself to them in a confession of the sins that have caused the postponement of their deliverance.

9. *judgement.* i.e. the nation's vindication before the world (its *right*, xl. 27), which is deferred by reason of the injustice that prevails in Israel itself. The term has the same sense in *vv.* 11, 15.

righteousness. i.e. the redress of the nation's wrongs (equivalent to the *salvation* of *v.* 11): cf. lxii. 1, 2, and perhaps lviii. 8.

light...darkness. Metaphors for the longed-for felicity and the present distress (as in l. 10, lviii. 8, 10).

walk in obscurity. 10 We grope for the wall like the blind, yea,
we grope as they that have no eyes: we stumble at noonday
as in the twilight; [1]among them that are lusty we are as dead
men. 11 We roar all like bears, and mourn sore like doves:
we look for judgement, but there is none; for salvation, but it
is far off from us. 12 For our transgressions are multiplied
before thee, and our sins testify against us: for our trans-
gressions are with us, and as for our iniquities, we know them:
13 in transgressing and denying the LORD, and turning away
from following our God, speaking oppression and revolt, con-
ceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood. 14 And
judgement is turned away backward, and righteousness standeth
afar off: for truth is fallen in the street, and uprightness cannot
enter. 15 Yea, truth is lacking; and he that departeth from

[1] Or, *we are in dark places like the dead*

10. *We grope.* An expression of helplessness: cf. Deut. xxviii. 29, Zeph. i. 17.

at noonday. i.e. at a time when relief might be fully expected, their calamitous condition is unredressed.

among...lusty. i.e. surrounded by peoples who are vigorous and prosperous (cf. x. 16, Ps. lxxviii. 31). But the Vulg. has *in caliginosis*; and hence Cheyne conjectures *we dwell in the darkness like the dead* (וְנֹשֵׁב בְּמַחֲשַׁכִּים כַּמֵּתִים), cf. Lam. iii. 6.

11. *We roar*, etc. The growling of wild beasts was regarded, like the cooing of doves (for which see xxxviii. 14, Nah. ii. 7, Ezek. vii. 16), as a plaintive sound, and the verbs here used are employed indiscriminately of both beasts of prey and doves, see xxxi. 4, Ezek. vii. 16: cf. the use in Latin of *gemo* and *circumgemo* to describe the growling of lions and bears (Lucr. III. 297, Hor. *Epod.* XVI. 51).

12. *are with us.* i.e. are realized by us.

13. *denying the LORD.* The expression (cf. Jer. v. 12) is perhaps to be understood of the practical denial of His authority through the moral offences described in *vv.* 3 f. (cf. lvii. 1, 2) rather than through overt apostasy.

oppression. Some critics would substitute *perverseness* (עִקֵּשׁ for עֹשֶׁק).

14. *judgement...righteousness.* i.e. justice (cf. *v.* 8) and rectitude. The passage has in view the conduct of trials: the qualities of justice and rectitude, truth and uprightness, are personified, and are represented as excluded from, or unable to reach, the tribunals where they ought to be present—a figurative way of saying that the tribunals are corrupt.

the street. Literally, *the broad place*, an open space before the city gates (2 Ch. xxxii. 6, Neh. viii. 1) where the elders and other persons of authority sat and judged: cf. Jer. v. 1, Zech. viii. 16, Job xxix. 7.

evil maketh himself a prey: and the LORD saw it, and it displeased him that there was no judgement. 16 And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was [1]no intercessor: therefore his own arm brought salvation unto him; and his righteousness, it upheld him. 17 And he put on righteousness

[1] Or, *none to interpose*

15. *maketh...prey.* i.e. is victimised without redress by those who are more unscrupulous.

15[b]—20. An announcement that the Lord will intervene in His own person to bring retribution upon His enemies.

The central thought of this passage seems to be not the punishment of the evildoers within Israel (though see *v.* 20), but the overthrow of Israel's external oppressors (see on *v.* 19); and this gives plausibility to Cheyne's view that these *vv.* cannot originally have been the sequel to the foregoing.

15[b]. *and the LORD saw it.* The writer, in *vv.* 16, 17, projects himself into the future, and relates what is to be as though it had already happened. The prophetic perfects are replaced by the future in *vv.* 18 f.

that there was no judgement. The defective balance of the clauses points to the loss of a verb, and Marti supplies, *and he was angry that there was no judgment.* Here the word *judgment* means (not civic justice as in *vv.* 8, 14, but) the vindication of Israel (as in *v.* 9).

16. *no intercessor.* Better, *none to interpose.* The verb, though identical with that used in liii. 12, here has a different sense and means one who intervenes actively to aid (LXX. ὁ ἀντιληψόμενος). The trouble from which a deliverer was needed to liberate Israel is explained by many critics to be the internal disorders described in *vv.* 1—15[a], which was in some degree eventually remedied by Nehemiah (who, when this was written, had not yet appeared); but the parallel of lxiii. 5 is strongly in favour of understanding the trouble to be mainly the external oppression by foreign foes. The passage implies that there was no human champion to rescue Israel from Persia as Cyrus had rescued it from Babylon.

his own arm. God's only, but sufficient, allies are His own resources (cf. lxiii. 5, li. 9, lii. 10, xlviii. 14).

brought salvation unto him. Better, *wrought him deliverance.*

his righteousness. i.e. His successfulness. But the similar passage lxiii. 5 has *his fury*, and *righteousness* may have been accidentally substituted for it from the next *v.*

17. *And he put on*, etc. The Lord is regarded as a warrior (as in xlii. 13, xlix. 24 f., lii. 10, cf. Ex. xv. 3, Deut. xxxii. 41), and His attributes are described as constituting His armour and His clothing; cf. xi. 5, lxi. 10, Ps. lxxi. 13, cix. 18, Job xl. 10, Wisd. v. 17—23 (probably based on this passage), Eph. vi. 14—17, Hom. *Il.* xx. 381, εἱμένος ἀλκήν.

righteousness. i.e. success, or victory (as in xli. 2).

as a [1]breastplate, and [2]an helmet of salvation upon his head;
and he put on garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad
with zeal as a cloke. 18 According to their [3]deeds, accordingly
he will repay, fury to his adversaries, recompence to his enemies;
to the [4]islands he will repay recompence. 19 So shall they
fear the name of the LORD from the west, and his glory from
the rising of the sun: [5]for he shall come as [6]a rushing stream,

[1] Or, *coat of mail*
[2] Or, *salvation for an helmet*
[3] Heb. *recompences.*
[4] Or, *coastlands*
[5] Or, *when the adversary shall come in like a flood, the spirit of the* LORD *shall lift up a standard against him*
[6] Heb. *a stream pent in.*

an helmet of salvation. Or, *a helmet of deliverance.* The phrase is the original of 1 Thess. v. 8.

for clothing. This word, which is superfluous, is omitted by the LXX. and Vulg.

zeal. i.e. martial ardour (cf. ix. 7, xlii. 13, lxiii. 15).

cloke. An outer garment worn over the tunic (1 Sam. xviii. 4, xxiv. 4).

18. *According to...accordingly.* The repetition is awkward, and some, for the second, would substitute *recompense* or *their deeds*[1] (*he will repay*), reading גְּמוּל for כְּעַל; cf. iii. 11, lxvi. 6.

recompence to his enemies. The LXX., which abbreviates the *v.*, probably read *disgrace to his enemies* (כְּלִמָּה for גְּמוּל).

to the islands. Better, *to the coastlands* (xl. 15, xlii. 4, li. 5, lx. 9). The Persian empire in the fifth century extended to the Mediterranean seaboard. The clause disturbs the balance of the *v.* and, being omitted by the LXX., is probably an insertion.

19. *So shall they fear.* Only the overthrow of Israel's external oppressors (not the punishment of internal disorders) could inspire the universal awe of the Lord which is here contemplated; cf. Ps. cii. 15. But instead of *fear* some MSS. have *see.* The *name of the* LORD designates the manifestation of His personal presence (cf. xxx. 27), conceived here as accompanied by some visible supernatural brightness (*his glory*, cf. iv. 5, lxvi. 18, 19).

for he shall come, etc. Perhaps better, *for it* (i.e. the name of the Lord) *shall come as a rushing* (or *pent-in*) *river which a wind* (or *blast*) *of the* LORD *driveth.* The Lord, coming in person to execute judgment, is compared to a stream rendered impetuous (cf. LXX. βίαιος) by being confined within a narrow channel and driven forward by the wind; cf. the similar figure in xxx. 27, 28. Another possible rendering (supported by the Syr.) is, *for as a river the enemy shall come, whom the blast of the* LORD *shall drive away*, a hostile invasion being similarly likened to an overflowing river in viii. 7. But this translation implies

[1] The Heb. term is used both for fair or foul *dealing* and for the *requital* of such: see 1 Sam. xxiv. 17.

which the breath of the LORD driveth. 20 And a redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the LORD. 21 And as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the LORD: my spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the LORD, from henceforth and for ever.

that the heathen foe is conceived as not merely oppressing but actively assailing Israel (like Gog and Magog in Ezek. xxxviii. 9)—a conception which is favoured by nothing else in the passage.

20. *And a redeemer*, etc. Better, *And as a redeemer shall he* (the Lord) *come to Zion.* For *redeemer* see p. 263.

and unto them that turn, etc. The expression implies that there is evil within Zion, as well as oppression without; but the writer seems here to take a less gloomy view of the moral condition of the community than is expressed in *vv.* 1—15[a], and to assume that reforms are in progress. The text, however, is uncertain, for the LXX., followed in Rom. xi. 26, has, *And there shall come for the sake of* (Rom. *out of*, cf. lxvi. 6) *Zion the redeemer and shall turn away transgression from Jacob*, reading in the last clause וְהֵשִׁיב פֶּשַׁע מִיַּעֲקֹב for וּלְשָׁבֵי פֶשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב.

21. *And as for me*, etc. When the deliverance and purification of Israel have been accomplished, the Lord will preserve it against relapse (cf. liv. 13). The opening words have some resemblance to Gen. ix. 9, xvii. 4 (P).

my spirit. This becomes a source of instruction through inspired leaders (lxiii. 11, Neh. ix. 20).

The *v.* is awkwardly constructed, there being an abrupt change from the 3rd pers. plur. to the 2nd sing.; and its connection with the preceding is very loose. By Cheyne and others it is considered to be a late insertion, and the conclusion seems plausible.

CHAPTERS LX.—LXII.

These three cc. constitute a small group, describing the coming felicity of Zion, which are marked by a uniform tone of sympathy for the tribulation that she has undergone, and of enthusiasm for the compensation which is to be made to her. They must have been produced under approximately the same conditions and about the same time. That they were composed after the return from the Exile in 537 appears from the mention in lx. 7, 13, lxii. 9 of the altar and temple (the latter of which needed to be beautified, not erected) and of the courts of the sanctuary, and from the allusion (in lxii. 8, 9) to raids upon harvest fields and vineyards of which those whom the writer addresses are in occupation. They shew traces of having been written under the influence of the

prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah and bear a close resemblance, in particular, to cc. liv. and lv. (cf. lx. 3, lxii. 2 with lv. 5; lx. 5 f., 10, lxi. 6 with liv. 3; lxii. 5 with liv. 4, 5; lxi. 8 with liv. 10, lv. 3; lx. 21 with liv. 13): cf. also lx. 4 with xlix. 18, 22, lxi. 1 with xlii. 1. The anticipations of Deutero-Isaiah respecting the glory of Jerusalem after the Return from Babylon had not been fulfilled; and the writer of these cc., living in the fifth century, aims at comforting his depressed countrymen with predictions framed on the model of his predecessor of the Exile. The post-exilic Jerusalem for long suffered from paucity of inhabitants and the lack of defensive walls; and hence the prophet announces the return in large numbers of those Jews who were still in exile, and the rebuilding of the city's ramparts. The cc. would be in more natural sequence if arranged in the order lxi., lxii., lx.

Chapter LX.

This c., though closely connected with cc. lxi., lxii. in contents and tone, is complete in itself. It consists of an address to Zion from the Lord, Who is indicated as the speaker in *vv.* 7, 10, 13, 15, etc.

LX. 1 Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory
of the Lord is risen upon thee. 2 For, behold, darkness shall
cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples: but the Lord
shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.
3 And nations shall come to thy light, and kings to the bright-
ness of thy rising. 4 Lift up thine eyes round about, and see:
they all gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons

LX. 1—4. Jerusalem is soon to be illumined by the glory of the Divine presence, and to attract to herself the heathen nations, who will bring with them her scattered people.

1. *Arise.* The afflicted Jerusalem (the name is inserted in the LXX. and Vulg.) is regarded as enveloped in gloom and prostrate on the ground (cf. li. 17, lii. 2).

shine. The imperative is equivalent to a future: Jerusalem will shortly be illumined by the light of which the Lord is the source, in accord with the promises in lviii. 8, 10.

is come...is risen. The tenses are prophetic perfects: the moment of her transformation is still future (lviii. 8, 10) but is close at hand.

3. *And nations shall,* etc. The thought is a reproduction of xlix. 22, 23, and has influenced Rev. xxi. 24.

thy rising. Jerusalem is thought of as having become herself a luminary.

4. *they all.* The pronouns refer not to the preceding subject but to *thy sons* and *thy daughters*; cf. xlix. 18. The post-exilic community in Jerusalem was scanty in numbers (Neh. vii. 4) and many Jews were still in exile (see on lxi. 1).

shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be [1]carried in the arms. 5 Then thou shalt see and [2]be lightened, and thine heart shall tremble and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee, the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee. 6 The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the [3]dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; they all shall come from Sheba: they shall bring gold and frankincense, and shall [4]proclaim the praises of the LORD. 7 All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth

[1] Heb. *nursed upon the side.*
[2] See Ps. xxxiv. 5.
[3] Or, *young camels*
[4] Heb. *bring good tidings of the praises.*

carried in the arms. More literally, *nursed on the side* (cf. lxvi. 12), a figure for the tender solicitude with which the exiles will be brought back by the nations: cf. xlix. 22, Num. xi. 12.

5—9. The wealth of the nations, conveyed by sea and land, shall be transported to the city to enrich her citizens and to enhance the dignity of the Temple worship.

5. *shalt see.* What will be seen is explained in the second half of the verse.

be lightened. Better, *be radiant*, i.e. thy face shall light up with joy (Ps. xxxiv. 5).

tremble and be enlarged. i.e. throb with delight (Jer. xxxiii. 9, Hos. iii. 5) and expand with a sense of relief (Ps. cxix. 32, xxv. 17 mg.).

the abundance of the sea. i.e. the rich merchandise carried on the sea (Deut. xxxiii. 19, cf. Hag. ii. 7, Zech. xiv. 14) from the Phoenician colonies and other places on the Mediterranean (W. of Palestine).

6. *The multitude of camels*, etc. i.e. caravans bringing the products of the lands on the E. and S. of Palestine.

Midian. A Bedouin tribe, rich in camels, dwelling in the Sinaitic and Syrian deserts (Ex. ii. 16, Gen. xxv. 2, xxxvii. 28, Jud. vi. 3, vii. 12); see Driver, *Gen.* p. 240.

Ephah. A tribe akin to Midian (Gen. xxv. 4).

they all, etc. Better, *all from Sheba shall come.* Sheba (distinct from Seba, xliii. 3) was part of S. Arabia (the mod. *Yemen*). For the products here associated with these regions cf. 1 Kgs. x. 2, Ezek. xxvii. 22, Ps. lxxii. 15, Jer. vi. 20, Verg. *G.* II. 117, *solis est turea virga Sabaeis.* The present passage is recalled by the narrative of the Magi (Matt. ii. 1—11).

shall proclaim the praises, etc. More literally, *shall bring good tidings of the* LORD'S *praiseworthy deeds* (lxiii. 7, Ex. xv. 11, Ps. lxxviii. 4, cf. Latin *laudes*).

7. *Kedar...Nebaioth.* These (mentioned together by Pliny) were pastoral tribes of N. Arabia, represented as sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13). Kedar is mentioned in xxi. 16, xlii. 11, Jer. ii. 10, Ezek. xxvii. 21, Ps. cxx. 5, etc. The people of Nebaioth (the Nabatæans)

shall minister unto thee: they shall come up with acceptance
on mine altar, and I will [1]glorify [2]the house of my glory.
8 Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their
windows? 9 Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of
Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their
gold with them, for the name of the LORD thy God, and for the
Holy One of Israel, because he hath [3]glorified thee. 10 And

[1] Or, *beautify* [2] Or, *my beautiful house* [3] Or, *beautified*

formed a powerful kingdom in the second century B.C. (1 Mac. v. 25, ix. 35). Sheep and cattle were imported from Arabia and the countries E. of Jordan at all periods of Hebrew history (see 2 Kgs. iii. 4, 2 Ch. xvii. 11).

shall minister unto thee. i.e. shall serve thy needs in providing victims for thy sacrifices (cf. *v.* 10, lvi. 6). But the LXX. has ἥξουσίν σοι, and Klostermann reads, *shall eagerly seek thee* (יְשַׁחֲרוּנֶךָ for יְשָׁרְתוּנֶךָ).

they shall come up, etc. i.e. shall be offered upon my altar and be received favourably as tokens of homage from the tribes which provide them. The view that the victims are thought of as mounting the altar spontaneously (see W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* p. 309) is improbable; but amongst the Romans the struggles of a victim to escape were accounted an omen of evil (Livy, XXI. 63).

I will glorify, etc. Better, *I will beautify my beautiful house.* But the LXX. has *my house of prayer* (lvi. 7) *shall be beautified* (בֵּית תְּפִלָּתִי יִפָּאֵר for בֵּית תִּפְאַרְתִּי אֶפְאָר).

8. *these.* The prophet, reverting in thought from the E. to the W. (*v.* 5), sees in vision a dense cloud of ships laden with Jewish exiles, hasting to Palestine like homing doves (cf. Ps. lv. 6, Hos. xi. 11). For *a cloud* as a simile for vast numbers cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 16, Hom. *Il.* IV. 274, ἅμα τε νέφος εἵπετο πεζῶν, Verg. *G.* IV. 60 (of bees), *obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem.* The comparison to doves is designed to illustrate the speed of the vessels (cf. Soph. *O.C.* 1081, εἴθ' ἀελλαία ταχύρρωστος πελειὰς...κύρσαιμι τῶνδ' ἀγώνων).

their windows. i.e. their latticed dovecotes.

9. *Surely the isles shall wait*, etc. i.e. the distant western peoples shall await my signal to bring my people home. But the connection with the following clause is improved, and point is given to the word *first*, by the emendation, *Surely vessels shall be gathered for me* (צִיִּים יִקָּווּ for אִיִּים יִקָּווּ).

their silver, etc. That the Jews of the captivity accumulated wealth in the lands of their exile is probable from the fact that comparatively few of them returned to Palestine when the opportunity was offered: see p. lxxv.

for the name of the LORD, etc. Better, *to* (the place of) *the name of the LORD* (xviii. 7, cf. Jer. iii. 17), *and to the Holy One of Israel, because he hath beautified thee.*

strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee: for in my wrath I smote thee, but in my favour have I had mercy on thee. 11 Thy gates also shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations, and their kings led *with them.* 12 For that nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted. 13 The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir tree, [1]the pine, and the box tree together; to beautify the place of my sanctuary, and I will make the place of my feet glorious.

[1] See ch. xli. 19.

10—14. The city is to be rebuilt and beautified by its former enemies.

10. *thy walls.* The walls of Jerusalem were still in a state of ruin when Nehemiah reached the city in 445 (Neh. ii. 13). It is not quite clear whether the foreigners are here regarded as personally labouring upon their reconstruction (cf. xiv. 2, lxi. 5) or as merely furnishing money and materials. The rebuilding was eventually undertaken by Nehemiah, who received help from the Persian king Artaxerxes (Neh. ii. 7—8).

11. *Thy gates.* The city, though provided with the means of defence, will be the object, not of the neighbouring peoples' hostility, but of their emulous devotion, and her gates will have to stand open not only by day but also by night in order to admit the offerings they bring. The thought is reproduced in Rev. xxi. 25.

their kings led. The expression suggests that the kings are led by force (cf. xlv. 14, though see note); but this seems alien to the context (see *v.* 3). Probably a letter in the original word has been misplaced, and the participle should be active—*their kings leading them* (נוֹהֲגִים for נְהוּגִים).

12. *For that nation*, etc. The ceaseless supply of treasures is here accounted for by the apprehensions of those who withhold them (cf. Zech. xiv. 17—19). But the *v.* disturbs the natural sequence of *vv.* 11 and 13, and is not in harmony with the spirit of *v.* 3; and being unmetrical, is regarded by Cheyne and others as an interpolation based on Zech. *l. c.*

13. *The glory of Lebanon.* Perhaps a designation of the cedar (xxxv. 2). The second temple, already built but comparatively mean and insignificant (Hag. ii. 3, 7), is to be adorned (like the first, 1 Kgs. v. 8 f.) with the choicest timber.

the fir tree, etc. Or, *the cypress, the plane, and the sherbin-tree*, see on xli. 19.

place of my feet. Synonymous with the preceding *place of my sanctuary*, i.e. the Temple (Ezek. xliii. 7, Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7, Lam. ii. 1). The clause is omitted by the LXX.

14 And the sons of them that afflicted thee shall come bending
unto thee; and all they that despised thee shall bow themselves
down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee The city
of the LORD, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel. 15 Whereas
thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man passed
through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of
many generations. 16 Thou shalt also suck the milk of the
nations, and shalt suck the breast of kings: and thou shalt
know that I the LORD am thy saviour, and thy redeemer, the
Mighty One of Jacob. 17 For brass I will bring gold, and for
iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron:
I will also make thy officers peace, and [1]thine exactors right-

[1] Or, *thy taskmasters*

14. *the sons of them that afflicted*, etc. Equivalent to *they that afflicted* (for the form of the expression cf. i. 4).

shall bow...feet. The passage seems to have influenced Rev. iii. 9.

Zion of the Holy One. The phrase only occurs here.

15—18. Zion, instead of being shunned and shamed, will be admired and frequented, adorned with the costliest materials, and endowed with internal order and external security.

15. *so that no man*, etc. The words imply the absence of traffic; and are consistent with the conditions prevailing after, as well as during, the Exile: cf. Neh. ii. 17.

a joy, etc. i.e. a place to which people will delight to resort, cf. lxv. 18, Lam. ii. 15, Ps. xlviii. 2.

16. *Thou shalt also suck*, etc. A variation of xlix. 23, and interpreted in the LXX. by πλοῦτον βασιλέων φάγεσαι.

thou shalt know, etc. The change in Israel's fortunes will convince the people that the Lord has been active in their behalf. The clause, slightly varied, is repeated from xlix. 26.

17. *For brass*, etc. In the reconstruction of the city, ordinary building materials are to be replaced by others more valuable, recalling the splendour of Solomon (1 Kgs. x. 21, 27), and in marked contrast to the replacing of precious metals by others less precious on the occasions when foreign invaders had to be bought off (1 Kgs. xiv. 26 f.). The substitution of brass for wood is (superficially at least) inconsistent with the provision of valuable timber in *v.* 13, and Duhm and Cheyne on metrical grounds omit the words *and for wood brass, and for stones iron.*

I will also make, etc. i.e. I will render thy governors peaceful and righteous. But this, though supported by the LXX. and Vulg., is weak, and a preferable rendering is, *I will appoint Peace as thy magistracy and Righteousness as thy ruler* (Zech. x. 4 mg.), i.e. peace and rectitude (personified like the abstractions in lix. 14) will replace rapacious heathen as the government of the city.

eousness. 18 Violence shall no more be heard in thy land,
desolation nor destruction within thy borders; but thou shalt
call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise. 19 The sun shall
be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the
moon give light unto thee: but the LORD shall be unto thee an
everlasting light, and thy God thy [1]glory. 20 Thy sun shall no
more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the
LORD shall be thine everlasting light, and the days of thy mourn-
ing shall be ended. 21 Thy people also shall be all righteous,
they shall inherit the land for ever; the branch of my planting,
the work of my hands, that I may be glorified. 22 The little
one shall become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation:
I the LORD will hasten it in its time.

[1] Or, *beauty*

18. *Salvation...Praise.* The names given to the walls and gates (*vv.* 10, 11) express their characteristics: the former will ensure for the city perfect safety, whilst the latter will become renowned in consequence of being the resort of so many nations.

19—22. The Lord will be ever-present in the city, and its people will be permanently free from sorrow and sin.

19. *The sun,* etc. In consequence of the presence of the Lord, symbolized by a supernatural light (iv. 5, xxx. 26, Ezek. xliii. 2), the luminaries of the day and night will be superseded; cf. xxiv. 23. The passage has suggested Rev. xxi. 23, xxii. 5.

21. *shall be all righteous.* Moral imperfections and deficiencies will have no place in the redeemed community (cf. iv. 3, xxvi. 2, liv. 13, Zeph. iii. 13, Jer. xxxi. 33, xxxii. 39, Ezek. xi. 19, xxxvi. 26); and the absence of these will preclude any future forfeiture of the land for sin, so that the people will remain in undisturbed occupation of it (cf. lvii. 13, lxv. 9).

the branch. Better, *the scion,* cf. xi. 1. The collective people are thought of as a sapling which the Lord has planted in the soil of His holy land: cf. lxi. 3, Num. xxiv. 6, Ps. lxxx. 8. Cheyne would emend the text to *the scion of the Lord's planting, the work of his hands, that he may be glorified* (reading מַטַּע יְהוָה for מַטָּעַי or מַטָּעוֹ and יָדָיו (with the LXX.) for יָדַי).

22. *The little one,* etc. i.e. the least of the Judæan households. A *thousand* was a subdivision (perhaps originally military, Ex. xviii. 21, Josh. xxii. 21) of a tribe (Jud. vi. 15 mg., Mic. v. 2), consisting of a group of families (cf. 1 Sam. x. 19, 21).

in its time. i.e. in the due time of its fulfilment; cf. xiii. 22.

CHAPTER LXI.

Chapter lxi. is closely connected with c. lxii., and the theme of both is similar to that of c. lx. The subject of c. lxi. is a message of comfort from the Lord to Israel in distress, announcing release for its members still in exile, the rebuilding of its ruined capital, and compensation for the indignities of the past.

LXI. 1 The spirit of the Lord GOD is upon me; because the LORD hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the [1]meek; he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and [2]the opening *of the prison*

[1] Or, *poor* [2] Or, *opening* of the eyes

LXI. 1. *The spirit*, etc. The speaker is the prophet, not (as has been thought by some critics) the Servant of the Lord, for he is not commissioned to address the Gentiles (who, on the contrary, must be the objects of the predicted vengeance, *v.* 2), and he is not a teacher of religion but a herald of approaching redemption to Israelite exiles. The passage, however, reproduces some of the expressions of the "Servant Songs."

the Lord GOD. Better, *the Lord JEHOVAH* (as in l. 4).

is upon me. The prophet, for the discharge of his function, is endowed with the spirit of the Lord, as in xlviii. 16 : cf. xlii. 1, Mic. iii. 8, Num. xxiv. 2.

because...anointed. Physical anointing as a symbol of consecration to high office was practised among the Hebrews in connection with kings (1 Sam. ix. 16, xvi. 3, 1 Kgs. i. 45, etc.), priests (Ex. xxviii. 41, xxix. 7, cf. Lev. vi. 22), and prophets (1 Kgs. xix. 16). The practice was perhaps totemistic in origin, its purpose being to impart certain desirable virtues by contact with the fat of an animal which was regarded as divine. The fat, especially the kidney fat (xxxiv. 6), was doubtless believed to be the seat of valuable qualities, if not, like the blood, of life itself. Here the expression is used figuratively of the unction of the spirit (cf. Acts x. 38, 1 Joh. ii. 20), and, instead of explaining, merely repeats the preceding clause.

to preach good tidings. In the original the same word as *to tell*, or *bring, good tidings* (xl. 9, lii. 7). Here the tidings are brought by an individual prophet, not by a band of messengers (as in *ll.c.*).

the meek. The word here describes not a disposition ("submissive") but a condition, "poor," "distressed[1]": cf. xxix. 19, xxxii. 7, Am. ii. 7. The LXX. has πτωχοῖς, probably reading עֲנִיִּים for עֲנָוִים. The people designated are the distressed Jews. For the metaphor *bind up* cf. i. 6, iii. 7 (mg.), xxx. 26, Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 16.

to proclaim liberty, etc. That many Jews remained in exile after 537 is clear from Zech. ii. 7 and the return of a considerable body with

[1] Cf. Driver, *Parallel Psalter*, p. 445 (*humble*).

to them that are bound; 2 to proclaim [1]the acceptable year of the LORD, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn; 3 to appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them a garland for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the LORD,

[1] Or, *the year of the LORD'S good pleasure*

Ezra in the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezra viii. 1 f.). The phraseology is the same as that used in connection with the Sabbatical year, when bondmen were released and alienated property recovered, see Lev. xxv. 10, 40, Jer. xxxiv. 8 f., Ezek. xlvi. 17.

the opening. The verb in the original is exclusively used of opening the eyes or ears (xxxv. 5, xlii. 7, 20), and the text should perhaps be emended (with the LXX.) to *the opening of the eyes to the blind* (לְעִוְרִים for לֶאֱסוּרִים): cf. xlii. 7. But the passage (like xlii. 7) has in view the restoration, not of sight to the actually blind, but of light to those who are immured in dungeons.

2. *the acceptable year.* Literally, *a year of the LORD'S favour*, cf. xlix. 8. There is no significance in the distinction between "the *year* of favour" and "the *day* of vengeance" (xxxiv. 8, lxiii. 4, Jer. xlvi. 10), both being merely rhetorical expressions: cf. Jer. li. 6. Those upon whom the vengeance is to fall are the heathen oppressors of Israel. Verses 1, 2 (with the omission of *the day of vengeance*, etc.), were applied by our Lord to Himself at the outset of His ministry at Nazareth (Luke iv. 18—21).

to comfort...mourn. i.e. the afflicted Jews; cf. lvii. 18. This clause should be transferred to the beginning of *v.* 3.

3. *to appoint...in Zion.* The clause is a superfluous variant of the adjoining words, and should probably be omitted.

a garland. Better, *a turban* (or *headtire*). The wearing of this, as being an article of dignified or festal attire, is contrasted with casting *ashes* on the head or sitting in them, acts which betokened grief (lviii. 5, 2 Sam. xiii. 19, Ezek. xxvii. 30, Jer. vi. 26, Job xlii. 6, Dan. ix. 3). There is an assonance in the original between פְּאֵר and אֵפֶר.

oil of joy. Anointing with oil was an accompaniment of festivals or a mark of honour (Ps. xxiii. 5, xlv. 7, Matt. vi. 17, Luke vii. 46), whilst the omission of it was a sign of sorrow (2 Sam. xiv. 2).

the garment of praise. A metaphor for the acquisition of renown; cf. Ps. cix. 18, and the expressions in *v.* 10, lix. 17, Ps. cxxxii. 9, 16, Zech. iii. 4. The parallelism of the clauses is improved by the transposition (favoured by many critics) of the word *garment*, so that the passage may run, *the oil of joy for the garment of mourning* (cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2), *praise for the spirit of heaviness.* The last phrase is literally, *a dimly-burning* or *flickering spirit*; cf. xlii. 3, Ezek. xxi. 7.

trees of righteousness. Literally, *terebinths of righteousness*; the thought of the righteousness of the restored Jews (lx. 21) is combined

that he might be glorified. 4 And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations. 5 And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen and your vinedressers. 6 But ye shall be named the priests of the LORD: men shall call you the ministers of our God: ye shall eat the wealth of the nations, and [1]in their glory shall ye boast yourselves. 7 For your shame *ye shall have* double; and for confusion they shall

[1] Or, *to their glory shall ye succeed*

with the metaphor of the *branch* into a somewhat unnatural figure. Terebinths are sturdy and imposing trees, and so are used as symbols of endurance, cf. i. 29: for other comparisons to trees see Ps. i. 3, xcii. 12, Jer. xvii. 8. The LXX. has γενεαὶ δικαιοσύνης, which favours the suggested emendation, *children of righteousness* (יַלְדֵי for אֵילֵי): contrast lvii. 4.

the planting of the LORD, etc. Repeated from lx. 21.

4. *they shall build.* A repetition of former promises (see xlix. 8, lviii. 12, lx. 10).

5. *strangers shall stand*, etc. The long-prevailing relations of Jew and Gentile are to be reversed (cf. lx. 10, xiv. 2); foreign peoples will stand as servants awaiting their masters' orders (cf. 1 Kgs. i. 2, 2 Kgs. v. 25).

6. *the priests of the LORD.* Israel collectively is to occupy in relation to the nations the position of priests in regard to the laity (cf. Zech. viii. 23), and to teach them how to worship the Lord (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 27, 28). Hence it is to be supported by them (cf. lx. 10, lxvi. 12, Hag. ii. 7) as the Aaronic priests and the Levites lived by the tithes and offerings of their countrymen. The conception of Israel as the priestly nation recalls Ex. xix. 6, and is reproduced in the apostolic conception of the Christian Church (1 Pet. ii. 9).

ministers. The word is used of priestly duties in Deut. x. 8, xvii. 12, 1 Ch. xxiii. 13; cf. Joel i. 9, ii. 17, Jer. xxxiii. 21: LXX. λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ.

in their glory shall ye boast yourselves. The meaning of the verb is a little doubtful. The rendering of the text is supported by the LXX. (θαυμασθήσεσθε) and the Vulg. (*superbietis*), cf. Ps. xciv. 4[1]. But many translate, *with their glory* (i.e. their riches, x. 3, lxvi. 11, 12) *ye shall make exchange* (i.e. exchange for their riches your present poverty), or *to their glory* (or *riches*) *ye shall succeed.* Cheyne proposes *with their glory ye shall adorn yourselves* (תִּתְהַדָּרוּ for תִּתְיַמָּרוּ), and thinks that the LXX. implies this reading.

7. *For your shame*, etc. The general sense of the passage is that

[1] The Heb. here has יִתְאַמְּרוּ, not יִתְיַמָּרוּ.

rejoice in their portion: therefore in their land they shall
possess double: everlasting joy shall be unto them. 8 For I
the LORD love judgement, I hate robbery [1]with iniquity; and
I will give them their recompence in truth, and I will make an
everlasting covenant with them. 9 And their seed shall be
known among the nations, and their offspring among the peoples:
all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed
which the LORD hath blessed.

10 I will greatly rejoice in the LORD, my soul shall be joyful
in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salva-

[1] Or, *for* (or *with*) *a burnt offering*

the Jews are to be indemnified twofold for the suffering and shame which they have undergone (cf. Zech. ix. 12, Job xlii. 10). But the text seems to be corrupt, since (*a*) the preposition *for* prefixed by the R.V. to *confusion* is absent in the Heb.; (*b*) *therefore* in the second half of the *v.*, introducing the requital, should follow immediately the description of the wrong for which requital is due. A plausible emendation produces the rendering *Because their shame* (תַּחַת כִּי בָשְׁתָּם) *was double and they possessed* (יָרְשׁוּ for יָרְנוּ) *confusion as their portion*[1], *therefore in their land they shall possess double*: cf. xl. 2.

in their land. The twofold compensation is to be made them by a doubling of their former territory; cf. liv. 3.

8. *robbery with iniquity.* i.e. unjust robbery. The expression describes the injustice done when the possessions of the offending Jewish nation were appropriated by the heathen agents of God's chastisement beyond what its offences called for (cf. Zech. i. 15). The translation implies a necessary correction (בְּעוֹלָה, supported by some MSS. and by the LXX. and Syr.): the Heb. text (followed by the Vulg.), has *robbery with a burnt offering* (בְּעוֹלָה), which is only appropriate to the conduct of hypocritical Jews (such as those depicted in c. lviii., cf. i. 13, 14), not to that of tyrannical heathen.

in truth. i.e. faithfully: cf. x. 20, xxxviii. 3.

an everlasting covenant. The word *covenant* here has the meaning of a promise (as in Num. xxv. 13), not a stipulation. The past chastisement is never to be repeated, or the Divine mercy withdrawn, cf. lv. 3.

9. *known.* i.e. renowned, cf. Prov. xxxi. 23.

all that see them. The visible increase in their numbers will attest the fact that the Divine favour attends them (cf. lx. 22, lxv. 23).

10. *I will greatly rejoice*, etc. The speaker is Israel or Jerusalem, expressing gratitude for the promised felicity, which is assumed to be already secured (cf. xii. 1, 2). The *v.* in its present position is isolated,

[1] Many critics prefer Klostermann's emendation *and confusion and spitting were their portion* (reading וָרֹק for יָרְנוּ): cf. l. 6.

tion, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom [1]decketh himself with a garland, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels. 11 For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord GOD will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations.

[1] Heb. *decketh as a priest.*

and interrupts the connection between *vv.* 9 and 11 : it is apparently a misplaced fragment.

salvation...righteousness. i.e. deliverance and vindication (as in lix. 9, 11).

decketh himself, etc. Literally, *priests it with a turban.* Although priests wore headtires (Ex. xxix. 9, xxxix. 28, Jos. *Ant.* III. vii. 3), the verb, which elsewhere means "to perform priestly functions," seems inappropriate, and hence many critics would substitute *setteth upright* (on his head) *a turban* (reading יָכִין for יְכַהֵן); cf. Cant. iii. 11.

as a bride. The figure is imitated in Rev. xxi. 2.

11. *For as the earth,* etc. This *v.* continues, not *v.* 10 but *v.* 9, which it illustrates.

righteousness and praise. Better, *redress* (or *triumph*, cf. xlv. 8, lix. 9) *and* (consequent) *renown.*

CHAPTER LXII.

The subject of this c., like that of the two preceding, is the future glory of Zion and the restoration of its exiled citizens. It is divided into three sections by a change of metre at *v.* 4 and by a change from affirmation to exhortation at *v.* 10.

LXII. 1 For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her righteousness go forth

1—3. The Lord's resolve to vindicate Zion before the world. The speaker may possibly be the prophet (as in lxi. 1), declaring that he will not intermit his intercessions with the Lord on behalf of the people (cf. the pleading of Daniel (Dan. ix.), Habakkuk (Hab. i. 2 f.), Moses (Ex. xxxii. 31) and Elijah (1 Kgs. xviii. 36 f.)); but is more probably the Lord (cf. lxi. 8) Who expresses His determination no longer to refrain from actively intervening to promote Zion's cause. The reference to the Lord in the 3rd pers. (*vv.* 2—5) is not a fatal objection to this view (cf. *vv.* 6—9, and lx. 19, 20), which is supported by the reading of the LXX. in the second clause, ἡ δικαιοσύνη μου...τὸ σωτήριόν μου.

1. *hold my peace...rest.* Both verbs are used to describe the Lord's inaction in respect of punishing or redressing wrong; for the first see

as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth. 2 And
the nations shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory:
and thou shalt be called by a new name, which the mouth of
the LORD shall name. 3 Thou shalt also be a crown of beauty
in the hand of the LORD, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy
God. 4 Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken; neither shall
thy land any more be termed Desolate: but thou shalt be called
[1]Hephzi-bah, and thy land [2]Beulah: for the LORD delighteth in
thee, and thy land shall be married. 5 For as a young man
marrieth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee: and [3]as the

[1] That is, *My delight is in her.* [2] That is, *Married.*
[3] Heb. *with the joy of the bridegroom.*

xlii. 14, lvii. 11, lxiv. 12, lxv. 6, and for the second see xviii. 4, Ps. lxxxiii. 1.

her righteousness...her salvation. i.e. the vindication of her right by deliverance from her enemies (as in lxi. 10, liv. 17, lviii. 8).

lamp. Better, *torch* (Gen. xv. 17, cf. Zech. xii. 6).

2. *see thy righteousness.* i.e. witness thy triumph; cf. lx. 3.

a new name. Such is necessary to express the approaching change in her condition and her relation to God (cf. lxv. 15). The name is obviously not one of the commonplace appellations in *v.* 4, but a title only known to the Lord (cf. Rev. ii. 17), similar to *The LORD is our righteousness* (Jer. xxxiii. 16). The second half of the *v.*, however, disturbs the symmetry of the parallelism which marks the surrounding *vv.*, and is regarded by Duhm and others as an interpolation, designed to prevent the title (Hephzi-bah) in *v.* 4 from being mistaken for the city's real name in the future.

3. *in the hand.* It is described as carried in the hand (and not borne on the head) because it is regarded less as an ornament than as an object of great value.

4—5. A promise of the renewal of the Lord's former relations to Zion.

The Lord is still the speaker, to whom the first person in the compound name *Hephzi-bah* relates.

4. *Forsaken...Desolate.* i.e. no longer abandoned or repudiated by the Lord, her Husband; cf. xlix. 14, liv. 1, 6. The Hebrew of *Forsaken* (*Azubah*) occurs as an actual feminine name (1 Kgs. xxii. 42)[1].

Hephzi-bah...Beulah. The names mean respectively *my delight is in her* (cf. Mal. iii. 12) and *married* (cf. liv. 1, Deut. xxii. 22). The first occurs as the appellation of a woman in 2 Kgs. xxi. 1, but both are here descriptive titles expressing the city's changed estate.

shall be married. i.e. shall again be united, after separation, cf. liv. 5.

5. *thy sons.* As the land was considered to be the wife, not of its

[1] The words *shall...any more be termed* in the original are unmetrical, and should be omitted as a superfluous expansion.

bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee.

6 I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem; they shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that are the LORD'S remembrancers, [1]take ye no rest, 7 and give him no [2]rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth. 8 The LORD hath sworn by his right hand, and by the arm of his strength, Surely I will no more give thy corn to be meat for thine enemies; and strangers shall not drink thy [3]wine,

[1] Or, *keep not silence* [2] Heb. *silence.* [3] Or, *vintage*

people (who were thought of as its children—xlix. 20, 22), but of its God (the Lord, liv. 5), the text should probably be corrected to *thy Builder* (בֹּנַיִךְ[1] for בָּנַיִךְ), cf. liv. 11, Ps. cxlvii. 2. There is the same confusion in xlix. 17.

6—9. The Lord's assurance that He will not allow His promise to Zion to be forgotten by Him.

6. *I have set*, etc. The speaker is again the Lord.

watchmen. Literally, *guardians* (as in xxi. 11), i.e. angelic ministers whose duty it is to watch over the welfare of Jerusalem and who are charged to keep constantly before the Lord His resolution about her (just as Xerxes directed an attendant to bid him when at dinner to remember the Athenians, see Hdt. v. 105): cf. Zech. i. 12.

upon thy walls. Better, *over thy walls*, which are not yet rebuilt (lxi. 4).

remembrancers. The same term as that used of the *recorders* of the Jewish kings (see on xxxvi. 3).

7. *give him no rest.* The writer must have lived at a time when the predicted amelioration in the condition of Zion lagged behind the natural expectations of its people.

a praise. i.e. an object of praise; cf. lx. 15, lxi. 11, Jer. xiii. 11, xxxiii. 9.

8. *sworn by his right hand.* The Lord's right hand and arm (xlviii. 14, Ps. xx. 6, xcviii. 1) are the symbols of His power to fulfil His oath.

no more give thy corn, etc. The city, being unwalled, was exposed to the depredations of marauders, amongst whom the Edomites are perhaps to be included (cf. Mal. i. 2—5). Possibly too, there may be an allusion to the requisitions of the Persian governors (Neh. v. 15). In the future the fruits of the people's labour are not to be thus appropriated by others: cf. lxv. 21, 22.

thy wine. Strictly, *thy must*, the new wine still in the vats or troughs (Prov. iii. 10, Mic. vi. 15 Heb., Joel ii. 24).

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[1] The plural may be a plural of dignity.

for the which thou hast laboured: 9 but they that have garnered it shall eat it, and praise the LORD; and they that have gathered it shall drink it in the courts of my sanctuary.

10 Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the high way; gather out the stones; lift up an ensign [1]for the peoples. 11 Behold, the LORD hath proclaimed unto the end of the earth, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, his

[1] Or, *over*

9. *the courts of my sanctuary.* Better, *my holy courts.* Offerings of the produce of the fields and vineyards afforded materials for festal meals on the occasion of the three great festivals of the agricultural year, which, since the promulgation of the Deuteronomic law, were required to be held at the central sanctuary (Deut. xii. 17, 18, xiv. 23, xvi. 5—17, cf. also xv. 20). The second Temple had more than one court (see Neh. xiii. 7, 1 Mac. iv. 38, 48), whereas the first had only one (see on i. 12).

10—12. Directions to expedite and announce the return of the scattered Israelites to Jerusalem.

This section has been modelled upon passages in Deutero-Isaiah, but the writer seems to have varied in certain particulars from his original, though a want of explicitness renders his real meaning somewhat doubtful.

10. *Go through,* etc. The speaker is probably the Lord, Who here addresses, not the personified Jerusalem, but its inhabitants, and directs them to pass through the city gates to prepare the way for their fellow countrymen who are about to return with Himself accompanying them. The passage reproduces the idea of xl. 3, but those who are here charged with the work of preparation are human, and not superhuman, beings.

cast up. The expression repeats lvii. 14, but is here used in a literal sense.

lift up an ensign for the peoples. Better, *lift up an ensign above the peoples.* The language is based on that of xlix. 22 (cf. xi. 12); but whereas there it is the Lord Himself who raises the ensign as a signal to the heathen to gather the Jews who are among them, here the raising of it is committed to others, perhaps celestial spirits.

11. *Behold...of the earth.* This clause should be attached to *v.* 10 (being parallel to *lift up an ensign for* (or *above*) *the peoples*), and should be followed by a full stop. The tenor of the proclamation (which is left to be understood) is presumably that the time has come for His people's full redemption (cf. xviii. 3).

Say ye. All who are interested in Zion's fortunes are bidden to announce to her the Lord's approach: cf. xl. 9.

thy salvation. The abstract is perhaps equivalent to *thy Saviour* (LXX. ἰδού σοι ὁ σωτὴρ παραγίνεται, Vulg. *salvator tuus venit*): cf. Ps. xxvii. 1.

reward is with him, and his [1]recompence before him. 12 And they shall call them The holy people, The redeemed of the LORD: and thou shalt be called Sought out, A city not forsaken.

[1] Or, *work*

his reward. The Lord's rescued people are His prize of war: cf. xl. 10.

12. *The holy people.* They are so called because they are the privileged people of a mighty God (cf. lxi. 6, lxiii. 18, Ex. xix. 6, Ezra ix. 2, Dan. xii. 7).

Sought out, etc. Contrast lx. 15. The names here bestowed on Jerusalem are the reverse of the epithets applied to her in *v.* 4 (*Forsaken*) and Jer. xxx. 17 (*Zion whom no man seeketh after*): cf. the similarly reversed appellations in Hos. i. 6, 9, ii. 23.

CHAPTER LXIII. 1—6.

This section is an independent poem, but it stands in close connection with the preceding cc., depicting, as the counterpart of Israel's redemption, the infliction of vengeance upon its foes (see *v.* 4, and cf. lxi. 2). The Lord is represented as returning from Edom where He has overthrown, single-handed, the enemies of His people. The victory which is the subject of the writer's thoughts is really in the future, but is described as already achieved (the past tenses being perfects of certainty). The passage bears a close resemblance in tone to lix. 15b—20.

Though the scene of the conflict is Edom, the enemies destroyed by the Divine champion are the nations in general (*v.* 6), the oppressors and molesters of Israel. The mention of Edom as the battle-field, however, shews that the Edomites are specially included among the peoples destroyed (cf. xxxiv. 5—17), the reason for the prominence given to them being the resentment which was originally provoked by their malicious satisfaction at the capture of Jerusalem (see on xxxiv. 5—17), and which was probably aggravated by subsequent raids and seizure of territory after the Return (cf. Zech. vii. 7, Mal. i. 2—5). So far as the prophecy of vengeance for such wrongs had a fulfilment, it obtained it in the successes achieved over Edom by the Maccabees (1 Mac. v. 3, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1).

LXIII. 1 Who is this that cometh from Edom, with [1]dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel,

[1] Or, *crimsoned*

LXIII. 1. *Who is this,* etc. The passage takes the form of a dramatic dialogue, and is conceived somewhat in the spirit of Greek tragedy. The slaughter of Israel's enemies is assumed to have occurred, and a Warrior appears, returning from the direction of Edom with blood-stained raiment, Who, in response to the enquiries of a second *dramatis persona,* recounts what has happened. The Warrior is the Lord

marching in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save. 2 Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat?

(cf. lix. 15, 16), and His interlocutor an interested spectator (possibly the prophet). The dramatic character of the section finds parallels in c. xl.; cf. also Ps. xxiv. 7—10, Cant. iii. 6—10, vi. 1—3.

Edom...Bozrah. See on xxxiv. 6. The fact that the objects of the Divine wrath are the nations in general (*v.* 6) has led some critics to seek to get rid of these two proper names by the conjectural emendations מְאֵדֹם (cf. *v.* 2) and מִבֹּצֶר (supported by the LXX., ἐκ Βόσορ), *Who is this that cometh reddened, with garments more crimsoned* (see below) *than a grape-gatherer's?* But the parallel of c. xxxiv., where Edom is similarly the centre of a universal judgment, sufficiently defends the reference to it here; whilst the proposed emendation of *grape-gatherer* (or *vintager*) in place of *Bozrah* is unsuitable to the context, for the grape-gatherer was not identical with the treader of the wine press (*v.* 3).

dyed. Better, *crimsoned* (literally, *sharpened*, the like transition of sense appearing in the Greek phrase ὀξυφεγγῆ ῥόδα). The colour meant is not the scarlet associated in ancient as well as in modern times with soldiers (Nah. ii. 3, Jud. viii. 26), but the stain of blood: cf. Rev. xix. 13.

glorious. The epithet probably refers to the splendour of the warrior's martial appearance (LXX. ὡραῖος, Aq. διαπρέπων, Sym. εὐπρεπής, Vulg. *formosus*); but some, thinking it unsuitable in view of the stains of gore, take it to mean (*with apparel*) *puffed out* by the wind (the word being used of mountains in xlv. 2).

marching. This is a correction (צֹעֵד, after Sym. βαίνων and the Vulg. *gradiens*, cf. Jud. v. 4) of the Heb., which has *bending* (צֹעֶה). The latter, if retained, must mean *bending to and fro*, i.e. *swaggering.*

I that speak, etc. The Warrior does not give His name but describes His attributes, which easily lead to His recognition.

in righteousness. i.e. (if the text is sound) in truth (cf. xlv. 19), promises and threats being both faithfully carried out. But the LXX. omits the preposition, and the true reading and rendering may be, *I that declare* (i.e. give assurance of) *redress* (of wrong). Duhm and others emend the text to, *I that am glorified by redress* (of wrong) (הָדוּר or נֶהְדָּר for מְדַבֵּר).

mighty to save. Sym. and the Vulg. imply *a champion to save* (reading רָב for רַב).

2. The questioner of *v.* 1 resumes his interrogation.

Wherefore art thou red, etc. More literally, *Wherefore is there red on thine apparel?* but the LXX. has *Wherefore is thine apparel red?* (reading לְלִבּוּשֶׁךָ for לִלְבוּשֶׁךָ), which is preferable. There is a play upon the meaning of Edom, as in Gen. xxv. 30.

winefat. Better, *winepress.* For the practice of treading the press cf. xvi. 10, Neh. xiii. 15.

3 I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the peoples there
was no man with me: yea, I [1]trod them in mine anger, and
trampled them in my fury; and their [2]lifeblood [3]is sprinkled
upon my garments, and I [4]have stained all my raiment. 4 For
the day of vengeance [5]was in mine heart, and [6]the year of my
redeemed is come. 5 And I looked, and there was none to
help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold: therefore
mine own arm brought salvation unto me; and my fury, it
upheld me. 6 And [7]I trod down the peoples in mine anger,
and [8]made them drunk in my fury, and I [9]poured out their
lifeblood on the earth.

[1] Or, *will tread...and trample* [2] Or, *strength* [3] Or, *shall be*
[4] Or, *will stain* [5] Or, *is* [6] Or, *my year of redemption*
[7] Or, *I will tread...and make...and I will pour out*
[8] Or, according to another reading, *brake them in pieces*
[9] Or, *brought down their strength to the earth*

3. *I have trodden.* The Lord replies. The metaphor of the preceding question is maintained: for the comparison of a crushing slaughter to the treading of grapes cf. Lam. i. 15, Joel iii. 13, Rev. xix. 15, xiv. 19. The word rendered *winepress* in this *v.* is properly "the wine trough" (Hag. ii. 16).

alone. Cf. lix. 16. On the occasion when this passage was written there was no prospect of any human champion appearing to deliver Israel from its oppressors (see *v.* 5), as Cyrus intervened in 538.

yea, I trod. The past tense is a tacit but necessary correction (after the LXX.) of the Heb., which has, *I will tread.* The word rendered *lifeblood* seems to mean, in strictness, *juice.*

4. *was in mine heart.* Better, *is in my heart* (which, in Heb., was the seat of purpose, cf. Jud. v. 15, 2 Ch. xii. 14).

the year of my redeemed. Better (with the LXX. and Vulg.), *my year of redemption* (the original being an abstract noun, not a participle).

5. *brought salvation.* Better, *wrought deliverance* (as in lix. 16).

6. *made them drunk.* Those who have been rendered prostrate and helpless are compared to drunkards, as in xxix. 9, li. 21. The text is supported by Th., Sym., and the Vulg., but some Heb. MSS. (supported by the Syr.) have, *shattered them* (וְאֲשַׁבְּרֵם for וְאֲשַׁכְּרֵם): cf. Lam. i. 15.

LXIII. 7—LXIV. 12.

This section is a prayer on behalf of the people, in depression and distress, for a renewal of the Divine mercies that had once been shewn to them, and for the deliverance of Zion from its desolate condition, which the national offences have merited.

The historical allusions in the section both differ from those in the preceding cc., and cohere imperfectly with one another. (*a*) Jerusalem and the neighbouring district are devastated (lxiv. 10); (*b*) the Temple, described as *our holy and beautiful house where our fathers praised thee*, has been burnt (lxiii. 18, lxiv. 11); (*c*) the writer is penetrated with a sense of national guilt (lxiii. 17, lxiv. 6—7). These allusions appear most intelligible on the assumption that the author wrote shortly after the Return to Palestine, that the devastation lamented had been wrought by Nebuchadrezzar in 587, that the ruined Temple referred to is the Temple of Solomon, and that a sense of the national sins was revived by the sight of its desolation. The newly-restored community at this time suffered much distress from drought and bad harvests, which must have increased the general despondency (Hag. i. 6—11) and accounts for the plaintive tone of the writer. If the view here taken of the situation implied in the passage is correct, the date of composition will be some year between the Return from Babylon in 537 and the reconstruction of the Temple in 520 and the author another than and prior to Trito-Isaiah. This conclusion is confirmed by certain phraseological parallels furnished by the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah (see notes on lxiii. 11, lxiv. 6, 10). A serious objection, however, is presented to it by the declaration that the people had possessed the desecrated sanctuary *but a little while* (lxiii. 18), which is an unnatural description of the 350 years that elapsed between the building of the First Temple in the reign of Solomon and its destruction in 587. But the text of lxiii. 18 may be in error (see note); and on the whole the conclusion advocated is attended by fewer difficulties than any of the alternatives that have been proposed.

Three other dates have been supported by various critics: (1) Sellin favours a date earlier than Trito-Isaiah's but later than the one here given, and has suggested some period after, but not long after, 520 (514—500), when it is supposed that the Temple erected by Zerubbabel was destroyed by the enemies of the Jews (though there is no evidence to support the supposition beyond the fact that the reconstruction of it about that time was temporarily frustrated (Ezra iv. 1—5)); (2) Duhm assigns the passage to Trito-Isaiah himself, holding that the Second Temple, though built, was still so poor and mean (Hag. ii. 3) that it could be ignored and the site of the First Temple regarded as still desolate; (3) Cheyne advocates a date later than Trito-Isaiah, viz. the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus (358—337), when it is thought (chiefly on the ground of the transportation of part of the population of Judæa to Hyrcania and Babylonia) that there was a Jewish rebellion, during the suppression of which Jerusalem was ravaged and the Second Temple burned.

The section seems best divided into two parts between lxiii. 14 and lxiii. 15, where there appears to be a change of metre: but some critics place the division between lxiii. 16 and lxiii. 17.

7 I will make mention of the lovingkindnesses of the LORD, *and* the praises of the LORD, according to all that the LORD hath bestowed on us; and the great goodness toward the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed on them according to his mercies, and according to the multitude of his lovingkindnesses. 8 For he said, Surely, they are my people, children that will not deal falsely: so he was their saviour. 9 [1]In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; and he bare them,

[1] Another reading is, *In all their adversity he was no adversary.*

7—14. A commemoration of the Lord's past mercies to Israel (in spite of its waywardness), preliminary to an appeal for a renewal of them (cf. Pss. lxxiv., cvi.).

7. *I will make*, etc. The speaker associates himself with the people for whom he pleads; cf. lix. 9.

lovingkindnesses. The same word as that rendered by *sure mercies* in lv. 3: cf. Ps. lxxxix. 1.

the praises. Better, *the praise-worthy deeds*: cf. lx. 6, Ps. cvi. 2.

according to all, etc. Perhaps better (partly after the LXX.), *according to all that the LORD hath wrought for us, the LORD great in goodness* (רַב טוּב for וְרַב טוּב) *toward the house of Israel*[1]—(*even all*) *that he hath wrought for us* (גְּמָלָנוּ for גְּמָלָם) *according to his mercies*, etc.

8. *For he said.* Literally, *And he said*, connected with, and illustrative of, *he bestowed* (or *wrought*, *v.* 7).

deal falsely. i.e. be faithless: cf. xxx. 9, lix. 13.

9. *In all their affliction*, etc. i.e. in their calamities He was grieved for them; cf. Jud. x. 16, Ps. cvi. 44. This rendering follows the Heb. mg. (which has לוֹ צָר, the order of the two words being rather unnatural). The Heb. text (which has לֹא צָר) yields the rendering, *In all their affliction he was no adversary*, i.e. in all their troubles He befriended them. But the true text is probably preserved in the LXX. which connects the opening words with the preceding *v.* 8 and renders (*so he was their saviour*) *in* (or *out of*) *all their affliction.* 9. *It was no messenger* (לֹא צִיר) *or angel* (מַלְאָךְ) *but his own self* (Heb. *his face*) *that saved them.* The Lord's Face or Presence (see Ex. xxxiii. 14, cf. also Deut. iv. 37) seems to be equivalent to *the angel in whom was the LORD'S name* (Ex. xxiii. 21); and the import of the passage is that it was by this angel who manifested the Lord's Personality and potency in an exceptional degree, and not by an ordinary angel, that the early deliverances of Israel had been wrought. Whitehouse emends the passage still further, and retaining the received division of the verses

[1] The words *toward the house of Israel* are omitted by Duhm as disturbing the metre, which seems to be elegiac.

and carried them all the days of old. 10 But they rebelled, and grieved his holy spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, *and* himself fought against them. 11 [1]Then he remembered the days of old, Moses, *and* his people, *saying*, Where is he that brought them up out of the sea with the [2]shepherds

[1] Or, *Then his people remembered the ancient days of Moses &c.*
[2] Another reading is, *shepherd.*

proposes, *From all afflictions the angel of his presence saved them* (מִכָּל־צָרֹת מַלְאַךְ פָּנָיו הוֹשִׁיעָם)[1]. The "angel of the Presence" was probably in early times associated with the Ark.

10. *they rebelled.* The pronoun is emphatic, "they on their part." For illustrations of the statements made see Num. xx. 1—13, Ps. lxxviii. 17, 40, cvi. 33; cf. Acts vii. 51.

his holy spirit. The epithet, which is peculiarly frequent in this section, is equivalent to *divine.* God's spirit in the O.T. is most commonly represented as a Divine quality which, when imparted to men, becomes in them the source of various endowments, physical and artistic as well as intellectual and moral (Ex. xxxv. 31, Jud. xiv. 6, Ps. li. 13), and in particular confers the gift of prophecy (Num. xi. 25). But here it seems to be regarded as a distinct entity accompanying and guiding the nation (see *vv.* 11, 14), and liable to be grieved by their perversity (cf. Eph. iv. 30 and Acts vii. 51).

fought against them. i.e. through the agency of foreign nations (cf. Jud. iii. 8, iv. 2, etc., 2 Kgs. xvii. 20, Is. x. 5, 6, Jer. xxi. 5).

11. *Then he remembered*, etc. The rendering follows the Vulg. in taking the pronoun *he* to designate the Lord; but a preferable translation of the Heb. text is, *Then his people remembered the ancient days of Moses* (cf. li. 9, Jer. ii. 6, Deut. xxxii. 7)[2]. The LXX., however, simply has, *And he* (i.e. Israel) *remembered the days of old*; and the words *Moses* and *his people* are probably glosses on *shepherd* and *flock* (see below). Cheyne adds *the years of many generations* (cf. Deut. xxxii. 7) for the sake of the metre.

Where is he, etc. The text must refer to the rescue of Israel from the Red Sea at the Exodus (Ex. xiv., xv.), the *shepherds* being Moses and Aaron (Ps. lxxvii. 20, Num. xxxiii. 1, Mic. vi. 4). But the Heb. is ungrammatical and anticipates *v.* 12; and LXX. B is probably right in reading, *Where is he that brought up* (הַמַּעֲלֶה for הַמַּעֲלָם) *from the sea the shepherd of his flock?* the allusion being to the rescue of Moses, when an infant, from the Nile (Ex. ii.), which suits the sequence of events better. For the *sea* as a description of the Nile cf. xviii. 2, xix. 5.

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[1] This emendation, however, disturbs the metrical structure which prevails in the rest of the passage.

[2] The construction seems defensible by xxxii. 13, but genuine parallels are rare (see Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 28, Rem. 3).

of his flock? where is he that put his holy spirit in the midst of them? 12 that caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses? that divided the water before them, to make himself an everlasting name? 13 that led them through the depths, as an horse in the wilderness, that they stumbled not? 14 As the cattle that go down into the valley, the spirit of the LORD caused them to rest: so didst thou lead thy people, to make thyself a glorious name. 15 Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy glory: where is thy zeal and thy mighty acts? the yearning of thy bowels and thy compassions are restrained toward me. 16 For thou art our

in the midst of them. i.e. within Israel (cf. Hag. ii. 5, Neh. ix. 20). But the Heb. has *within him*, and if the reading of the LXX. in the previous clause be adopted, the pronoun will refer to Moses (cf. Num. xi. 17).

12. *his glorious arm.* The Lord's *arm*, the symbol of His power, which enabled Moses to perform wonders and to divide the Red Sea (Ex. iv. 17, xiv. 16—21), is personified.

13, 14. These *vv.* should be closely connected; and if a clause is transposed and a verb in *v.* 14 emended after the LXX. (תַּנְחֵנוּ for תְּנִיחֵנוּ) they will run: *that made them go through the depths as a horse in the wilderness* (or *prairie*), *as the cattle that descend into the valley, so that they stumbled not, the spirit of the* LORD *leading them*, etc. Both similes illustrate the security with which Israel was guided through the deep bed of the Red Sea: cf. Ps. cvi. 9.

15—**LXIV**. 12. The retrospect of the past here passes into a prayer to the Lord to regard the sad conditions of the present, and to intervene by a theophany; and the prayer is followed by a confession of sin, and a renewed description of the nation's distress.

15. *from heaven.* It is implied that the Lord had withdrawn Himself into His heavenly abode (lvii. 15, 1 Kgs. viii. 43), indifferent to His people's distress (cf. Ps. lxxx. 14).

the habitation, etc. Better, *thy holy and glorious* (or *beautiful*) *habitation.*

thy mighty acts. Better (with the LXX. and Vulg.), *thy might* (גְּבוּרָתְךָ for גְּבוּרֹתֶיךָ).

the yearning, etc. Better, *the stirring* (literally *sounding*) *of thy pity*; cf. xvi. 11, Jer. xxxi. 20.

are restrained toward me. The 1st pers. sing. is inappropriate; and as the next *v.* implies a preceding appeal, Cheyne places the note of interrogation after *compassions* and emends *are restrained toward me* to *Refrain not thyself* (אַל תִּתְאַפַּק for אֵלַי הִתְאַפָּקוּ, cf. lxiv. 12), connecting the clause with *v.* 16.

16. *thou art our father.* i.e. of the collective people, Israel having been constituted the Lord's son and first-born by the event (the Exodus)

father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us: thou, O LORD, art our father; our redeemer from everlasting is thy name. 17 O LORD, why dost thou make us to err from thy ways, and hardenest our heart from thy fear? Return for thy servants' sake, the tribes of thine inheritance. 18 Thy holy people possessed *it* but a little while: our adversaries have trodden down thy sanctuary. 19 We are become as

which had founded it as a nation (Ex. iv. 22, Hos. xi. 1, Deut. xxxii. 6).

though Abraham, etc. Better, *for Abraham knoweth us not* (i.e. is not concerned for us, cf. Hos. xiii. 5, Ps. xxxi. 7, cxliv. 3, Ruth ii. 19). The passage seems to refer to some popular expectation of sympathy and assistance from the deceased ancestors of the nation (cf. Jer. xxxi. 15) which had been disappointed; and suggests that the people were now in Palestine where the burial places of the patriarchs existed.

17. *O LORD, why*, etc. In view of the protracted misery of the people, which seemed to imply a continuance in sin which no chastisement availed to cure, the prophet seeks to lighten their responsibility by pleading that the Lord had rendered them obdurate (as He did Pharaoh, Ex. vii. 3, etc.). They were what God had made them (cf. lxiv. 8), and it was by Him that their hearts were so swayed that the punishment which ought to correct their transgressions was turned into a reason for persistence in them (cf. lvii. 17, lxiv. 7, and see Rom. ix. 18).

hardenest...fear. Better, *hardenest our heart so that we fear thee not* (i.e. fail in our religious duties).

Return. i.e. assume a different attitude towards us: cf. Ps. xc. 13, lxxx. 14. It is from a display of spontaneous goodness on the part of the Lord that the prophet hopes for a moral conversion in his fellow countrymen.

18. *Thy holy people*, etc. If the text is sound, the people are described as *holy*, not in virtue of moral blamelessness (to which they could lay no claim), but because they were the Lord's. But the Heb. is defective, for the verb *possessed* has either no object, or else (if *thy people* be taken for such, as by the Vulg.) no subject. The LXX. seems to have read, *We have possessed but a little while thy holy mountain* (cf. lvi. 7, lvii. 13, lxv. 11, lxvi. 20). But the expression *but a little while* (לִמְצָר) is inappropriate to describe an occupation of mount Zion lasting some centuries (if, as appears probable, the reference is to the period between David's time and the Babylonian captivity); and there is much plausibility in the emendation (based chiefly on a different division of the letters of the original), *Why have wicked men made little of* (or, *marched over*) *thy holy place, and our adversaries trodden* etc.? (reading לָמָּה צָעֲדוּ (צָעֲרוּ) רְשָׁעִים קָדְשֶׁךָ).

19. *We are become*, etc. i.e. there is nothing in Israel's condition

they over whom thou never barest rule; as they that were not called by thy name. **LXIV.** 1 Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down, that the mountains might [1]flow down at thy presence; 2 as when fire kindleth the brushwood, *and* the fire causeth the waters to boil: to make thy name known to thine adversaries, that the nations may tremble at thy presence! 3 When thou didst terrible things which we looked not for, thou camest down, the mountains flowed down at thy presence. 4 For from of old men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye [2]seen a God beside

[1] Or, *quake* [Ch. lxiv. 1 in Heb.] [2] Or, *seen, O God, beside thee, one which &c.*

to distinguish it from those nations that have never had the Lord for their sovereign, or been called His people (cf. Deut. xxviii. 10, Jer. xiv. 9).

LXIV. 1. *Oh that thou*, etc. The Lord is desired to come to His people's help with the awe-inspiring accompaniments of a theophany. The imagery of the description of the desired theophany resembles that of Ex. xix. 16—18, Jud. v. 4, 5, Hab. iii. 3 f., Mic. i. 3, 4, Ps. xviii. 9, l. 3, cxliv. 5. The Heb. has perfect tenses—*would that thou hadst rent... hadst come down...had flowed*—expressing a wish that the longed-for event had already taken place.

flow. So the LXX. (τακήσονται) and the Vulg. (*defluerent*), but better, *quake*, sway up and down (Jud. v. 5); cf. Verg. *A.* VI. 255—8[1].

2. *as when fire.* God is entreated to descend in such might that nature itself will be able to resist Him as little as wood or water can resist the action of fire.

to make thy name known. i.e. to acquaint Thy enemies with Thy true character and power: cf. lix. 19.

3. *When thou didst*, etc. The first part of the *v.* should be attached to the preceding sentence:—(*that the nations may tremble at thy presence*) *while thou doest terrible things which we looked not for* (i.e. things exceeding our utmost expectations). The expression *terrible things* recalls the wonders wrought in Egypt (Deut. x. 21, Ps. cvi. 22, 2 Sam. vii. 23).

thou camest down, etc. The conclusion of this *v.*, which in the original reproduces the conclusion of *v.* 1, is probably an accidental repetition of it, and should be omitted.

4. *For from of old...heard.* Better (connecting with *terrible things which we looked not for, v.* 3), *and of which from of old men have not heard.*

nor perceived, etc. A new sentence should begin here. The text is in some confusion, and versions of it differing from the Hebrew

[1] *Sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri...*
Adventante dea.

thee, which worketh for him that waiteth for him. 5 Thou [1]meetest him that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness, those that remember thee in thy ways: behold, thou wast wroth, and we sinned: [2]in them *have we been* of long time, and shall we be saved? 6 For we are all become as one that is unclean, and all our righteousnesses are as a polluted garment: and we all do fade as a leaf; and our iniquities, like the wind, take us away.

[1] Or, *sparest*
[2] Or, *in those is continuance, and we shall be saved* The text is probably corrupt.

appear both in the LXX. and in the citation of the passage in 1 Cor. ii. 9. A plausible reconstruction, based on these, is, *Ear hath not perceived, neither hath the eye seen a God beside thee, who worketh for them that wait for him* (reading הָאֲזִינָה אֹזֶן and לִמְחַכֵּי for הָאֲזִינוּ and לִמְחַכֶּה).

5. *Thou meetest*, etc. Better (inserting לוֹ with Grätz, cf. *v.* 1), *Oh that thou wouldst meet*, i.e. in a kindly spirit (cf. xlvii. 3, Gen. xxxii. 1).

him that rejoiceth and worketh, etc. i.e. him that cheerfully worketh righteousness (i.e. acts uprightly). But the LXX. has only *them that work righteousness*, and the plur. suits best the next clause.

those that...in thy ways. The LXX. implies *those that remember thy ways*, i.e. thy requirements (xlii. 24, lxiii. 17).

behold, thou wast, etc. The severity of the punishment which God inflicted in His anger drove them in desperation to still greater extremes of wickedness; cf. lvii. 17, lxiii. 17.

in them, etc. The sentence is manifestly defective, for there is no substantive to which the pronoun can refer, and the latter requires a verb. The LXX. has only διὰ τοῦτο ἐπλανήθημεν (perhaps preserving aright the final verb). Of emendations the two most plausible are: (1) (*thou wast wroth...*) *against the evil doers and we transgressed* (בְּהַמְשֻׁלִים וַנִּפְשָׁע); (2) (*thou wast wroth...*) *at our evil deeds, and we became guilty* (בְּמַעֲלָלֵינוּ וַנִּרְשָׁע).

6. *as one that is unclean.* i.e. as one ceremonially impure, and so unfit to approach God. The same representation of the people as unclean occurs in Hag. ii. 13, 14.

our righteousnesses. i.e. the best that the righteous among us can do is bad.

a polluted garment. The original expression commonly denotes what for Hebrews was the extremity of uncleanness; cf. xxx. 22.

fade as a leaf. i.e. our moral vigour and external well-being alike decay; cf. lix. 10. The rendering implies a correction of the text.

our iniquities, etc. i.e. our sins, with their inevitable consequences, are our destruction. For the figure of the wind cf. xl. 24, xli. 16, lvii. 13, Job xxvii. 21, xxx. 22.

7 And there is none that calleth upon thy name, that stirreth
up himself to take hold of thee: for thou hast hid thy face from
us, and [1]hast [2]consumed us by means of our iniquities. 8 But
now, O LORD, thou art our father; we are the clay, and thou
our potter; and we all are the work of thy hand. 9 Be not
wroth very sore, O LORD, neither remember iniquity for ever:
behold, look, we beseech thee, we are all thy people. 10 Thy
holy cities are become a wilderness, Zion is become a wilderness,
Jerusalem a desolation. 11 Our holy and our beautiful house,
where our fathers praised thee, is burned with fire; and all our
pleasant things are laid waste. 12 Wilt thou refrain thyself for

[1] According to some ancient versions, *hast delivered us into the power of.*
[2] Heb. *melted.*

7. *there is none*, etc. All moral and religious effort is paralysed.
hast consumed us. Literally, *hast melted us.* For the thought cf. Ezek. xxiv. 23, xxxiii. 10, Lev. xxvi. 39. But the causal sense of the verb is unusual, and the LXX. and Syr. imply the reading, *thou hast consigned us into the power* (literally, *the hand*) *of our iniquities* (וַתְּמוּגֵנוּ for וַתְּמוֹגֵנוּ).

8. *thou art our father.* An appeal both to the Lord's affection (lxiii. 16) and to His creative power. For the figure of the potter cf. xxix. 16, xlv. 9, Job x. 9, Jer. xviii. 4, 6.
the work of thy hand. Cf. lx. 21. What the Lord had made He would surely not allow to perish.

9. *neither remember...for ever.* The distress prevailing after the Return, following upon the affliction of the Exile, seemed to imply that the Lord's resentment was perpetual.

10. *Thy holy cities.* i.e. the country towns of the holy land (Zech. ii. 12), destroyed by the Babylonians and not yet rebuilt (Zech. i. 12). The clause *Zion is become a wilderness* is probably inserted as a correction by one concerned for the honour of Jerusalem; and the LXX. and Vulg. have substituted *thy holy city Zion.*
a desolation. The LXX. has *a curse* (as in Jer. xxiv. 9, xxv. 18, xliv. 8, 12), לְקִלְלָה for שְׁמָמָה.

11. *Our holy...house.* The reference seems to be to Solomon's Temple, destroyed by the Babylonians in 587. The expression appears incompatible with the supposition that the passage, like the rest of cc. lvi.—lxvi., belongs to the fifth century (when Zerubbabel's Temple was in existence); and points to its having been composed at an early date after the Return in 537. For the alternative view that the Second Temple was destroyed by Artaxerxes Ochus and that the passage alludes to this (a view which implies for the passage a date in the fourth century) the evidence adduced is scanty.
our pleasant things. The phrase may denote either the valuable contents of the Temple (2 Ch. xxxvi. 19, Lam. i. 10, Ezek. xxiv. 21, 25),

these things, O LORD? wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?

or (as the verb *laid waste* suggests) neighbouring localities, like Bethlehem and Hebron, which were the objects of Jewish pride.

12. *for these things.* Better, *in spite of these things* (cf. v. 25, ix. 12, lvii. 6).

hold thy peace. i.e. abstain from intervening to avenge such wrongs (xlii. 14, lxii. 1).

CHAPTERS LXV., LXVI.

These two cc. are united by numerous common features (cf. lxv. 3, 4 with lxvi. 17, lxv. 12[a] with lxvi. 16, lxv. 12[b] with lxvi. 4), and reflect similar conditions. They differ, both in spirit and in the situation implied, from the section (lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12) immediately preceding, and agree with the earlier cc. in implying the restoration of the Temple (see lxvi. 6, cf. lxv. 11). They resemble most nearly lvi. 9—lvii. 21, for like these they assume the existence within the Jewish community of two antagonistic parties, both of Hebrew descent (lxvi. 5), of which one was addicted to heathen rites and other forbidden religious practices (lxv. 3, 4, 11, lxvi. 3, 17), which they would not abandon for the purer worship of the Temple (lxv. 11), whilst the other consisted of devout servants of the Lord. In consequence of this religious strife, the idolatrous faction had excluded from social intercourse, and assailed with insults, the pious minority (lxvi. 5); and the purpose of the writer is to comfort those who have been faithful to the Lord with the assurance that the Divine blessing awaits them, whilst destruction is in store for their enemies.

The allusions to contemporary conditions which the cc. contain make it probable that they were composed at the same time as cc. lvi.—lxiii. 6. The position differs from that described in Ezra iv. 1—5 (last half of the sixth century) and accords with the situation which is likely to have prevailed in the first half of the following century. The friendly attitude which the "adversaries" of Zerubbabel and his companions had manifested by their desire in 536 to join in re-erecting the Temple, has here given place to hostility; and the change is the natural sequel of the refusal with which their request was met. The supposition that the pious minority were willing to extend religious privileges to their neighbours, if the latter discontinued their idolatrous rites, will explain the language of appeal in lxv. 1, 2; but such conditions would no doubt be rejected, and the rupture would develop into the bitter feud here depicted.

CHAPTER LXV.

This c. falls into three divisions: (1) the Lord's complaint of the rejection of His overtures by a body of people who practise impure rites (*vv.* 1—7); (2) a comparison of the destinies in store for the faithful and the disloyal (*vv.* 8—16); (3) a detailed description of the happiness which is to reward the pious (*vv.* 17—25).

LXV. 1 I [1]am inquired of by them that asked not *for me*;
I [2]am found of them that sought me not: I said, Behold me,
behold me, unto a nation [3]that was not called by my name. 2 I
have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people,
which walketh in a way that is not good, after their own
thoughts; 3 a people that provoketh me to my face continually,
sacrificing in gardens, and burning incense upon bricks; 4 which

[1] Or, *was inquired of* [2] Or, *was found*
[3] Or, as otherwise read, *that hath not called upon*

LXV. 1—7. The abandonment of the Lord for superstitious practices, and the retribution awaiting the people that are guilty of it.

1. *I am inquired of*, etc. Better (with LXX., Vulg., and O.L.), *I have submitted myself to be inquired of* (Ezek. xxxvi. 37) *by them that have not asked me, I have submitted myself to be found* (lv. 6) *by them that have not sought me: I have said, Behold me, behold me, to a nation that has not called upon my name* (reading in the last clause קָרָא for קֹרָא). The sense of *v.* 1 is really the same with that of *v.* 2, and the same body of persons is kept in view throughout the section (*vv.* 1—7). They are men of Israelite stock who have preferred to cleave to idolatrous usages than to embrace the offers of participation in a purer worship which are extended to them (see *v.* 12).

2. *I have spread out my hands.* i.e. in an attitude of entreaty (Prov. i. 24; cf. on i. 15).

a rebellious people. The LXX. has λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, and is followed by St Paul in Rom. x. 21.

a way that is not good. The expression (which is a litotes, as in Ezek. xxxvi. 31) refers to rites of worship of an idolatrous character (cf. Am. viii. 14).

Verses 1, 2 are applied by St Paul (Rom. x. 20, 21) to distinct classes of people—*v.* 1 to the heathen, who, standing in a less privileged position than the Jews, had responded to the Lord's overtures, and *v.* 2 to the Jews who had refused to listen to them.

3. *that provoketh me to my face.* The Lord is thought of as present in a peculiar degree in His own sanctuary near which the idolatrous acts complained of were committed.

in gardens. i.e. places where tree-worship could be practised, cf. i. 29, lvii. 5, lxvi. 17.

burning incense. Better, *making sacrifices to smoke* (and so in *v.* 7), the reference being to animal sacrifices (see on i. 13) and not to the offering of frankincense or other spices.

upon bricks. The import of the charge is obscure. There is no evidence that bricks (which were only sun-dried earth) were a prohibited material for altars (see Ex. xx. 24); and hence some suppose the reference to be to sacrifices offered to the host of heaven on the tiles of houses (Jer. xix. 13, Zeph. i. 5, cf. 2 Kgs. xxiii. 12). But Marti is perhaps right in proposing to point the word differently and to render,

[1]sit among the graves, and lodge in the [2]secret places; which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their

[1] Or, *dwell* [2] Or, *vaults*

beside the white poplars[1]. In classical mythology the white poplar (ἀχερωίς, Hom. *Il.* XIII. 389) was associated with the infernal world, being represented as brought by Heracles from Acheron, a river both in Thesprotia and in Hades (Paus. V. xiv. 2), and similar associations may have attached to it among the Semitic races.

4. *which sit...graves.* i.e. for the purpose of necromancy (cf. viii. 19, xxix. 4). Oracles from the dead (who were credited with possessing knowledge not enjoyed by the living) were supposed to be conveyed in dreams to persons who passed the night in burial places, and the LXX. here adds διὰ ἐνύπνια. The practice prevailed among the Greeks and Romans as well as among the Semites, cf. Lycophron 1050, δοραῖς δὲ μήλων τύμβον ἐγκοιμωμένοις | χρήσει καθ' ὕπνον πᾶσι νημερτῆ φάτιν, Verg. *A.* VII. 88—91, (*Sacerdos*) *Pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petivit; Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris, Et varias audit voces...atque imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis*, Hor. *Sat.* I. viii. 23—29. Probably the soul of a dead man was thought to haunt his tomb: cf. the belief implied in Eur. *Hel.* 962, ὦ γέρον, ὃς οἰκεῖς τόνδε λάϊνον τάφον.

in the secret places. The LXX. explains these to be caves[2], the Vulg. the shrines of idols: but they are perhaps rather *places of observation.*

eat swine's flesh. i.e. at sacrificial meals; cf. lxvi. 17. The flesh of animals that were ordinarily avoided as food was occasionally eaten as a means of communion with supernatural powers, the animals being totems, and the consumption of them as a religious act enabling those who partook of them to share in the qualities of the divine ancestor which the totem animal represented. For the existence of Totemism among the ancestors of the Hebrews some evidence is furnished by the prevalence in Israel of personal names signifying various animals, e.g. *Caleb* (dog), *Rachel* (ewe), *Eglah* (heifer), *Shaphan* (coney), *Achbor* (mouse), *Huldah* (weasel), *Laish* (lion), *Hezir* (swine), such names being probably at first clan-names[3]. Among many nations the swine had a sacred character (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 764, χοίρους...μυστικάς); and the Egyptians, who considered it an impure animal, and avoided touching it even with their clothes, sacrificed it to the Moon and to "Dionysus," and on such occasions

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[1] For the sense of the preposition cf. Gen. xxiv. 30.

[2] This recalls the cave, or chasm, of Trophonius at Lebadea, where oracles were obtained by those who descended into it (Paus. IX. 39). Abraham was buried in a cave (Gen. xxv. 9).

[3] The conclusion that totemism once prevailed among the Hebrews is based on the coincidence of the occurrence amongst them of names derived from animals with the practice of abstaining from the use of such animals as *ordinary* food; but the proof is confessedly incomplete (see Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 35, 36).

vessels; 5 which say, Stand by thyself, come not near to me,
for I am holier than thou: these are a smoke in my nose, a fire
that burneth all the day. 6 Behold, it is written before me: I
will not keep silence, but will recompense, yea, I will recompense
into their bosom, 7 your own iniquities, and the iniquities of your
fathers together, saith the LORD, which have burned incense
upon the mountains, and [1]blasphemed me upon the hills:
therefore will I [2]first measure their work into their bosom.

[1] Or, *defied* [2] Or, *measure their former work*

ate the flesh (Hdt. II. 47). Among the Greeks it was offered in sacrifice by the Argives and Cyprians (W. R. Smith, *Rel. of the Sem.* p. 291). The heathen associations connected with this animal constituted perhaps one of the reasons for the prohibition of it as food by the Jewish law (Lev. xi. 7, Deut. xiv. 8), and rendered it an object of abhorrence to pious Jews (cf. 2 Mac. vi. 18).

broth. This is the rendering of the Heb. mg. (supported by the LXX. and Vulg.): the Heb. text has *pieces.* The broth probably formed a medium for sacramental participation in the flesh of the totem animals from which it was made.

5. *I am holier*, etc. Better (with a change of pointing), *else I sanctify thee* (קִדַּשְׁתִּיךָ for קָדַשְׁתִּיךָ). The words are a warning addressed by one who is consecrated by communion with a divinity (perhaps through eating certain meats, cf. *v.* 4) to bystanders to avoid touching him, and so partaking of the "holiness" (regarded as a quasi-physical property) with which he is charged, and which would render any unconsecrated person to whom it was communicated incapable for a time of secular occupations (cf. Ezek. xliv. 19, xlvi. 20).

a smoke...a fire. i.e. a cause of fiery anger (cf. Deut. xxxii. 22, Jer. xvii. 4), which was thought to manifest itself in the nose (cf. Ps. xviii. 8, and the Latin *nasus proflat iras*).

6. *it is written.* A figure of speech implying that the offences described will not be allowed to pass out of mind: cf. Mal. iii. 16, Dan. vii. 10, and see Esther vi. 1 f.

yea, I...bosom. The loose bosom of the Eastern dress served as a receptacle (Ruth iii. 15). The clause needlessly duplicates the preceding verb, and has perhaps been accidentally transposed from *v.* 7 (see note).

7. *your own iniquities.* The LXX. and Syr. have (preferably) *their iniquities and those of their forefathers.*

upon the mountains. Worship at "the high places" was forbidden by the Deuteronomic law. Though the worship in such localities was no doubt ordinarily offered to JEHOVAH, it was very liable to be contaminated with the nature-worship of the Canaanites; so that besides the moral corruption that often accompanied it (Hos. iv. 13), it frequently became open apostasy, cf. lvii. 7 and Ezek. vi. 13.

therefore will I first measure, etc. It has been suggested that the

8 Thus saith the LORD, As the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it: so will I do for my servants' sakes, that I may not destroy them all. 9 And I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountains: and my chosen shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there. 10 And Sharon shall be a [1]fold of flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for herds to lie

[1] Or, *pasture*

words *yea I will recompense* in *v.* 6 belong here; if inserted, the clause will run, *therefore will I first measure their work, and then recompense* (or *requite*) *it into their bosom* (cf. Jer. xxxii. 18, Ps. lxxix. 12). The LXX. omits *first*.

8—16. The Lord's loyal servants are to be preserved and blest, and those who forsake Him are to be consigned to shame and destruction.

8. *As the new wine*, etc. The collective people is compared to a cluster of grapes of which the greater part is so rotten that it is only the presence in the bunch of a few berries full of juice (representing the godly minority) that prevents the whole from being destroyed (cf. Gen. xviii. 23—33). The term *new wine* (or *must*) is here applied to the juice still in the grapes.

Destroy it not. From the fact that these words are used in the titles of several Psalms apparently to denote the air to which the psalms (Pss. lvii., lviii., lix., lxxv.) were sung, they are supposed to have formed part of a vintage song[1].

a blessing. i.e. the wine-juice, regarded as a source of blessing: cf. Jud. ix. 13.

9. *I will bring forth*, etc. When the corrupt elements have been destroyed, the faithful will become the sole possessors of the land: cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 25. The thought is similar to that of the survival of a Remnant in Is. iv. 3, xxxvii. 32, etc., though couched in different phraseology.

my mountains. A designation of Judah, cf. xiv. 25, xlix. 11, Ezek. xxxviii. 21.

inherit it. There is no noun to which the pronoun (fem. sing.) can refer, and the text should perhaps be emended to *inherit my land.*

there. The use of *there* (instead of *here*) does not shew that the author wrote at a distance from Palestine; see xxxvii. 33, and cf. *v.* 20 (*infr.*), lii. 11, Hag. ii. 14.

10. *And Sharon*, etc. The whole land, from the Mediterranean to the descent to the Jordan (and not Judæa only) is to belong to the Lord's loyal worshippers. For Sharon see on xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2. The valley of *Achor* is supposed to be the *Wâdy Kelt*, leading down to the Jordan near Jericho (Josh. vii. 24, xv. 7, Hos. ii. 15). If this was to

[1] Burney thinks that the words, as occurring in the titles of the Psalms cited, refer to Deut. ix. 26 f.

down in, for my people that have sought me. 11 But ye that forsake the LORD, that forget my holy mountain, that prepare a table for [1]Fortune, and that fill up mingled wine unto [2]Destiny; 12 I will destine you to the sword, and ye shall all bow down to the slaughter: because when I called, ye did not answer; when I spake, ye did not hear; but ye did that which was evil in mine eyes, and chose that wherein I delighted not.

[1] Heb. *Gad*. See Gen. xxx. 11. [2] Heb. *Meni*.

be the E. border, Jericho was apparently outside it. The concluding words of the *v.*, *for my people that have sought me*, which spoil the metre, are an explanatory gloss.

11. *But ye that forsake*, etc. The religious cultus practised by those who are here denounced probably did not amount to complete apostasy, but was a fusion of the worship of the Lord with that of other deities; see on lvii. 3—13[a].

forget...mountain. i.e. disregard the Temple, the only legitimate sanctuary.

Fortune...Destiny. The original has *Gad* and *Meni* (rendered in the LXX. by τῷ δαιμονίῳ...τῇ τύχῃ respectively, though the Vulg. represents *Gad* by *Fortuna*). *Gad* was a deity venerated widely in Palestine and Syria, with whose worship the localities Baal Gad and Migdal Gad were associated (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7, xiii. 5, xv. 37); and the name occurs in many Hebrew, Phoenician, and Palmyrene personal appellations, including that of the tribe Gad (cf. Gen. xxx. 11). For the worship of *Meni* there is not equal evidence; but there was an Arabic goddess *Manât* (mentioned in the Koran, c. 53) which looks like the corresponding feminine. The names of Gad (Fortuna) and Meni are associated in a Latin inscription on an altar found in Provence:—*Belus Fortunae rector Menisque magister Ara gaudebit quam dedit et voluit*[1]. It is possible that the worship here described was really star-worship. Belief in the influence of the planets over human fortunes has been well-nigh universal; and in Arabic astrology the planets Jupiter and Venus were called respectively the Greater and Lesser Luck, in contrast to the unlucky planets Mars and Saturn.

To these deities the people denounced by the prophet spread sacrificial feasts, corresponding to the Roman *lectisternia* (Livy, v. 13, xxi. 62) and the *epulum Jovis*[2]. The practice of spreading tables with various viands for the gods to feast on is illustrated by Ezek. xxiii. 41, Jer. vii. 18, xix. 13, xliv. 17—19, Bel and the Dragon, *vv.* 3, 11, Baruch vi. 30, 1 Cor. x. 21, Hdt. I. 183. The *shewbread* was a survival of a similar usage in connection with the God of Israel: cf. Lev. xxi. 6.

mingled wine. i.e. spiced wine, cf. v. 22 (note), Prov. xxiii. 30.

12. *I will destine.* Heb. *mânâh*, a play upon the name *Meni*.

[1] Quoted by Marti, who refers to Mordtmann, *ZDGM.* 1885, 44—46.
[2] Livy xxv. 2; cf. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 217 f.

13 Therefore thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, my servants
shall eat, but ye shall be hungry: behold, my servants shall
drink, but ye shall be thirsty: behold, my servants shall rejoice,
but ye shall be ashamed: 14 behold, my servants shall sing for
joy of heart, but ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and shall howl
for [1]vexation of spirit. 15 And ye shall leave your name for [2]a
curse unto my chosen, and the Lord GOD shall slay thee; and
he shall call his servants by another name: 16 so that he who
blesseth himself in the earth shall bless himself in the God of
[3]truth; and he that sweareth in the earth shall swear by the
God of [3]truth; because the former troubles are forgotten, and
because they are hid from mine eyes. 17 For, behold, I create

[1] Heb. *breaking*. [2] Heb. *an oath*.
[3] Heb. *Amen*. See 2 Cor. i. 20, Rev. iii. 14.

13. *ashamed.* i.e. disappointed of their expectations (xlii. 17, xliv. 11, Jer. x. 14).

14. *vexation of spirit.* Literally, *breaking* (or *shattering*) *of spirit*; cf. lxi. 1, Heb.

15. *for a curse.* i.e. as a form of cursing. After the impious have been finally annihilated, a fate like theirs will be the extremest malediction which the pious can imprecate upon any enemy: cf. Jer. xxix. 22, Num. v. 21, Zech. viii. 13, Ps. cii. 8.

the Lord GOD...thee. In view of the sing. pronoun this clause is usually taken as an illustration of the kind of malediction meant: but the verb is a future (not a jussive), and the necessary comparison is absent (contrast Jer. xxix. 22). Hence it is better to read (with the LXX.), *the Lord JEHOVAH shall slay you.*

shall call, etc. The LXX. ℵ B have *my servants shall be called by a new name.* It is not meant that the pious will cease to be called by the name of Israel, but that an amelioration of their condition will justify their being described by a different epithet from that which now befits them: see lxii. 2, 4, 12, and cf. Rev. ii. 17, iii. 12.

16. *so that he*, etc. The Lord's faithful accomplishment of the foregoing threats and promises will lead men to appeal confidently to Him to fulfil a blessing prayed for (cf. Gen. xlviii. 15, 16), or to avenge a perjured oath (cf. xlviii. 1).

in the earth. Perhaps better, *in the land*, the scene of the events described.

the God of truth. The Heb. word rendered *truth* (usually pointed אֱמֶן, see xxv. 1), is here assimilated to the liturgical expression אָמֵן *Amen* (see Deut. xxvii. 15, Ps. xli. 13, cf. 2 Cor. i. 20, Rev. iii. 14).

the former troubles. i.e. those of the pious minority who will survive the coming judgment.

17—25. An assurance to the Lord's people of prolonged life and undisturbed security.

new heavens and a new earth: and the former things shall not
be remembered, nor come into mind. 18 But be ye glad and
rejoice for ever in that which I create: for, behold, I create
Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy. 19 And I will
rejoice in Jerusalem, and joy in my people: and the voice of
weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying.
20 There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old
man that hath not filled his days: for the child shall die an
hundred years old, and the sinner being an hundred years old
shall be accursed. 21 And they shall build houses, and inhabit
them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them.

17. *new heavens*, etc. Mankind and the world of nature were regarded as so adjusted that the state of the one affected the state of the other. Hence the restoration of human society to right conditions is represented as accompanied by a transformation of the physical universe (cf. xi. 6—9, Joel iii. 17, 18), just as formerly human sin was attended by disastrous consequences to the material earth (Gen. iii. 17, vi. 7 f.; cf. lxvi. 22). The words are used of the Christian hope in 2 Pet. iii. 13; cf. also Rev. xxi. 1, 2 Cor. v. 17.

18. *be ye glad*, etc. The LXX. and Syr. must have read *they shall be glad and rejoice.*

a rejoicing. i.e. a cause of rejoicing; cf. lx. 15.

19. *the voice of weeping*, etc. The period of mourning predicted by Jeremiah (vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxv. 10), which had been so protracted, is henceforth to cease: cf. lx. 20, xxxv. 10, xxv. 8, Jer. xxxiii. 10, 11.

20. One of the most fruitful causes of sorrow, untimely death, will be removed, and longevity, such as that which was the rule in the earth's early days (Gen. v., xi. 10—32), will once more prevail (cf. Zech. viii. 4, Enoch v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6). The writer's hopes extend to the prolongation of life, but not to the abolition of death (like those of the author of xxv. 8).

an infant of days. i.e. an infant that lives a few days only (cf. Gen. xxiv. 55 and the inscription of Eshmunazar *l.* 3, *the son of an* (easily reckoned) *number of days*).

filled his days. i.e. lived the normal span of life; cf. Ex. xxiii. 26.

the child. Perhaps better, *the youth* (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 19). The idea finds a parallel in Hesiod's description of the Silver Age (*Op.* 130), ἑκατὸν μὲν παῖς ἔτεα παρὰ μητέρι κεδνῇ ἐτρέφετ' ἀτάλλων.

the sinner being, etc. Better (by the omission of the word חָטָא, accidentally repeated), *he that misseth* (i.e. falls short of, Job v. 24, Prov. viii. 36 mg.) *a hundred years shall be accursed*, i.e. one who dies under a hundred will be thought to have perished prematurely in consequence of the Divine curse.

21. *And they shall build*, etc. i.e. the future will not reproduce the conditions of the present, when the Jews were liable to be deprived

22 They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not
plant, and another eat: for as the days of a tree shall be the
days of my people, and my chosen shall [1]long enjoy the work of
their hands. 23 They shall not labour in vain, nor bring forth
for [2]calamity; for they are the seed of the blessed of the LORD,
and their offspring [3]with them. 24 And it shall come to pass
that, before they call, I will answer; and while they are yet
speaking, I will hear. 25 The wolf and the lamb shall feed to-
gether, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox: and dust shall
be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all
my holy mountain, saith the LORD.

[1] Heb. *wear out.* [2] Or, *sudden terror* [3] Or, shall be *with them*

of the fruits of their labour by the attacks of enemies (see lxii. 8, 9 and cf. Am. ix 14) as well as by untimely death.

22. *as the days of a tree*, etc. i.e. the duration of life amongst the godly will be comparable with that of forest trees (Job xiv. 8, 9): cf. lxi. 3, Ps. xcii. 12, 13.

long enjoy. Literally, *wear out* by using to the full.

23. *nor bring...calamity*. i.e. their offspring are not destined to be cut off by some sudden catastrophe (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 33, Jer. xv. 8).

the seed of the blessed, etc. The expression (cf. i. 4) is equivalent to "a race blessed of the Lord."

their offspring with them. i.e. shall remain with them.

24. *before they call*, etc. In consequence of the Lord's presence among, and pleasure in, His people, their petitions will be anticipated; cf. lviii. 9, xxx. 19, Jer. xxix. 12, Dan. ix. 21.

25. *The wolf*, etc. The passage is borrowed from xi. 6—9, partly abbreviated and partly expanded; and shews trace of its later date by the substitution of a late Heb. expression for *together* (occurring in Ezra ii. 64, Eccles. xi. 6) in place of the normal one employed in c. xi.

and dust shall be, etc. Better, *but dust shall be*, etc.: the serpent is not to share in the happy transformation of the animal world, but to remain under the original curse (Gen. iii. 14, cf. Mic. vii. 17). Serpents are described as eating dust in Nicander, *Theriaca*, νέμεται διψήρεας ὄγμους, Sil. Ital. XVII. 449, *ferventi pastus arena*. The clause, which spoils the metre and does not belong to the quotation, is probably an insertion.

CHAPTER LXVI.

This c. reflects the same circumstances as the preceding (with which *vv.* 4 and 17 constitute links, cf. lxv. 1, 12, 4), and must belong to the same date (probably the first half of the fifth century). By some critics it has been thought to contain evidence of having been written before the Second Temple was erected; but *vv.* 1, 2, which have been taken to be a polemic against the

rebuilding of the Lord's house as advocated by Haggai and Zechariah in 520 B.C., admit of another explanation (see notes); and the existence of the Temple is assumed in *v.* 6 (cf. also the mention of *priests* in *v.* 21). The c. is a prediction of judgment for both the idolatrous Jews (whose offences are described) and for the collective heathen peoples, and a prophecy of increased numbers and prosperity for Zion and her pious members. But the arrangement of the subject-matter is strangely confused; for the description and denunciation of the disloyal Jews in *vv.* 1—5 are resumed in *v.* 17; the announcement of retribution for the Lord's enemies in *v.* 6 is interrupted by the prophecy of felicity for Zion in *vv.* 7—14 and continued in *vv.* 15, 16, 18, 19; whilst the subject of the repopulation of Zion is again renewed in *vv.* 20—22. The concluding *vv.* 23, 24, which describe the spectacle of the Lord's slaughtered enemies, appear to be an appendix of later date than the rest of the c. (see note).

LXVI. 1 Thus saith the LORD, The heaven is my throne,
and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house will ye
build unto me? and what place shall be my rest? 2 For all
these things hath mine hand made, and *so* all these things came
to be, saith the LORD: but to this man will I look, even to him
that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my

LXVI. 1—4. A prediction of evil for the Jews who yield the Lord divided allegiance, and persecute their godly brethren.

1. *what manner of house*, etc. i.e. what house but the Temple (cf. *v.* 6)? what place but Zion (the Lord's *holy mountain* (lxv. 11))? The question is probably not directed (as St Stephen directed it, Acts vii. 48—50, cf. xvii. 24, Joh. iv. 21—24) against the habit of mind that deemed the Lord to dwell in material buildings, but against the design, entertained by the adversaries of the loyal section of the Jews, of erecting a second and rival sanctuary. Such a design, which was eventually carried out by the Samaritans on mount Gerizim, was illegitimate according to the Deuteronomic law. It was Zion that the Lord had chosen, and no other abode would be accepted.

rest. Better, *resting-place* (xi. 10, Ps. cxxxii. 8).

2. *all these things.* i.e. not heaven and earth (as some critics have supposed), but the Temple buildings on mount Zion (parallel to *this man*, representing the worshippers there).

came to be. Better (with the LXX. and Syr.), *are mine* (וְלִי הָיוּ for וַיִּהְיוּ). The Lord already had one material sanctuary and needed no other.

but to this man. Better, *and to this man only will I look with favour, even to the poor and the dispirited.* The description (which recalls lvii. 15) denotes the pious minority who were harassed by their semi-paganised countrymen (*v.* 5).

that trembleth, etc. i.e. that stands in awe of, and obeys, my injunctions (as set forth in the Deuteronomic law; cf. Ezra ix. 4, x. 3).

word. 3 He that killeth an ox is as he that slayeth a man; he
that sacrificeth a lamb, as he that breaketh a dog's neck; he
that offereth [1]an oblation, *as he that offereth* swine's blood;
he that [2]burneth frankincense, as he that blesseth an idol: yea,
they have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in
their abominations; 4 I also will choose their [3]delusions, and will
bring their fears upon them; because when I called, none did
answer; when I spake, they did not hear: but they did that

[1] Or, *a meal offering* [2] Heb. *maketh a memorial of.* [3] Or, *mockings*

3. *He that...is as*, etc. Better (since the particle of comparison is absent from the Heb.), *He that killeth an ox but also slayeth a man*, etc. (and so throughout), the persons enumerated (who are contrasted with those that tremble at the Lord's word, *v.* 2) being summarized by the pronoun *they* (or *these*) in the second half of the *v.* The description has in view the idolatrous majority who combined lawful with unlawful acts of worship, the sacrifice of ox or sheep and the presentation of a meal offering or of incense being permissible acts, and human sacrifices, the sacrifice of dogs, the offering of swine's blood, and the blessing of an idol being prohibited acts and instances of *abomination.* The syncretistic character of the worship described resembles the account given of the people of Samaria in 2 Kgs. xvii., to whom in religious usage the Judæans left at the Exile in the occupation of the soil probably became assimilated.

slayeth a man. i.e. offers human sacrifice, probably of children. See on lvii. 5.

breaketh a dog's neck. i.e. sacrifices a dog. The existence of the name *Caleb* (dog) suggests that among the Hebrews and their kindred tribes the dog was originally a totem, and the sacrifice here referred to may have been followed by a mystic eating of the flesh (see on lxv. 4). Dog's flesh was eaten (probably sacramentally) by the Semitic Carthaginians (Justin, xix. i. 10), and dogs were sacrificed by the Romans at the *Robigalia* and *Lupercalia* (Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 89, 311).

an oblation. Better (with the mg.), *a meal offering*; see on i. 13.

swine's blood. This was probably partaken of sacramentally (see *v.* 17 and cf. on lxv. 4).

burneth frankincense. Better (as in mg.), *maketh a memorial offering of frankincense.* The *memorial offering* of the Levitical law consisted of a handful of flour taken from a meal offering, moistened with oil, and burnt with frankincense upon the altar (Lev. ii. 2).

blesseth an idol. Literally, *blesseth* (i.e. worships) *falsity*; cf. xli. 29, Hos. iv. 15, Heb., 1 Sam. xv. 23.

yea, they have chosen, etc. Better, *as these have chosen their own ways and their soul delighteth in their abominations* (i.e. their idols, Deut. xxix. 17), 4. *so I will choose for them mockings* (i.e. troubles that mock their hopes) *and will bring upon them what they fear.*

which was evil in mine eyes, and chose that wherein I delighted not.

5 Hear the word of the LORD, ye that tremble at his word:
Your brethren that hate you, that cast you out for my name's
sake, have said, Let the LORD be glorified, that we may see your
joy; but they shall be ashamed. 6 A voice of tumult from the
city, a voice from the temple, a voice of the LORD that rendereth
recompence to his enemies. 7 Before she travailed, she brought
forth; before her pain came, she was delivered of a man child.
8 Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things?
Shall a land be [1]born in one day? shall a nation be brought
forth at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth

[1] Or, *travailed with for but one day*

5—16. To the pious of Zion, whose hopes have been ridiculed by their adversaries there will shortly accrue a great increase of population and wealth, whilst the enemy will be destroyed by a fiery judgment.

5. *Your brethren.* i.e. the semi-paganised descendants of the Jews left in the land when the rest of the people went into exile.

cast you out. i.e. exclude you from fellowship because of your fidelity to Me.

be glorified. i.e. manifest His glory by realizing your hopes of Zion's expansion and enrichment (xlix. 18, liv. 1, 2). The language is used in mockery.

but they. Better, *but they themselves.* It is not the faithful Jews but their opponents whose expectations will be disappointed: cf. lxv. 13. To this *v.* probably *v.* 17 was once attached.

6. This *v.* begins a description of the approaching judgment (comprehending Gentiles as well as ungodly Jews), which is interrupted at *v.* 7 and not resumed till *v.* 15.

A voice, etc. Better, *Hark!* (xiii. 4, xl. 3) *a roar from the city, hark!* (a roar) *from the temple, hark! the LORD that rendereth,* etc. The description resembles Am. i. 2, Joel iii. 16, and has influenced Rev. xvi. 1, 17.

7—14. A prophecy of relief for the distressed in Zion, and of speedy increase in the city's population and wealth.

7. *Before she travailed,* etc. i.e. the repopulation of Zion will be effected with unprecedented swiftness.

a man child. A symbol of the vigorous community of the future. Amongst the Hebrews (as amongst the Arabs) the birth of a son was a source of much greater satisfaction than the birth of a daughter.

8. *Shall a land be born,* etc. Since a land was regarded as the *mother* of its population (xlix. 20, 21, liv. 1) Duhm and Cheyne insert עַם, and render, *Shall the people of a land be travailed with?*

her children. 9 Shall I bring to the birth, and not cause to
bring forth? saith the LORD: shall I that cause to bring forth
shut *the womb*? saith thy God.

10 Rejoice ye with Jerusalem, and be glad for her, all ye
that love her: rejoice for joy with her, all ye that mourn over
her: 11 that ye may suck and be satisfied with the breasts of
her consolations; that ye may milk out, and be delighted with
the abundance of her glory. 12 For thus saith the LORD,
Behold, I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory
of the nations like an overflowing stream, [1]and ye shall suck
thereof; ye shall be borne upon the side, and shall be
dandled upon the knees. 13 As one whom his mother com-
forteth, so will I comfort you; and ye shall be comforted in
Jerusalem. 14 And ye shall see *it*, and your heart shall rejoice,
and your bones shall flourish like the tender grass: and the
hand of the LORD shall be known toward his servants, and he

[1] Or, *then shall ye suck, ye &c.*

9. *Shall I bring*, etc. The Lord Who has begun the restoration of His people, will not leave His undertaking incomplete. For the figure, cf. xxxvii. 3.

10. *Rejoice ye*, etc. The LXX. has, *Rejoice, O Jerusalem* (reading שִׂמְחִי אַתְּ for שִׂמְחוּ אֶת), which accords better with *thy God* (*v.* 9).

all ye that mourn. i.e. the pious minority, who are depressed at the disappointment of their hopes for Zion: cf. lvii. 18, lxi. 2.

11. *that ye may suck*, etc. Sympathy with Jerusalem gives a claim to participation in her felicity. The figure of the city or land as the mother of its population (cf. on *v.* 8) is maintained.

the abundance of her glory. Better, *her rich maternal bosom* (the word rendered *abundance* probably meaning *breast* or *teat*).

12. *peace...glory.* Synonyms for prosperity (lx. 17) and wealth (x. 3, lxi. 6): the promise recalls lx. 5. For the figure of a river or stream cf. xlviii. 18.

and ye shall suck, etc. The text is supported by the Vulg., but it should probably be emended, after the LXX., to *their* (or with Duhm, *her*) *sucklings* (יוֹנַקְתָּם or יוֹנַקְתָּהּ for וְינַקְתֶּם) *shall be carried on the side and dandled on the knees.* The Gentiles are thought of as discharging the duty of nursing; see xlix. 22, 23, lx. 4.

14. *your bones shall flourish.* i.e. your physical frames shall be filled with renewed vigour (cf. lviii. 11, xliv. 4, Job xxi. 24, Prov. xv. 30, Ps. li. 8).

the hand. Perhaps better (with Cheyne), *the lovingkindness*, reading וְנוֹדַע חֶסֶד for יְנוֹדְעָה יַד after Klostermann.

will have indignation against his enemies. 15 For, behold, the LORD will come [1]with fire, and his chariots shall be like the whirlwind; to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire. 16 For by fire will the LORD plead, and by his sword, with all flesh: and the slain of the LORD shall be many. 17 They that sanctify themselves and purify themselves [2]*to go* unto the gardens, [3]behind [4]one in the midst, eating swine's

[1] Or, *in* [2] Or, *in* [3] Many ancient authorities have, *one after another.*
[4] Or, *one* tree (or Asherah; see Deut. xvi. 21)

his enemies. The subject of *v.* 6 is here resumed. The Lord's enemies are the oppressors of Israel as well as the paganised Jews (see *vv.* 16, 18, and cf. lix. 16—19).

15, 16. A description (continued from *v.* 6) of the Lord's advent in judgment, attended with all the terrors of a theophany (cf. xxix. 6, xxx. 27, 30, Ps. xviii. 12, l. 3).

15. *with fire.* In view of the parallel clause, better (with the LXX.), *like fire* (כָּאֵשׁ for בָּאֵשׁ).

his chariots. The conception, which occurs in Hab. iii. 8, Ps. lxviii. 17, probably had its origin in the rapid movements of storm clouds and the roll and rattle of thunder (cf. p. 12).

his rebuke. i.e. the expression of his resentment (xvii. 13, l. 2, li. 20).

16. *plead.* Better (with the LXX.), *plead* (i.e. enter into judgment, cf. Jer. ii. 35) *with all the earth* (inserting אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ).

all flesh. The expression naturally means all mankind (as in xl. 5, Jer. xxv. 31) and not merely all Jews.

17. This *v.* returns to the subject of the disloyal Jews and their idolatrous practices (see *vv.* 1—5), and breaks the connection between *vv.* 16 and 18.

They that sanctify themselves, etc. There is here an abrupt reversion to the misdeeds of the paganised section of the Jewish population (*vv.* 1—4), whose extermination, in particular, is desired and anticipated.

to go *unto the gardens.* i.e. for participation in the idolatrous rites of which the gardens were the scene, i. 29, lxv. 3. The Heb. might also mean (*and purify themselves*) *in the gardens* (for the preposition cf. Gen. vi. 6, 1 Kgs. viii. 30).

behind one in the midst. The meaning is obscure. If the rendering is correct, the words probably describe a procession behind the image of a deity, who, if Babylonian rites still survived in the country, might be the dead Tammuz (cf. on xvii. 10) or, since the Heb. mg. makes *one* fem., the goddess Ishtar who mourned him. But a preferable translation is *after one in the midst*, the passage describing the imitation, by a group of novices, of the ritual acts of a priest (or a priestess) who is initiating them into mysteries (cf. Ezek. viii. 11). Sym. has ὀπίσω ἀλλήλων (implying אָחָד אַחַר אָחָד) ἐν μέσῳ ἐσθιόντων τὸ κρέας τὸ χοίρειον.

flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse; they shall come to an end together, saith the LORD. 18 For I *know* their works and their thoughts: [1]*the time* cometh, that I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come, and shall see my glory. 19 And I will set a sign among them, and I will send

[1] Many ancient authorities have, *I come to gather &c.*

Cheyne favours Klostermann's ingenious but unconvincing emendation, *one consecrating another* (with sacrificial blood) *on the tip of the ear* (אַחַד אֶחָד בַּתְּנוּךְ); cf. Ex. xxix. 20, Lev. viii. 23, 24, xiv. 16, 17.

the abomination. If the reading is correct, it must be a collective expression for loathsome creatures (cf. Ezek. viii. 10). Duhm conjectures *creeping things* (שֶׁרֶץ for שֶׁקֶץ), which by the Jewish law were unclean (Lev. xi. 41).

the mouse. This, which, like the swine, was forbidden food (Lev. xi. 29), was probably eaten mystically by the idolatrous Jews. The occurrence of the name *Achbor*, the Heb. for *mouse* (Gen. xxxvi. 38, 2 Kgs. xxii. 12, 14), favours the belief that it was a totem animal (cf. on lxv. 4).

they shall come, etc. Probably (as Duhm conjectures) some words should be transferred to this *v.* from *v.* 18, and the text should be corrected to *their works and their thoughts* (in apposition with *they that sanctify themselves*) *shall come to an end together.*

18—22. The approach of a universal judgment, which will be followed by the restoration, by those nations who survive it, of all the Jews dwelling among them.

18. *For I* know, etc. The Heb. is corrupt. The insertion of *know* follows LXX. א; but it is best (as already implied) to transpose the words *their works and their thoughts* to *v.* 17, and to emend the rest of this *v.* after the LXX., O.L., and Vulg.: the rendering will then be, *And I come to gather*, etc. (reading וְאָנֹכִי בָא for וְאָנֹכִי...בָּאָה). That the gathering of the peoples (which takes place at Jerusalem) is preliminary to their punishment is clear from the mention of *the escaped* (*v.* 19): cf. Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix., Joel iii. 2, Zeph. iii. 8. The subject of the judgment of the heathen is here resumed in continuation of *vv.* 15, 16.

all nations and tongues. The phraseology resembles Zech. viii. 23, Dan. iii. 4. *All*, in strictness, is inconsistent with the fact that some are made acquainted with the judgment by hearsay (*v.* 19).

shall see my glory. i.e. shall witness the glory of the theophany when the Lord appears to take vengeance upon those who have oppressed or dishonoured His people: cf. Ezek. xxxix. 21.

19. *a sign.* i.e. some supernatural act of retribution, analogous to the plagues of Egypt (which are described as "signs" in Ex. vii. 3, x. 1, 2, Ps. lxxviii. 43, cv. 27).

I will send, etc. Beyond the circle of the nations with whom Israel ordinarily came in contact are others more distant which have

such as escape of them unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul and
Lud, that draw the bow, to Tubal and Javan, to the isles afar
off, that have not heard my fame, neither have seen my glory;
and they shall declare my glory among the nations. 20 And
they shall bring all your brethren out of all the nations for an
offering unto the LORD, upon horses, and in chariots, and in
litters, and upon mules, and upon [1]swift beasts, to my holy
mountain Jerusalem, saith the LORD, as the children of Israel
bring their offering in a clean vessel into the house of the LORD.
21 And of them also will I take for priests *and* for Levites, saith

[1] Or, *dromedaries*

not provoked the Lord's resentment, and to these the survivors of the judgment will be sent to report what they have witnessed.

Tarshish, etc. This list of nations is considered by Cheyne and Duhm to be interpolated. For *Tarshish* see on ii. 16. *Pul*, which does not occur elsewhere, should be corrected (with LXX.) to *Put* (Gen. x. 6, Ezek. xxvii. 10, Jer. xlvi. 9), an E. African country (called *Punt* in the Egyptian inscriptions). *Lud* (perhaps the same as the *Ludim* of Gen. x. 13, Jer. xlvi. 9) was also in Africa, and is represented as under Egyptian rule in Ezek. xxx. 5. The words *that draw the bow* (for which the LXX. has καὶ Μοσόχ) probably conceal two other names, *Meshech* and *Rosh* (Ezek. xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 1), of which the first is usually identified with the Moschi, a people of Armenia. *Tubal* possibly represents the Tibareni, a people dwelling in Pontus[1]. *Javan* is Ionia or Greece (Joel iii. 6, Zech. ix. 13, Dan. viii. 21, x. 20): cf. Schol. on Ar. *Ach.* 104, πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἰάονας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκάλουν.

20—22. A prophecy of the restoration, by those nations who survive the judgment, of all Jews dwelling among them.

20. *And they shall bring*, etc. The remote peoples named (*v.* 19), overawed by what they hear, will bring to Jerusalem as an act of homage to the Lord all the Jews resident among them (cf. xliii. 6, xlix. 22, lx. 4, 9, xiv. 2).

upon horses, etc. The Jews, as the favoured people of so mighty a God, will be treated with all the respect due to persons of distinction. This enumeration, like that of *v.* 19, is rejected by Duhm and Cheyne.

swift beasts. Better, *dromedaries.*

as the children, etc. They will be conducted with as much care as that with which the Jews themselves bring their offerings to the Temple: cf. Zeph. iii. 10.

21. *of them.* i.e. of the restored Jews there will be taken for the

[1] The Moschi in Græco-Roman times lived near the Phasis, but at an earlier period their habitat was near Commagene (*DB.* III. 251). Both they and the Tibareni are mentioned among the subject states of Persia in Hdt. III. 94, VII. 78.

the LORD. 22 For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the LORD, so shall your seed and your name remain. 23 And it shall come to pass, that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the LORD. 24 And they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases

functions named (cf. lxi. 6) those who are eligible; the privilege of ministering in the offices of religion will not be confined to the Jews resident in Jerusalem.

for priests and *for Levites.* Though in the Heb. text the copula is omitted between *priests* and *Levites*, it occurs in many MSS. and in the LXX. and Vulg.; and as the preposition *for* is repeated before the second noun, the two classes seem meant to be distinguished (contrast Deut. xvii. 9, 18, etc.). On this view the passage (? *vv.* 18—22) implies the existence of the legislation of the Priestly code, and must be later than Malachi, in whose time the Deuteronomic law appears not to have been superseded (Mal. ii. 4—8). On the other hand, many critics in consequence of the omission of the copula in the Heb., omit the preposition before *Levites* as well (reading לְכֹהֲנִים לְוִיִּם) and render *for Levite priests* (as in Deut. xvii. 9).

22. *For as the new*, etc. In the better order of things (promised in lxv. 17) the Jewish race will exist in perpetuity, the everlasting continuance of the one being the guarantee for that of the other, cf. xlviii. 19, li. 6, lxv. 17.

23—24. All mankind will attend for worship at the Temple on the Jewish weekly and monthly feasts, whilst outside it the bodies of the victims of the judgment will be an ever-present spectacle.

This passage seems to be an addition to the preceding, which reaches a natural climax in *v.* 22 (note *saith the* LORD). Certain of the terms employed point to a late date (e.g. *an abhorring*, which recurs only in Dan. xii. 2).

23. *from one new moon*, etc. Literally, *as often as a month comes on its new moon and a week comes on its sabbath.* The words rendered *month* and *week* are the same as those for *new moon* and *sabbath* respectively; and the use of the last term in the sense of *week* is late (see Lev. xxiii. 15, xxv. 8, and cf. the meaning of σάββατον and σάββατα in Mk. xvi. 2, 9, Matt. xxviii. 1).

shall all flesh come, etc. The same thought that all the nations that survive the judgment previously described are to worship regularly at the Jewish Temple occurs in Zech. xiv. 16—19.

24. *look upon.* i.e. with satisfaction (cf. Ps. xci. 8). The scene described was probably suggested by the associations connected with the valley of Hinnom (S.W. of the city) which had once been the site of human sacrifices (Jer. vii. 31) and had been desecrated, in consequence, by Josiah (2 Kgs. xxiii. 10). There the refuse of Jerusalem was cast, and there, too (according to Rabbinic tradition), the dead

of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.

bodies of criminals were exposed to decomposition or committed to the flames. The place here described is identified with the valley of Hinnom in Enoch xxvi., xxvii., but since the scene is viewed by those returning from the Temple, the actual locality in the writer's mind appears to be the adjoining valley of the Kidron on the E. of the city (see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem* I. p. 174). The representation seems to imply the belief that a connection subsisted after death between the soul and the body, and that the dead, in this instance, suffered endlessly in consequence of what their bodies, fed upon by fire and worm but never consumed, had to undergo (cf. Job xiv. 22). From this passage was borrowed much of the language describing the torments of Gehenna in the N.T. (see Mk. ix. 43, 48, Matt. xiii. 42, Luke xvi. 24; cf. also Judith xvi. 17, Ecclus. vii. 17, Rev. xx. 10).

In the Hebrew Bible the Massoretes have directed that when this c. is read in the Synagogue, the last *v.* but one (*v.* 23) is to be repeated in order that the book may close with words of consolation. The same direction occurs at the conclusion of the Book of the Minor Prophets, of Lamentations, and of Ecclesiastes.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE[1]

ISRAEL	B.C.	JUDAH	B.C.	ASSYRIA	B.C.
				Adad-nirari III	811
		Uzziah	789		
Jeroboam II	782			Shalmaneser III	782
				Asshur-dan III	772
				Asshur-nirari II	754
				Tiglath-pileser III	745
Zechariah	741				
Menahem	741				
		Jotham	738		
Pekahiah	737				
Pekah	736				
		Ahaz	735		
Hoshea	734				
		Hezekiah	727[2]	Shalmaneser IV	727
Fall of Samaria	722			Sargon II	722
				Sennacherib	705
		Manasseh	692		
				Esarhaddon	681
				Asshurbanipal	668
		Amon	638		
		Josiah	637		
				Asshur-itil-ilani	625
				Sin-shar-ishkun	?
				Fall of Nineveh	607
				BABYLON	
				Nabopolassar	[3]625
		Jehoahaz	607		
		Jehoiakim	607		
				Nebuchadrezzar	604
		Jehoiachin	597		
		Zedekiah	597		
		Fall of Jerusalem	587		
				Evil-merodach	561
				Neriglissar	559
				Labashi-merodach	556
				Nabunaid	555
				Fall of Babylon	538

[1] In the case of many of the kings of Israel and Judah the dates of their accession can only be regarded as approximate.

[2] Possibly the year of his accession as joint ruler with his father Ahaz (see p. xlii).

[3] The year of Nabopolassar's accession to the throne of Babylon.

JUDAH	B.C.	PERSIA	B.C.
		Cyrus	549[1]
Return under Zerubbabel, 537			
		Cambyses	529
		Pseudo-Smerdis	522
		Darius I (Hystaspis)	521
		Xerxes I	485
		Artaxerxes I (Longimanus)	464
Arrival of Ezra	458		
Arrival of Nehemiah	445		
		Xerxes II	424
		Sogdianus	424
		Darius II (Nothus)	423
		Artaxerxes II (Mnemon)	405
		Artaxerxes III (Ochus)	358
		Arses	337
		Darius III (Codomannus)	335
		Destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander	331

After the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. his empire was divided between his generals, of whom Ptolemy obtained Egypt and Seleucus Syria. The succession of sovereigns in these two countries till 180 B.C. was as follows:

EGYPT	B.C.	SYRIA	B.C.
Ptolemy I (Soter)	322		
		Seleucus I (Nicator)	312
Ptolemy II (Philadelphus)	285		
		Antiochus I (Soter)	280
		Antiochus II (Theos)	261
Ptolemy III (Euergetes)	246	Seleucus II (Callinicus)	246
		Seleucus III	226
		Antiochus III (the Great)	224
Ptolemy IV (Philopator)	221		
Ptolemy V (Epiphanes)	205		
		Seleucus IV (Philopator)	187
Ptolemy VI (Philometor)	181		

[1] The year of Cyrus' accession to the throne of Media.

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